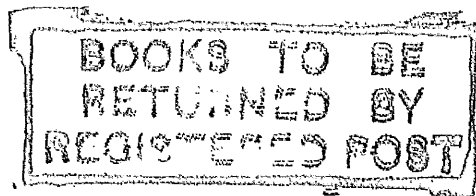


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A THESIS

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

"STUDIES IN THE BRAHMANAS"

1952.

A.C. Banerjee.  
S.O.A.S.

### ABSTRACT:

The study is concerned in the first place with an investigation of evidence for clan exogamy during the period of the Brāhmanas, and the allied question of relationship-terminology. In the second place it deals with an elucidation of the complex problem of the Vrātyas. An intermediary chapter is devoted to a description of the social and functional groups. Finally, a discussion of the available evidence for 'sapinda' restrictions is added.

With regard to clan exogamy the word 'Ari' in the Rgveda is of particular significance. 'Jana' and 'jāmi' in the Brāhmanas have also been found to be of similar importance in as much as the former signifies the marriageable exogamous group and the latter the non-marriageable group. In the context of relationship-terminology the words 'agredidhisu' (the woman wooed before) 'didhisūpati' (the husband of 'agredidhisu') 'parivitta' (the unmarried elder brother) 'parivividāna' (the younger brother married while the elder brother remains a bachelor) 'ānujāvāra' (the posthumous son, or the younger brother of inferior status) 'bhrātrvya' (the brother-in-law) and 'sajāta' (fellow-clansman), are analysed. Among the social and functional groups the distinction between those of the 'Taksan' and the 'Rathakāra' has been noticed.

In dealing with the problem of the 'Vrātyas', firstly former contributions in this field have been reviewed in detail. Secondly, previous suggestions in connection with the etymological explanation of the word 'Vrātya' have been considered. Thirdly, it has been pointed out that the 'Vrātya' book of the Atharvaveda is, in all probability, compiled from fragments of a lost Brāhmana text. Fourthly, the references to the 'Vrātyas' in the Tāndya and Jaiminiya have been duly noted and interpretations hitherto proposed, scrutinised. Lastly, the conclusion is arrived at, that the 'Vrātyas' were non-Brahmanical Aryans, possibly similar to the Kṣatriyas, and having alien ritual practices.

In conclusion it has been conjectured that the passage in the Śatapatha bearing on 'Śapinda' restrictions expresses disapproval of the marriage-practice to which it refers.

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Abbreviations.

A.B.	-	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Āśv.Gr.S.	-	Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra.
Āś.Sr.Sūtra.	-	Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
A.V.	-	Atharva-Veda
A.K.	-	Amara Kosa.
Āp.Dh.S.	-	Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra.
Āpas.Sr.S.	-	Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra.
Baudh.Śr.S.	-	Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
D.J.B. in 'A'.	-	Das Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl-Caland.
Dh.S.	-	Āpastambīya Dharma Samhitā.
J.B.	-	Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa - ed. by Raghuvira-Lokesa.
K.B.	-	Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa.
Kap.S.	-	Kapīṣṭhala Samhitā.
K.S.	-	Kāthaka Samhitā.
Kāty.Sr.S.	-	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Lāt. Sr.S.	-	Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Manu.	-	Manusmṛti.
M.S.	-	Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā.
M.bh.	-	Mahābhāṣya. - ed. Keilhorn.
Nir.	-	Nirukta.

Nigh.Nir.	-	Nighantu-Nirukta ed. Lakṣmanasvarupa
P.B.	-	Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa.
R.V.	-	Rgveda.
	-	Rgvedabhāṣya (Skandasvāmin)
	-	Rgveda-vyākhyā (Mādhava)
	-	Rgārtha-dīpikā (Venkata Mādhava).
S.B. (M).	-	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Mādhyamīna)
S.B. (K).	-	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Kāva).
Sākh. Śr. S.	-	Sākhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
ṣaḍ.B.	-	Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa. - ed. Helsingh.
S.C.	-	Smṛti-sandrikā.
T.S.	-	Taittirīya Saṃhitā.
T.B.	-	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
Un. S.	-	Unādi Sūtras.
V.S.	-	Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā.
Y.V.	-	Yajurveda.

For other abbreviations, see General Bibliography.



INTRODUCTION.

This study was originally undertaken in order to investigate social conditions in the Brāhmana period. Soon, however, it became apparent that the evidence in the texts was of too scanty a nature to provide a complete picture, but a number of interesting problems in family and tribal relationships emerged.

For example, in the first half of the thesis, which is concerned with the investigation of evidence for clan exogamy in this period and the allied question of relationship-terminology, the point arises of the words 'jana' and 'jāmi'. 'jana', a word inferred by most authorities to mean in certain contexts, 'the stranger', comprises the marriageable exogamous group. 'jāmi', similarly inferred as the 'non-approachable', the 'non-marriageable' group. Further, in the question of family-relationship, we come across the words 'agredidhiṣu', signifying 'the woman wooed before'; 'didhiṣūpatiḥ', the husband of such a woman; 'parivitta', the un-married elder brother; 'parivividāna', the younger brother who is married during the time that his elder brother remains a bachelor; 'ānujāvara', who is either the posthumous son, or the younger brother, inferior in rank; and 'bhrātṛya',

brother-in-law. Finally, we have the general word, 'sajāta', signifying fellow-clansman. This part of the thesis concludes with a short description of the social and functional groupings, most of which is a mere restatement of earlier conclusions. Specifically, however, a differentiation not previously noted is made between the 'takṣan' and 'rathakāra' groups, the 'takṣan' as the carpenter, unworthy by reason of his impurity to take part in the sacrifices, and the 'rathakāra' as the craftsman of specialised importance, with full sacrificial rights.

The second half attempts to deal with the complex problem of the Vrātyas. In the first place it is a detailed review of former contributions in this field. In the second place, it attempts an etymological explanation of the word 'vrātya'. The connection of the Rgvedic 'vrā' with the subsequent 'vrātya' seems undeniable, but no theory of continuity between the two words can be built up, as the meaning of 'vrā' is itself uncertain. In the third place an independent theory is advanced that the Vrātya book of the Atharvaveda is, in fact, compiled from fragments of a lost Brāhmarūpa work, specially belonging to the Vrātyas. This theory rests firstly on the patently Brahman<sup>a-like</sup> style of this book,

and secondly as a picture is given of something analogous to the subsequent rituals of the 'ksatriya's, especially as in the Rājasūya. In the fourth place the Tāṇḍya and the Jaiminiya references to the Vrātyas are discussed at length, and towards the end, the conclusion is reached that the Vrātyas were non-Brahmanical Aryans, (possibly similar to the Vedic 'ksatriya's), who incurred the contempt of the Brahmans by their alien ritual practices.

Lastly, in the appendix to Chapter Four<sup>II</sup>, comes a discussion of the available evidence for Sapinda restriction in the Satapatha.

It has long been a generally accepted view that there is no evidence for exogamy in India before the time of the Sūtras, and admittedly it is in the pravara-  
 appendices, we first find the prohibition of marriage within the Gotra explicitly stated. It has, however, been suggested by Professor J. Brough<sup>(1)</sup> that, since the hyan families of the Rgveda were directly connected with the main Gotra-groupings of the Sūtra period, there is a permissible inference that such units may have been exogamous prior to the age of the Sūtras; for it is more likely that exogamy would have grown as a natural process within the

(1) J.R.A.S. (1946-47)

clan, rather than as a super-imposition upon an existing clan-structure. Furthermore, Benveniste, <sup>(1)</sup> in one of his lectures <sup>at</sup> in the school of Oriental and African studies, proposed that the word 'ari' in the Rgveda stood for the hostile exogamous group, and its derivative 'ārya' for the progeny of a legitimate union, who naturally would be considered as 'respectable' or 'noble'. With a view to confirming these conjectures the thesis opens with a brief discourse on the meaning of 'ari' in the Rgveda.

To Dr. J. Brough, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of London, my thanks are due for his painstaking assistance and advice in the compilation of this thesis, which I hope, may make some small contribution to the elucidation of a field of study so inadequately provided with reliable data.

(1) This lecture is unfortunately unpublished, and for this information I am indebted to Professor Brough.

## CHAPTER I.

### 'Ari' in the Rgveda.

The word 'ari' in the Rgveda has both a favourable as well as an unfavourable sense. Vedic exegetes (i) have long been puzzled by this undeniable ambivalence (ii) in the conception of the Rgvedic 'ari' and have attempted successively to give to this word a uniform meaning which would apply to all contexts in which it appears. It is unnecessary to review here all the interpretations suggested by Roth, Grassman, Bergaigne, Oldenberg, Geldner, Neisser, Bloomfield and others with regard to 'ari' as they are well-known to Vedic scholars. Moreover they have already been repeatedly mentioned in the work (iii) of Thieme, which is undoubtedly the most detailed study of this difficult problem. At the outset, therefore, it would be more appropriate, in the first place, to indicate briefly the views of Thieme in this connection and then state the view-point of Dumézil, (iv) who is the most recent scholar expressing his opinion on this subject.

(i) Bloomfield calls it the 'enfant terrible of Vedic exegesis' (J.O.A.S.45,160) while Thieme thinks of it as 'Sorgenkind' (D.F.5).

(ii) According to Renou 'un trait stable du formulaire Rgvedique' (J.A.CCXXX,333)

(iii) Der Fremdling in Rgveda (D.F.)

(iv) L.T.S., also Rev.de l'His. des Rel. 1941-36-54.

According to Thieme 'ari' should be interpreted as 'stranger' (Der Fremdling, or more precisely 'der Fremde' where the friendly or inimical nature of 'ari' is not emphatically stated and 'der Fremdling' when it is thus expressed). In his opinion, the concept of 'stranger' alone, implies the type of 'inner discord' (Zwiespaeltigkeit) that characterizes 'ari' inasmuch as it refers at one time to the 'friend' and at another to the 'enemy'. Thus 'while the stranger could be received in a friendly way and granted hospitality, and be entitled to protection, when he asks for it, he could also be regarded, with suspicion or hatred as one outside the pale of the family or the clan-structure, and on entering the house of some one, menacing the peace of that place'.<sup>(1)</sup> Basing his understanding of the word 'ari' on this concept, he explains the passages in the Rgveda in which 'ari' and its derivatives occur. Primarily he divides them into two groups, those in which he interprets 'ari' as 'der Fremde' and others in which he finds for it the meaning 'der Fremdling', and further with reference to the latter he has another subdivision as far as they are concerned with either 'the stranger as friend' or 'the stranger as enemy'. Next he

(1) D.F.10

proceeds to an analysis of the stems 'arya' (Oxytone),  
 'arya' (Paroxytone),<sup>(i)</sup> showing that being derived from  
 'ari' (stranger) they should signify 'one concerned with  
 the stranger' (dem Fremdling gehoerig), who in the context  
 of the deities is 'the protector of the stranger' (den  
 Fremdling beschuetzend) and in that of the mortals is the  
 same as 'the hospitable one - the master of the House'  
 (gastlich Hausherr). Finally he considers 'Aryaman' as  
 'hospitality personified - the god of hospitality' (die  
 personifizierte Gastlichkeit, der Gott der Gastlichkeit)<sup>(ii)</sup>  
 and 'ārya', derived from 'arya' (Par.) as 'related to the  
 hospitable ones - the hospitable ones' (zu den Gastlichen  
 gehoerig, die Wirtlichen).

Dumezil, who is mainly concerned with Aryaman in his  
 work<sup>(iii)</sup> objects to this rendering of 'ari' as 'stranger',  
 on the ground that the conception of the 'stranger' is a  
 'notion moderne', and cannot be considered applicable to  
 the primitive social conditions in the Rgveda, except in  
 its purely negative form. He admits however, that for a  
 clear understanding of 'ari' "one has to look in the dir-  
 ection of the 'Fremdling' with a view to find a meaning more

(i) 'arya' (Paroxytone) is not found in the Rgveda and occurs  
 only in the Later Samhitās.

(ii) According to Thieme the neuter form 'aryaman' and also  
 the masculine form 'aryaman' (without any reference to  
 the deity) in the Rgveda convey the idea of hospital-  
 ity' and 'hospitable' respectively. (D.H.14E)

(iii) L.T.S., The article appearing in the Revue de l'Histoire  
 des Religions is merely a reprint of the section deal-  
 ing with 'arya'.

concrete, more positive and also less modern than  
 'Fremdling"<sup>(i)</sup>. Accordingly he interprets 'ari' in its  
 collective sense as 'L'ensemble des aryens' and in its  
 generic sense as 'L'aryen moyen' or 'L'aryen type'.

The novelty of these two interpretations can hardly  
 be denied, and any one of them being accepted should help  
 us in solving the vexing riddle of this word. Unfor-  
 tunately, however, this is not the case. The vagueness  
 that Dumezil justly attributes to the concept of the  
 stranger proposed by Thieme equally accompanies his own  
 deduction. If one is rather uncertain about the role  
 that the stranger played in the Rgvedic society, he could  
 by no means be certain about those "with whom a group of  
 Vedic Indians accepted their relationship through the bonds  
 of 'aryanité"<sup>(ii)</sup>. Obviously, therefore, what precisely is  
 meant by 'ari' in the Rgveda, still remains as a desideratum,  
 and yet another attempt to come closer to its inner sig-  
 nificance would not be in vain.

Now, undoubtedly only the singular form<sup>(iii)</sup> of 'ari'  
 appears in the Rgveda, and the simultaneous occurrence of  
 the plural forms 'krstayah' (I.4.6.), 'janān' (V.33.2),  
 'sūrayah' (VI.25.7) in apposition to it, leads us to the

(i) Ibid-111.

(ii) L.T.S.113.

(iii) Dumezil thinks that both the Nominative and Accusative  
 plural forms of 'ari' are also found in the RV. Un-  
 fortunately however there is no sound reason to think  
 so.



natural conclusion that here the case is that of a  
 collective singular, <sup>(i)</sup> and as such it should be a  
 collective designation. <sup>(ii)</sup> Consequently we have to  
 give to 'ari' an impersonal meaning, and this is  
 exactly what Thieme and Dumézil have tried to do. It  
 is however most unlikely that the word had either an  
 ethnic significance as Dumézil wants us to believe or  
 even conveyed the idea of a 'sorte d'essence ou de type,  
 trop general pour etre un image, et trop emotionnel pour  
 etre un concept' as Thieme thinks, <sup>(ii)<sup>a</sup></sup> especially in the early  
 period of the R̥gveda. Is it not striking that as soon as we  
 come to the Brahmanas the meaning of 'ari' as 'enemy' is  
 well-nigh fixed <sup>(iii)</sup> and the need for a wider conception  
 does not arise? How much more reasonable it would be to  
 think of it as representing a much more limited and well-  
 defined group or groups in the society of those days. Such  
 divisions can obviously be thought of only in the context of  
 marriage as contracted between exogamous clans. It cannot  
 be denied that there is, in fact, no direct evidence for the  
 practice of clan-exogamy prior to the period of the S̥ūtras.  
 It stands to reason however, that the clans mentioned in the  
 R̥gveda, being clearly known as 'exogamous units' in the

(i) Cf. D.F. 'kollektiver Singular' (151)

(ii) Cf. Renou. J.A. 230 334. <sup>(ii)<sup>a</sup></sup> As quoted from Levy Bruhl's *L'Âme primitive* - 59

(iii) 'Arya' however retains its former significance to some extent. See Mahāvratā references.

Sūtras, should have adhered to the principle of exogamy in as much as marital relationship was concerned. Thus if (i) the existence of the exogamous system is accepted for a period as early as that of the Rgveda, it follows necessarily that such exogamous groups must have found some common term to express in general the relationship that existed between them. In other words a member of a certain exogamous group, would naturally prefer to refer to those belonging to another such group or groups, into which he wishes to marry or with which he is already connected through marriage, by some term which would directly express that type of kinship. That 'ari' could be the desired vocable can be deduced from two happy coincidences. Primarily the inimical sense of 'ari' can easily be explained in such circumstances, as it is almost well-known that in most of the primitive societies an amount of hostility is found to be somewhat inevitable between two neighbouring tribes, (ii) which are presumably exogamous. Secondly the deity 'Aryaman', whose connection with 'arya', a derivative of 'ari' hardly needs an elucidation is essentially linked with the ritual of marriage in the Rgveda; he is in fact 'un des grands dieux marieurs', (iii) Summarily therefore it may be held that

(i) See Professor Brough's article on the 'Early History of the Gotras' in this connection.  
(ii) Cf. Frazer: 'Totemism and Exogamy' (89)  
(iii) I.T.S.71.

'ari' in the R̥gveda designates the marriagable exogenous group, in the clan-structure of those days. It remains to be seen now if in the text itself there is some conclusive evidence to support this conjecture.

Of special interest is R.V.X.28.1: 'viśvo hy anyo arir ājagāma, named aha śvasūro nā jagama; jakṣīyād dhānā uta somam papīyāt, svasītan punar astam jagāyāt'. Here Thieme thinks that 'the Subjects of a and b (of this Rk) are opposed to each other' (...ich glaube, dass die Subjekte von a und b Gegensatz darstellen) and that this opposition is not 'only indicated here' (der Gegensatz nur angedeutet sei) as Oldenberg thinks, <sup>(i)</sup> but 'directly expressed' (er ist ausgedrückt). In other words he upholds that 'ari' <sup>is</sup> contrasted with 'śvasūra' (father-in-law) as the former represents the 'stranger' and the latter 'the near relative' (der nahe Verwandte). <sup>(ii)</sup> It seems rather peculiar that both Oldenberg and Thieme should have unnecessarily thought of anti-thetical ideas being presented here, when there is nothing in the context to show that such an idea of contrast was present in the mind of the composer. According to Sāyana 'the wife of Vasukra, the son of Indra praises the latter with this Rk' (anayā vasukra-patnīndram stauti) and the occasion is 'the sacrifice performed by

(i) Z.D.M.G. 54 and Noten II. 230.

(ii) Op.cit. 7.

Vasukra in which Indra appears masked (and is thus un-noticed) by the wife of Vasukra who desires his presence' (purā vasukre yajñam kurvāne sati indrah pracchanna-rūpa ājagāma tam vasukrapatnīndrāgamana-kāṅkṣiṇī..). Even in his opinion no opposition is called for here, though he probably misses the significance of 'ari', equating it with 'arya' and giving to it the interpretation 'īśvarah' (lord, implying the other gods - sarva eva devagaṇā ājagāma).<sup>(i)</sup>

Dumézil aptly remarks that it is highly improbable that a stranger having no status should come to a feast which is specially intended for one's own father-in-law.<sup>(ii)</sup> Nevertheless, he also fails to see the obvious connection here between 'ari' and 'śvasura'. There is hardly anything in this verse to suggest that 'viśvo hy anyo ariḥ' refers to 'tout le reste de la communauté aryenne'. On the other hand it is clear that among the 'ari's (i.e. among those who belong to the exogamous group into which she is married) Indra being her father-in-law is her closest relative. There is no sense in thinking 'anyo' to mean something other than (indra-vyatiriktah' (as Sāyana reads it). The first part of the verse therefore should be translated as: 'All the others (comprising) the 'ari' (exogamous group) have

(i) Cf. Yāska, V.2.2.

(ii) Op.cit 119.

come, only my own father-in-law has not come'. The second part of the verse is not relevant for the study of our problem.

Another significant verse is R.V.IX.79.3: 'uta svasyā arātyā arir hi sa, utānyasyā arātyā vrko hi sah; dhanvan na trṣṇā sam arīta tām abhi, soma jahī pavamāna durādhyah'. (1)

The meaning of this verse has long been a matter of controversy, and there is hardly any consensus of opinion regarding the conception of 'arāti' specially when it occurs side by side with 'ari'. (ii) At the utmost one can say that a type of enmity or some form of hostile relationship is inevitably associated with 'arāti'. The above verse, however is more specific than the others mentioning simply 'aryah arātiḥ', since it also mentions 'sva' (own) and 'anya' (connected with others) together with 'arāti' and 'ari'. Here again Thieme has taken pains to show that 'svasyā arātyā' and 'anyasyā arātyā' should be combined together and understood more or less as an 'emphatic elaboration' (emphatische Ausfuehrung) of such an expression as 'visvasya arātyāḥ' (with reference to the 'arāti's of all). (iii) This hypothesis is certainly untenable as the fact that 'sva' and 'anya' are diametrically opposed to each other cannot be

(1) I translate the verse:- 'Whether he be our own 'arāti' - i.e. he is the 'ari' or whether he be the 'arāti' of an other - i.e. he is the wolf, may thirst overcome him completely as if in the desert. Conquer, O purifying Soma, the evil-doer.'

(ii) Thieme has elaborately dealt with these passages (D.F.45-47)

(iii) R.V.VIII.71.1.

denied, and to lose sight of it or deny it is to misinterpret the verse wholly. It is none the less true that both the assumptions of Geldner<sup>(i)</sup> and Dumézil<sup>(ii)</sup> are in no way justifiable. Neither has 'ari' anything to do here, with one's own clan or caste (eigenen G<sup>e</sup>ossenschaft oder Kaste), nor is it concerned in any way with 'L'ensemble des aryens ou l'aryen moyen' in this context. There is certainly no plausible ground to believe that the evil-doer if he belongs to the same clan or caste, or even claims similar ethnic origin, he should be designated as 'ari' while other such persons should be spoken of as 'wolves'. If however we consider 'ari' here also, to have the same significance as in the above verse, we can quite understand why it has been equated with 'one's own 'arāti', whereas the 'arāti' with whom ~~no~~ one claims<sup>no</sup> such kinship is designated as the 'wolf' which is perhaps the strongest term in the Rgveda for one causing harm to others.<sup>(iii)</sup>

Finally among the compounds formed with 'ari', 'aridhāyas' and 'aripra' can also be better explained, once we accept the above sense given to 'ari'. In R.V.I.126.5, alone 'aridhāyaso gāh' occurs, to which Thieme gives the interpretation 'providing refreshment for the stranger' (labung

(i) Ved. St. III. 91

(ii) Op. cit. 118.

(iii) 'vrkāyāraye jasuraye' In VI.13.5 seems a curious contradiction.

fuer den Fremdling habend). (i) It is not improbable that this verse being found in one of the Danaastutis of the ~~the Danaastutis~~ them the poet may have been reminded of the cows as marriage gifts. Naturally therefore (milked by the ari' (in other words milked by the bride-kinsmen) seems preferable to that of Thieme in this context.

With reference to 'aripra' to which usually the meaning 'stainless' (ohne Flecken) is given, Thieme points out in an ingenuous manner that the meaning 'presenting gifts to the stranger' can easily be derived if we construe it as being formed with 'ari' and 'pra' instead of 'a' and 'ripra'. (ii) If we accept this derivation (iii) it is interesting to note that in R.V.X.120.9 'svasāro' (sisters-- here however referring to rivers) are stated to be 'ariprā'. This at once brings to our mind the notion of marriage and in that case 'ariprā' would have to be translated as 'pleasing or fulfilling the wishes of the 'ari'. (iv)

(i) Op.cit.24.

(ii) Op.cit.22.

(iii) Neither the separating of 'a' and 'ripra' nor that of 'ari' and 'pra' is to be found in the Padapāṭha.

(iv) 'svasāro mātarihvarīr ariprā hinvanti ca śavasā vardhayanti ca.

From these textual evidences it seems highly probable that 'ari' could have the sociological sense that is proposed here, though it is not finally proved.



CHAPTER II.

'Clan-exogamy in the Brāhmanas'.

In the Brāhmanas, which are primarily ritualistic treatises, our position with regard to the question of clan-exogamy is very much similar to that in the Samhitās. The ambivalent nature of 'ari' is, as has been stated above, totally lost here and there is hardly any direct reference to the nature of the clan-structure of those days. The words 'jana' and 'jāmi', however, the conception of which is rather vague in the Samhitās attain a more positive signification in these texts in certain contexts. They present an interesting study inasmuch as their special employment in these texts helps us materially in providing evidence pointing to a continuity in the practice of exogamy among clans even in the Brāhmaṇa period. It is clear as will be seen from the following analysis of these two words, that the former replaces the Rgvedic 'ari' and the latter presents the antithesis. In this connection it has been found necessary to review some of the relevant occurrences of 'jana' and 'jāmi' in the Samhitās, as they prepare the ground for a precise connotation being given to them in the Brāhmanas.

(a)

'JANA'

'Jana' in the Samhitas is usually understood by modern scholars to refer to the 'tribe', 'race' or 'clan'. It cannot be denied that such a generic sense alone can be attached to it in the Rgveda. With regard to its derivative 'janya', however, it has become increasingly obvious that a meaning more specific than 'one belonging to a tribe, race or clan' is necessary. Our analysis may therefore reasonably begin with a review of such verses in the Rgveda in which 'janya' appears.

In R.V.II.6.7. and II.39.1 'janya' occurs side by side with 'dūta'. 'Dūto janyeva mitryah' in the former is explained by Sāyana as 'janebhyo hito mitryo viseseṇa mitrebhyo hito dūta iva; so yathā prajānām cittavṛttijñānāya rājñā preritas tāsām mano jānāti tadvat...'. 'Dūteva havyā janyā purutrā' in the latter is interpreted by him, taking 'janya' as a locative form, as 'janapaḍeṣu dūteva rājñā preṣitau dūtāviva purutrā bahu-bhiḥ puruṣair hav-yāhvātavyau. (ii) Janyāt in VI.55.5 (pāt patirjanyād amhaso no mitro mitriyāt) is according to him 'from that (evil) related to men' (janasambandhāt pāpāt). 'Janyāsa' in IX.49.2

(i) 'Friendly towards 'jana's - friendly-well-inclined particularly towards friends like a messenger - i.e. as the messenger sent by the king to know the reactions of the subjects, gets acquainted with them; so also.....'

(ii) "like messengers sent by the king to foreign settlements, fit to be summoned by many people".

(*tayā pavasva dhārayā yayā gāva ihāgaman janyāsa upa no  
 ṛham*) is rather significantly taken by him to mean 'be-  
 longing to rival settlements. Geldner on the other hand  
 translates (a) 'janya' in II.6.7. and II.39.1 as 'mat-  
 rimonial go-between (Brautwerber) <sup>(i)</sup> ; (b) 'janyāt' in  
 IV.55.5 as stranger (Fremde) <sup>(ii)</sup> and (c) 'janyāsa' as 'other  
 people' (anderer Leute) <sup>(iii)</sup>. Grassman suggests 'community'  
 (Gemeinde) or 'belonging to the community' (der Gemeinde  
 angehörig) for most of the verses in which 'janya' occurs,  
 excepting IX.49.2 and IV.38.6 where agreeing with Geldner  
 he maintains 'belonging to the foreign people' (fremden  
 Leuten angehörig) and 'bride's-man (Brautführer) res-  
 pectively. <sup>(iv)</sup>

That Sāyana is obviously wrong in thinking of the  
 'royal messenger' in connection with the first two verses,  
 is apparent from the context. In the first instance 'Agni'  
 is distinctly stated as being the intermediary between the  
 two races <sup>(v)</sup> (*antar hy agna īyase vidvān janmohayā kave*),  
 and in the latter there is nothing to indicate that the  
 comparison between the two Aśvins and Dūtas is restricted

(1) Der RV. 256 & 295.

(ii) Ibid - 439

(iii) Der RV. H.D.S.

(iv) W.Z.R. 477

(v) Possibly of 'gods and men' - Cf. Geldner - Der RV. 256.N.1.

to the royal emissaries sent to distant lands. With regard to the third verse, it is clear that the commentator has missed the distinction between 'janyād' and 'mitriyāt'. With reference to the last verse his interpretation seems more reasonable, although he fails to arrive at the logical conclusion.

It is therefore more natural to accept Geldner's assumption that the messenger here has to be thought of in the context of matrimony. The point of emphasis lies however in the fact that the 'dūta' belongs particularly to the 'jana' and is friendly (mitryah) in the sense that, through him, friendly relationship is established between two groups by marriage. That these two groups are exogamous is easily inferred from the next two verses, where the habitual hostility and a feeling of strangeness between them is plainly indicated. It is quite conceivable that the poet invokes Mitra for liberation against oppression caused by one belonging to his own clan (mitriyāt), and Varuna for protection against that inflicted by one belonging to a foreign clan with which he has matrimonial connections. Similarly the cows belonging to the 'janya's may aptly be considered as 'bridal gifts' and accordingly Soma is called

(i) Unfortunately Geldner has not noted this visible difference between 'janyād amhasah' and 'mitriyāt amhasah'.

(ii) According to Sāyana.

(iii) One is reminded here of 'svasyā arātyā arir hi ṣa'  
(See Chap. I)

upon to purify himself in the stream that brings them. (1)  
 Thus even in the Rgveda 'janya' seems to convey the idea  
 of 'one belonging to an alien group, (presumably exogamous)',

'Janya' in the Atharvaveda (ii) is rightly understood by  
 the Authors of the Vedic Index (iii) to convey the sense of  
 'bridesmen', and here also the idea of a foreign or alien  
 group is involved.

The Brāhmana portions of the Taittirīya, Kāthaka and  
 Maitrāyaṇī Samhitas of the Black Yajurveda, are generally  
 accepted, with few exceptions to be earlier than the main  
 bulk of the Brāhmanas. Consequently, the relevant passages  
 in these may be studied prior to our investigation in the  
 main Brāhmanas.

In M.S.P.4.9, we find the mantras "Devān janam āgan  
 yajñāsya tato mā yajñasy āsīr āgacchatu; Pitṛn janam  
 āgan", etc., ~~and~~ explained thus: "Devān janam āgan yajña  
 iti skannam abhimantrayeta, janam vā etad yajñāsya gacchati  
 yatskandati, jano hiyam asmaḍ adhi, yajñāsya vā etaj janam  
 gatasy āsīsam avārundhe..." In K.S.32.6 we have similarly:  
 "Devān janam āgan yajña iti janam vā etad yajñāsya  
 yat skandati". 'Janam', according to the authors of the  
 Vedische Studien has here the sense of either 'foreign  
 People' or foreign land ("zu fremden Volke gehen", "In  
 die Fremde reisen"), (iv) Caland also accepts this view in

(1) Cf. 'ari-śhayaṣo gāh' in the Rgveda (see Chap. I)  
 (ii) XI.10,1;2;XIII.7,25;XX.89,6.  
 (iii) Vol I.  
 (iv) Part II.334.

his translation of the Pancavimsa Brāhmaṇa. Here the Kāthaka passage which is simpler and more direct, implies that whatever perishes during the sacrificial performance goes away from the sacrificer, possibly outside his clan.

In the Taittiriya, we come across 'janya' in a more significant context. The passage in question is "Kāmukā enam striyo bhavanti ya evam vedātho ya evam vidvān api janyesu bhavati tebhya eva dadaty uta yaś bahutayā bhavanti". (T.S.6.1.6.6.), <sup>here is</sup> The context of the reclaiming of the Goddess Vāk, by the Devas from the Gandharvas with the aid of the Vedic mantras. Sāyana thinks of 'janya's here as 'some relatives of the bridegroom, who are engaged in finding out a suitable bride for him', "varasya snigdā varārtham kanyām anveṣṭum pravṛttā bāndhavā janyāḥ". In other words he construes 'janya' in the sense of 'match-makers' among those who are usually related to the bridegroom, but explaining further, he connects it (janya) with the groom himself, or the group to which he belongs (Tādrśānām janyānām dvau vargau Tatraikasmin varge yathokta-vedana-rahita aneka-guṇān-taropetā bahavo varā yadyapi santi tathāpi tam vargam upekṣya yesu janyesu eko'pyevam vidvān varo bhavati tebhya eva janyobhyaḥ kanyām tat pitaro dadati). (1) It is rather peculiar that Sāyana unnecessarily thinks of two imaginary groups of 'janya's when the passage could be explained without using such a device.

(1) 'Among such 'janya's there are two groups: though in one of them there are many grooms (to be) who have other qualities, but know not what has been spoken of here, yet the parents give away their daughter to those 'janya's among whom there is but one who knows thus'.

Keith too, in his translation of the Taittirīya, holds the view that 'janyesu' here refers collectively to the family of the grooms. It would probably be better, however, to look upon 'janya' here as 'a more generic term for the exogamous group into which one marries, as no such specific meaning as Keith proposes can be given to it in the Brāhmanas, though in this passage it fits in with the context.

I translate it therefore as: 'the women become attached to him who knows thus; now, one who knows thus gains superiority <sup>(i)</sup> over the 'janya's (those belonging to the marriagable exogamous group) to him and people like him they give in marriage, even though there are a large number of (such exogamous clans).'

Coming to the main Brāhmanas it may be stated ab initio, that 'jana' and 'janya' are used in this special sense mainly in the Pañcaviṃśa, Jaiminiya, Taittirīya, Śadvimśa and the Śatapatha.

The Pañcaviṃśa perhaps contains the earliest reference to 'jana' and 'janya' in this particular sense. It is in the context of the Visvājīta rite among the Ekāhas, or one-day sacrifices, that the significant term has been used which has later lead to a lot of difference of opinion among the Sutrakāras. The Visvājīta is one of the most peculiar ekāhas,

(Ref) →

(i) 'Apī' with 'bhū' makes better sense as 'gains superiority over'.

where injunctions have been laid down with reference to the sacrificer (yajamāna) as to how he should spend the twelve days symbolic of the Dvādasāha, which is the Prakṛti (model sacrifice) of which the Vikṛti (sub-ordinate) is the Viśvajit. The injunctions are laid down on the basis of a three-fold division of these twelve days.

In the Pañcaviṃśa XVI.6., it is laid down that the performer of the Viśvajit rite has to stay in the wilderness for the first three days or nights, among the Niśādas, for the second three days or nights, amidst the 'jana's for the next three days or nights, and the last three days or nights with the 'samāna-janas'. Sāyana with his perfect knowledge of the Sūtras, comments: Vivāhayo yo samānagotro brāhmaṇo janah yadvā Rājanyabandhus tasya gr̥he tadīyamannaṃ bhūñjāneḥ<sup>(i)</sup> on the P.B. passage 'Jane tisro vasati janyan tābhīr annādyam avārundhe' XVI.6.8; and 'samāna-gotro janah samānajanah yadvā brāhmanamātram tasya gr̥he tadīyamannaṃ bhūñjānas tisro rātrīrvaset',<sup>(ii)</sup> on 'Samānajanane tisrah samānajanayan tābhīh' XVI.6.9. He is obviously quoting here verbatim from Lāṭyayana Śrauta Sūtra; where the opinions of Sāṅḍilya and Dhān-añ-jayya on 'jana' and 'samānajana' are mentioned, which shall be treated later on. He himself, admits his borrowing from the Sūtra-kāra (jane tisro vasatītyādivākya-dvayam rājanyabandhunā brāhmanah samānajana iti śaṅḍilya ityādina sūtrakārena bahuchā

(i) The Brahman marriagable and not of the same Gotra or Ksatriya eating his food in his place.

(ii) 'one of the same' gotra' - he should spend three nights eating his food at his place'.



vyākya<sup>h</sup>tam). Caland, on the other hand, translates it as 'Among a foreign people he dwells (the) three next days. By these he obtains the food of the foreign people; amongst his own people (he dwells the) three (last days of the twelve-day period). By these he obtains the food of his own people'. This view is accepted by most of the Vedic scholars. (1)

It is apparent that the injunctions laid down here refer to the residence of the sacrificer, outside his tribe and clan. For the first six days or nights, he stays in the wilderness, and among the Niṣādas (wild tribes), and hence is separated from his tribe. In the next six days or nights, he gradually comes closer to his own clan. The 'jana's can be thought of here only as 'stranger's to the performer, in the sense that they belong to a different clan, or social group. The Samānajanas on the other hand, are obviously closer to him than the 'jana's, and as such may represent those who are either closely connected with the performer, or belong to a clan or social group similar to that, with which he

(1) Ved. St. II.334. Ind. St. X.16; Rit.Lit.139 etc.

is associated. That this is the reasonable interpretation here will be clear later on from the analysis of the more specific injunctions appearing in the Jaiminīya in the same context. The 'sūtra' explanations, cited by the commentators cannot, however, be accepted in this context, as they represent a later stage when 'gotra' groupings were being gradually finalized.

In P.B.XVII.10.10., 'jana' again appears in the above sense; (Yad vai Rājasūyen abhiścicyate tat svargam lokam ārohati; sa yad imam lokam nopāvarohed ati janam vā gacched udvā mādyet..) in the context of the Rājasūya, and Śāyana interpreting it as 'svakīya-bandhuvargam' (one's own kith and kin), misses entirely its significance. Caland prefers 'ati-jana' to Śāyana's reading 'ati-gacchet', and translates: 'he would either depart to a (region) which lies beyond (all) human beings'. Neither this emendation nor the translation/ seems reasonable. Here the alternative, 'behaves like a mad man' (udvā mādyet) shows that 'ati janam vā gacchet' refers to an act which is far from being considered to be normal, and what could be more unnatural than 'going beyond the 'jana's' (i.e. not taking into consideration the 'jana's) in matters connected with matrimony.

In P.B.6.10.12 of 'jana' does probably have the sense of 'foreign settlement' ('Pavasvendo vṛṣā sūta iti pratipadam kuryād yāh kāmāyēt jāne me rdhyeteti'), and Sāyana too explains it as 'janapade' (tribal settlement) which is the nearest approximation to 'foreign land', as the idea of 'janapada' is rather vague in the Brāhmanas. The idea of material prosperity of the 'jana's, however, may not be improbable.

Thus in the P.B. which certainly dates to quite an early period among the Brahmanas ~~the~~ 'jana' ~~perhaps~~ has the sense of 'foreigners or foreign people', in addition to the sociological meaning suggested above.

Next in importance, comes the Jaiminīya which however throws further light on the meaning of 'jana'. In the context of the Visvajit, the Jaiminīya repeats the injunctions laid down in the Pañcavimsā, and maintains that the sacrificer has to stay with the 'Janas' and 'Sajanas' for the last six nights. It further goes on to explain what is meant by the phrase "staying with the 'Janas and Sajanas'". The passage runs: "Atha yā jāne vased vai śyē vā ha tā bhrātrvye vā vased; eṣa ha vai brāhmanasya jāno yad vaiśyo vā bhrātrvyo vā.....atha yāh sajanē vased rājani haiva tā vased, etad dha vai sajanam yad rājā". Galand translates thus: 'Die (drei Tage) die, er unter

Fremden Leuten zubringt, soll er bei einem Vaiśya, oder bei einem Nebenbuhler zubringen. Der Vaiśya oder der Nebenbuhler ist fuer einem Brahmanen die Fremde;....

Die (drei) die er unter Verwandten zubringt, soll er bei einem Kṣatriya zubringen. Der Kṣatriya ist ja die Anverwandschaft des Brahmanen, <sup>(1)</sup> by which he implies that the Vaiśya is a stranger to the Brahman, while the Kṣatriya is related to him. It is true that the passage is of remarkable importance, as it clearly defines the 'jana's and 'sajana's.

It, however, presents a difficulty in stating the 'jana' of the Brahman to be either a Vaiśya or his rival; and his 'sajana' as being a Kṣatriya. It is almost certain that 'sajana' here is the same as 'samāna-jana' in the Pañca-Viṅśā. The equation of 'jana' with 'rival' is understandable, due to hostile relationship being inevitable between exogamous groups. It must also be pointed out that there is no ground here to think of the Vaiśya as the rival of the Brahman, as it is a case merely of two alternatives being stated. In other words the sacrificer stays either with the 'Vaiśya' or with the 'bhrātrvya' both being

(1) D.Jb. in A.179-80.

'jana's. The only way in which the 'Vaiśya' <sup>(i)</sup> may be thought of as the 'jana' of the Brahman is that he comes from a different social group, and is therefore a stranger. The ksatriya, on the other hand, comes from a social group similar to that of the Brahman, and is closer to him than the Vaiśya. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that in most of the Brāhmaṇas, the interdependence <sup>(ii)</sup> between the two upper classes is clearly stated. The question whether 'jana' can be considered here as 'asagotra' and 'sajana' as 'sagotra' is irrelevant <sup>with regard to</sup> as the Vaiśya, and the Ksatriya <sup>who</sup> could equally be a 'sagotra' or 'asagotra' of the Brahman. Thus in this passage, 'jana' appears in the sense of the 'stranger' as well as the 'member of the exogamous group'.

In the Taittirīya we come across another highly interesting passage in which 'janya' is used in an unusual manner. In the context of the Rājasūya, with special reference to the Abhiṣeka (sprinkling) ceremony performed by the Adhvaryu, it is stated in I.7.8.7., that the Adhvaryu performs the Abhiṣeka with the branch of the Parnamaya for the Brahman to impart spiritual lustre to the performer, with that of the Uḍumbara, ~~for~~ the Rājanya, to endow him with strength, with that of the Asvattha, ~~for~~ the Vaiśya, to add

(i) of. Kauṣītaki. xxv. 15  
(ii) See Chap. IV.

to his material prosperity and with that of the Nyagrodha ~~for~~ the 'janya', so that he may win friends (Parnamayen ādhvaryur abhiṣiñcati. Brahma-varcasamevāsmiṁ tviṣiṁ dadhāti Āśvatthena vaiśyah viśāṁ evāsmiṁ puṣṭiṁ dadhāti; Nāiyagrodhena janyaḥ mitrāṇyev āsmai kalpate). 'Janya' here is rather curiously placed. The commentator Bhaṭṭabhāskaramiśra vainly tries to explain it as referring to either 'royal adversary' or 'friendly people' (prati-rāja ity eke mitrajana ity anye). According to the context we should expect here the term 'śūdra' instead of 'janya' but that is not sufficient ground for maintaining that a 'śūdra' is meant here, though the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra perhaps does conform to this view as shall be seen later on. The connection of the Śūdra with the bringing in of friends cannot be understood. Probably the sense of 'janya' here is the same as in R.V.II.6.7. - 'dūte janyevo mitryah'.

The 'janya' then being the member of the exogamous group to which the kṣatriya performer does not belong, would naturally be placed last in the list. 'Mitrāṇi' again would also refer to contractual friends; in other words the bride-kinsmen who would eventually maintain amicable relationship with the groom who in this context is the performer himself.

The Śadvimśa also has 'jana' and 'janya' in precisely the same sense as in the Pañcaviṁśa. In 1.7.3 in the context of the eating of the remains of the Soma gruel (saum-

yātisēsa-prāsana) it is mentioned that the food not taken by one who is capable of eating it, goes from him to 'jana'. In that it goes to the Pitr̥s (ancestors) he eats, through the consuming of the 'janya' food. (yo' lam annādyāya sann athānnam nādyād dakṣiṇārdham sadaso gatvā etam saumyāt-  
 -śesam prāśniyāḥ, janam vā etasmād annādyam krāmati yo' lam annādyāya sann athānnam nātti jano'smāt pitaro janyenaiv ānnañnam atty annādo bhavati (1.7.3). Sayana takes 'jana' in the sense of men, and interprets: "The Udgātā should eat the remains of the Soma gruel offered. By eating this the food reaches that person who does not consume it, though he is capable of it. Moreover, the Manes are also pleased by this consumption of food. Thus by eating food conducive to people, he partakes as if of the same gruel, i.e. he eats inasmuch as he is capable to eat. He enjoys food not only here, but also in the other world". (1) This explanation does not suit the context. The phrase 'Jano'smātpitara' should be construed separately, and the consuming of 'janya' food meant for the manes (pitr̥) should be considered as leading to the nourishment of the yajamāna (sacrificer). Kurt Klemm

(1) "etam saumyātisēsam hutasiṣṭam saumyam carum prāśniyād udgāta; tasmād bhakṣanād annādyam tam janam krāmati prāpnoti yo jano'nnādyāya samarthah sana api annam nātti kiñca asmāt prāśanāt pitaro 'pi tṛptā bhavanti śesah; ato janyena janahitenānna bhakṣanāt saumyen-  
 aivānnam attī; adanād edanāsamar-thyenaivānnam attī-  
 yarthah; na kevalam iha loke kim tu paratrāpyannādo bhavati".

in his German translation adheres to the view of Sāyana, but Nelsing's note on 'jana' reads differently. ('jana' betekent hier de vreemde mensen... De zin van de passage van janam af is waarschijnlijk: "naar den vreemde voorwaar, gaat 't voedsel van hem weg; die ofschoon hij in staat is voedsel te gebruiken, toch geen voedsel eet; 't vreemde zijn voor hem (?) de Manes. Juist door de voor die vreemden bestemde spijs, eet hij spijs, wordt hij spijseter"). (i) The Manes are spoken of as 'Jana' or strangers to the Yajamāna, being inhabitants of the other world and this is perhaps the basis of 'janya' food being considered suitable for the Pitrs and not recommended for the Brahman in some of the Brāhmana texts. It is in this strain that Hauer in his book on the Vrātya (Der Vratya) translates 'janam annam adanti' in P.B.17.1.9, as 'eating the food of families suitable for the Manes' as <sup>different from</sup> the food for the Brahman (Brahmādyam). It is significant that such a conception of the stranger is not unknown to the Brāhmanas, though it is

(i) "'Jana' means here the foreign people... The meaning of the passage starting with 'jana' is probably - to the stranger indeed the food goes away from him; although he is capable of taking food, yet does not consume it - The stranger is for him (?) the Manes. Through that food destined for the stranger, he eats food, he becomes a food-consumer."

(ii) Geschlechterspeise - p.69. of. Aitareya Br. 1.3.10.6.  
See Chap.V.



(1)  
totally absent in the R̥gveda.

Lastly coming to the Śatapatha, we find still some passages in which undoubtedly 'jana' occurs in both the senses stated above.

In XIV.4.1.11, 'Tasmāna janamīyān nāntam īyāt 'janam' certainly stands for foreign lands. Śāyana too, comments on it as 'Antyajanaṃ' V.S.II.p.334). In V.3.3.12, "Mahate jānarājyāyeti mahate janānām rājyāya ity evaitad āhendrasya.." the overlordship of the 'janas' does not only refer to people at large but also specifically to people inhabiting foreign lands. Śāyana understands by it, a veritable paramountcy (janasambandhī yadrājyam tatra sāgaraparyanta-bhūmi-visayatvāt mahat-sārvabhaumatvāya). In 14.9.2.5. 'Yō ha vā āyatanam veda āyatanam svānām bhavaty āyatanam janānām' the distinction between 'sva' (own clan) and 'jana's without doubt lies between members of one's own clan and members of the other exogamous clans into which one marries.

Thus it is clear from the above passages that side by side with the general sense of the stranger and foreign lands the special meaning of the marriageable exogamous group (which is the same as given to the R̥gvedic 'ari') was also given to 'jana' by the authors or redactors of the Brāhmaṇa texts. It is all the more interesting to

(1) See Chap. I.

note that even in the period of the Sūtras this importance of 'jana' was not yet lost, as will be evident from the following brief review of some passages in the main Śrauta Sūtras though this conception of exogamous grouping was gradually being more standardized with the emergence of a full-fledged 'gotra' system.

Among the <sup>main</sup> Śrauta Sūtras the ~~main ones~~ which seem to carry reminiscences of the older conception of 'Jana' mention may be made of Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Iātyāyana and Kātyāyana.

Commenting on IX.11.4. in Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra in the context of Prāyasācittas - 'Etam jane pramītasya' the commentator observes significantly - 'Jane pramītasya desāntare mṛtasya' by which he implies that 'Jana' here must refer to 'foreign country'.

In Baudhāyana IXX.9. in the context of the Rājasūya the <sup>use of ka</sup> term 'janyaya' is akin to <sup>ka- in</sup> the Taittirīya version - (naiyagrodhena janyāya prāyacchat) though the vivarana of Bhāvasvāmin commenting on it, equates it with Śūdra. (1)

The most conspicuous passage is, however, that found in the Iātyāyana Śr. Sūtra. In Iāt. Śr.S.8.2.10-12 the opinions of ancient commentators are cited with reference (1) Cf. Caland's edition - 61.

to the terms 'jana' and (sajana) (or) 'samāna jana' in the context of the Visvājī, 'Jane tisro vasatīti Rājanyabandhur jano brāhmanah samāna jana iti śāṅḍilyah; vivāhyo janah sagotraḥ samanajana iti Dhānañjāyāḥ; Prativeso janapadah jano yatra vaset sa samānajana iti śāṅḍilyāyah-  
(i) ah). The views here cited of these three ancient commentators, show the gradual change in the conception of 'jana'.

It is interesting to note that Śāṅḍilya proposes an equation different from that found in the Jaiminiyat, while Dhānañjāyā is referring to a more modern opinion and Śāṅḍilyāyana does not take notice of the sociological significance of 'jana'.

Kātyāyana too, equates Vaisya with 'Jana' and Rājanya with 'samānajana' in the context of the Visvājī - "Vaisyo jano Rājanyah samānanah śruteḥ" reminiscent of the Jaiminiya, (II.183-184) without further comment.

Lastly the Anupadam 4.12 also states 'lokavad vaisyo jano, rājanyah samānanah' which confirms the Jaiminiya version.

(i) 'According to Śāṅḍilya the Ksatriya is 'jana', the Brāhmana 'samāna-jana', according to Dhānañjāyā, 'one worthy of marriage is 'jana' and 'one having the same Gotra' i.e. samānajana. With Śāṅḍilyāyana a neighbouring principality is 'jana'.

(b)

'JĀMI'

The search for the basic conception of 'jāmi' in the Brāhmanas has long been a matter of vital importance <sup>to scholars</sup> and has also led to a lot of difference in interpretation among the ancient commentators. To most of the modern scholars it has not been very clear what the word signifies outside the sphere of rituals, though a type of relationship seems to them to be inevitably associated with it.

Needless to say ~~the term~~ <sup>it</sup> conveys some type of kinship even as early as the age of the R̥gveda, and perhaps the emphasis lies on blood-connection in passages where it occurs as accompanied with (svasā) sister, <sup>(1)</sup> but in the Mantras where it signifies simply relationship or in those where by itself it appears to convey the sense of 'sister', it is not probably the blood-relationship which is so much stressed (as maintained by Keith and Macdonell and Delbrueck), as the difference in social grouping which is seen from the following analysis of Yāska, who, as is known, dates back to quite an early period and as such ~~is~~ reliable.

In Nirukta II.6 and IV.20 Yāska attempts an etymological analysis of 'jāmayaḥ' occurring in the following mantras of the R̥gveda: (1) "Na jāmaye tāvo riktham āraik

(1) Cf. V.I.1.284, W.2.R.484, D.I.V.463.  
-Renou-J.A.1939-209.

oakāra garbham sanitur nichānam, yadi mātaro janayanta  
 bahum anyah kartā sukrate-ranya rndhan" (3.31.2.) and  
 (2) Ā ghā tā gacchān uttarā yugāni yatra jāmayah kṛvann  
 ajami. Upa barbhī vṛṣabhāya bāhumanyam icchaeva subhage  
 patim mat. (1)

(10.10.10) Thus he says "not to 'jāmi' i.e.  
 sister - (as) the child (jā) is procreated in her by  
 others (or) from the root 'jam' meaning 'to go' (as)  
 she nearly goes out (from her family)" (na jāmaye bhag-  
 inyai jāmir anye 'syām janayanti jān apatyam jamaterva  
 syād gati-karmano nirgamana-prāyā bhavati), (11)

context of the first mantra. Explaining the second one  
 he says: "jāmi' is the designation, for superfluity or =  
 the dull-headed or = one belonging to a dissimilar (social)  
 group" (jāmy atirekanāma, bālīśeaya vāsamāna-jātiyasya).  
 From the first analysis it is clear that according to him  
 'jāmi' should either be derived from 'jan' - 'to create or  
 procreate' or 'jam - 'to go'. Based on this derivation it  
 would refer to 'sister' as others (husbands belonging to  
 different families) procreate in her' or because 'she  
 usually goes out of her family (to the family of her hus-  
 band). From the next interpretation it is deducible that  
 in his opinion 'jāmi' is either connected with redundancy,

(1) Cf. Av. 18.1.11.

(11) Cf. Yadvā jamati gacchati svotpatti-sthānād  
 anyatreti - Śāyana on R.V. 1.123.5.

stupidity or social grouping. It is clear, therefore, that Yāska does not attach much importance to blood-relationship, and even in the sense of 'sister' the etymological derivation refers to the conjugal relationship between the husband and wife, leading to the abandonment of her natural connection with her own family, rather than the blood-kinship existing between brother and sister. What Yāska precisely means by 'Asamāna-jātiya' is not clear and Durga's comment (1) on it is not very illuminating. One would naturally expect 'samāna-jātiya' in this context. It must be noted here that the word 'jāmi' has all the three forms (mas. fem. and Neuter) even in the Rgveda, the first two having little difference in meaning and the last one being mostly used to convey 'relationship' in general.

Sāyana, on the other hand has even a third way of deriving 'jāmi' from 'jam' to eat (Cf. jamā adane) and understands by it 'relations eating food together', (jāmantī sahaikasmīn pātre dantīti jāmayo bāndhavāḥ) but this conjecture seems rather far-fetched.

There is however one instance in the Rgveda in which

(1) Cf. Durga - 'puruṣasya bhaginy-ākhyo bhrātā' ('the brother of a man, known as sister')<sup>2</sup> probably implies that a difference in sex is meant and he uses 'bhrātā' in the sense of 'related by blood'.

'jāmi' in all possibility conveys a more specific sense.

In III.54.9 - 'sanā purānam adhyemy ārān; mahah pitur

janitur jāmi tan nah' <sup>(i)</sup> clearly indicates that 'jāmi' refers to a type <sup>of</sup> kinship based on common descent.

(Of. Sāyana: 'sarvam ekasmā; jātam' <sup>(ii)</sup> ).

In the White Yajurveda 'jāmi' has the same sense as in the Rgveda since the mantras are the same. In the Vājasaneyi Samhitā, the contrast between 'jāmi' and 'ajāmi' is found in XIII.13: 'Ava sthirā tanuhi yātujūnām jāmin ajāmin pramrñāhi śatrūn' <sup>(iii)</sup> which Mahīdhara explains thus: 'the words 'jāmi' and 'ajāmi' express 'repetition' and 'non-repetition'; doing it 'jāmi' - i.e. repeatedly and 'ajāmi' - i.e. 'without repetition', beaten repeatedly or not beaten' ('jāmyajāmi-sabdau punaruktā-punaruktavacanau jāmin ajāmin punaruktam apunaruktam krtvā punah punastād-itam atāditam vā). That Mahīdhara is influenced by the ritualistic interpretation of 'jāmi' is clear, as this is the usual sense given to it in the Brāhmanas. It should, however, be understood here, as in the Rgveda (IV.4.5, X.116.5) in the sense of 'related' and contrasted with 'ajāmi' conveying the idea of 'not related'. This relation does not necessarily emphasize blood-connection as under-

(i) "From afar I recognize the primeval one. That is the relationship between us (in so far as) we are descended from the great father, the procreator."

(ii) It is rather peculiar that Sāyana interprets (pituh' as 'pālayitryāh', thinking it to be a feminine form.

(iii) Cf. T.S.1.2.14.2; M.S.2.7.15; KS.16.15.

stood by Grassman (blutsverwandt, verwandt und subst. Verwandter, gewoenlich mit dem Gegensatze 'ajāmi').

In the Kāthaka, Maitrāyaṇi and Taittirīya recensions of the Black Yajurveda, we do not come across any other conception of 'jāmi'.

In the Atharvaveda, we do find some passages which throw some light on the significance of 'jāmi', apart from its ritualistic importance in the sense of 'redundancy' or 'addition'.

A.V.I.17.1. mentions 'jāmayah' with 'abhrāta-rā' (brotherless), though in the Paippalāda recension we have yoṣāh (woman) instead, and 'jāmayah' in place of 'yoṣito' in the second part of the verse. <sup>(i)</sup> Perhaps the connection of 'jāmayah' with 'abhrātaraḥ' is more appropriate as 'jāmi' apprehended in its specific sense renders the verse more intelligible, than the common appellative 'yoṣit' for the female. The Mantra thus accepted runs:

'amūr yā yanti yoṣito hirā (var. sarvā) lohita-vāsasah  
abhrātara iva jāmayas tiṅthantu hatavarcasah.'

Delbrueck translates this as: "Those women, the others, who are dressed in red, should keep silent, robbed of their strength, as sisters without brothers". (jene Weiber, die Andern, die da rothgekleidet sind, sollen still stehen, ihrer Kraft beraubt, wie Schwestern ohne Brueder). <sup>(ii)</sup> That

(i) Cf. Nir. III, 4.

(ii) D. I. V. 463.



'jāmayah' apparently conveys the sense of 'sisters' is undeniable, though Sāyana unnecessarily extends the sense (striyah bhaginyādirupāḥ). The epithet 'abhrātara', however, which probably signifies in this context 'without brothers within the clan' leads us to a possible conjecture that the reference here might be to women belonging to a non-marriageable group. In that case the situation is natural that such women being confined to their own clan would owe their sustenance to their brothers within the clan, in the absence of whom they would be deprived of all claims to any social status. Yāska again, quoting the Mantra in the context of 'the brotherless theory' (abhrātmativāda) perhaps implies a similar situation.

In A.V.XVIII.1.4. the appearance of the neuter form 'jāmi' is significant. The verse is already seen in the Rgveda in the famous Yama-Yamī dialogue-hymn. (X.10.4). It has "gandharvo' psv apyā ca yoṣā sā nau nābhiḥ paramam jāmi tannau"<sup>(1)</sup>. There seems here to be a logical continuation of the idea already expressed in III.54.9 (quoted above) and as such 'jāmi' must be construed in the sense of 'kinship through common descent'. The context here is relevant as it refers to the non-practicability of marital-relationship between close relations. Sāyana too, inter-

(1)The Gandharva (Āditya) in the firmament (acc. to Sāyana) and the woman (Saranyu the wife of Āditya) residing in the same (firmament); to her we owe our birth (literally navel) that is our closest relationship'.

pretends 'jāmiṃ' as 'bāndhavam' and adds that Yama suggests the impropriety of such an act, which is tantamount to approaching (for marriage) the unmarriedable <sup>(1)</sup> (woman)

In the principle Brāhmaṇas we find 'jāmi' ~~is~~ gradually brought into the sphere of rituals and means mostly "duplication", which is considered to be one of the errors in the actual performance of certain rituals. Still there are a few passages in some of the comparatively older Brāhmaṇa texts, wherein undoubtedly the word has a sociological significance.

Among these passages the notable ones are found in the Taittirīya and Jaiminīya respectively.

'Jāmyai' in the Taittirīya I.7.2.6 "Bahu vai rājanōy 'anṛtam karoti; upa jāmyai harate, jināti brāhmaṇam, vadaty anṛtam, anṛte khalu kriyamāna varuṇo grhṇāti", presents a knotty problem and has led to variance in interpretation among ancient exegetes, as will be clear from the following opinions cited by Bhaṭṭabhāskara Miśra in his commentary. He takes 'anṛtam' or 'untruth' as symbolic of evil, and explains the contempt for the Rājanya or warrior thus; 'ahite pranayam prayacchati i.e. 'takes to evil deeds' or 'falls in for something harmful'. He further says that "some understand 'jāmi' as referring to 'sister'" (Bhaginity eke). According to others it means 'loss of vitality, 'sloth', 'death' and the passage implies that 'the Rājanya with a view to kill someone, offers money (gifts) to one,

(1) 'āvayor agamyā-gamana-rūpatvāt kartum ayuktam tasmād eten na karomīty abhiprāyaḥ'.

with whom he intends to enter into alliance' (jādyam alasyam maranam; kañcit mārayitum kasmaicid abhisandhitsuḥ dhanam upaharati). He suggests another alternative referring to some who interpret it as 'the Rājanya sends money (gifts to some) thinking 'I could be indifferent for the present' (e.g. yadvā idānimudāsitavyam iti dhanam preṣayati). Still others say, according to him, that "'jāmi' refers to the 'wife' (jāyā), and that the dative is used here in the sense of the accusative (implying) that the Rājanya presents his wife to another or approaching another's wife carries her away and leaves someone (his wife)" (apara ūha jāmir jāyā karmani caturthī; bhāryām api kasmaicid upaharate, yadvā parasya bhāryām upetya apaharati, kiñca kṣipati). It is evident from these citations that Bhaṭṭabhāskara Miśra is not certain about the proper sense of 'jāmyai' in this context.

Sāyana however, is more positive as far as the rendering of 'jāmyai' in this passage is concerned. Thus commenting on Taittirīya Samhitā 1.8.3. he quotes the above passage and adds: "the Kṣatriya (warrior) does much that has no sanction of the Śāstras (ritual texts), or goes against them, like, carrying away (by force) the wife of some other one in order to make her his own; in other words approaching someone's house runs away with his wife". (bahu vai rājanyo rājanyah kṣatriyo bahuvīdham anṛtam aśāstriyam karoti

yathā jāmyai jāyāyai jāyātvaṃ sampādayitum upaharate; yasya kasyacit gṛham upetya striyaṃ harati).

A knowledge of the context here is absolutely essential to arrive at the precise connotation of 'jāmyai' used in a rather unusual manner. It is in the context of the Rājasūya that this passage occurs, and refers to the lauding of the presiding deity (Varuṇa) during the performance of the last of the six ritualistic duties concerned with single offerings; (cf. Sāyana, eka-haviṣke ṣaṣṭhe karmaṇi devatāṃ praśamsati). The earlier conception of Varuṇa as the upholder of Rta or satya (truth) is also maintained here, and the fear of being a victim to the mighty noose of Varuṇa is hinted at. The contempt is purposely shown towards a Rājanya or Kṣatriya as he is the performer of the Rājasūya.

Now the two other forms of misconduct with reference to the Rājanya are mentioned as the vanquishing of a Brahman, and the utterance of falsehood (brāhmaṇam jināti, anṛtaṃ vadati) which indicate that the phrase 'upa jāmyai harate' refers to some act of the Kṣatriya <sup>which was</sup> considered to be as heinous as the other <sup>two</sup> which we know for certain were looked upon by the Brahman with great contempt. It needs hardly mentioning that in spite of many passages attesting to the contrary, the supremacy of the priestly caste, was well challenged by the warrior class in the age of the Brāhmaṇas,

and speaking truth which was considered to be one of the essential preliminaries for those who intended to perform sacrifices, was hardly ever associated with those who gave themselves up to the use of violence and diplomacy.

Thus accepting that there is a statement here of some sinful practice of the Kṣatriya, it may be suggested that the dative of 'jāmi' here presents no difficulty and it is baseless to construe it in the sense of the accusative (Karmani caturthī) as understood by Bhaṭṭabhāskara. Further no importance can be attached to the use of 'hr' in the Ātmanepada (which sometimes conveys the sense 'to accept' with 'upa'), as such verbal particulars <sup>are</sup> are not <sup>important</sup> frequent in the Brāhmanas. The necessity for breaking 'upaharate' into 'upetya harate' (cf. Sāyana quoted above), consequently does not arise.

Sāyana's interpretation of 'jāmi' as 'jāyā' certainly goes against the evidence gathered from the Saṃhitās and may be voicing a much later tradition. Our analysis of the Vedic mantras has shown that 'jāmi' represents the 'woman belonging to the non-marriageable group', or 'kinship within the clan'. The 'jāyā' or wife on the other hand, comes from the exogamous group. It might be conjectured however, that 'jāmi' limited in the sense of 'sister' can at the same time become the 'jāyā' or wife of another, and this partial notion may have led to the later conception of 'jāmi' as

'jāyā'.

The same is true with the citations of Bhattabhaskara. None of them seem to clarify the sense of 'jāmi', further than that of the 'sister'. The distinction between 'jaya' and 'jāmi' is again unnoticed. 'Upa jāmyai harate' therefore has to be explained more reasonably as 'presents gifts to (i) 'jāmi'. Now, 'jāmi', if we have correctly analysed the Saṃhitā references, especially in its feminine form refers to the female within the clan and as such non-marriageable. It is therefore fairly reasonable to infer that the misconduct of the Kṣatriya here, has some connection with the violation of the rules of matrimony. Thus the interpretation that naturally comes to our mind is that the Kṣatriya makes a presentation of gifts to such women obviously with a view to enter into sexual communion with them and thus transgresses the rule of exogamy. In other words, these gifts are in fact love-gifts, the presentation of which in the act of wooing, has been noted as a common practice even among (ii) the primitive tribes. In an exogamous society even such illicit connections are thinkable only in the context of women belonging to separate clans. Consequently the Kṣatriya is doubly guilty of attempting to approach the

(i) The view of Monier Williams (Skt. Dic) that 'jāmi' is the name of a deity cannot be accepted, as it is a later conception.

(ii) I owe this remarkable suggestion to my supervisor Professor Brough.

unapproachable woman for marriage, and also presenting her lover/tokens for illicit purposes. It is apparent that such an act would be considered as an unpardonable sin by the Brahmans of those days strongly adhering to the exogamous system.

Again in the context of the Puruṣamedha, we come across another passage in the Taittirīya, where 'jāmi' is contrasted with 'kumārī' - (ā'sāyai jāmim pratīksāyai kumārīm - III.4.19.1). The understanding of this passage too, has been a matter of controversy among commentators. Sāyana curiously enough, interprets 'jāmi' in a sense which can hardly be deemed proper in this context. 'Jāmi', Sāyana interprets here as "any woman" who is going through her period of menopause, or who is incapable of rendering sexual satisfaction." (nivr̥ttarajaskām bhogāyogyām striyam). 'Jāmi' being mentioned among the Puruṣamedha victims, and especially before 'kumārī', provides the basis probably for Sāyana to think of the sexually incapable middle-aged female, but no such inference can plausibly be drawn from the passage as it stands. Bhaṭṭabhāskara on the other hand is more logical and quotes the views of others: (a) 'according to some it refers to a woman married (forcibly) by someone other than the one to whom she is given in marriage' (anyenodhā anyasmāi dattā); (b) "others maintain: a widow" (vidhave tyapare) (c) still others hold: 'one (woman) who enjoys "jāmitva" (?) deprived of (social) rights (yā nivr̥ttādhikārā jāmitvam bhajate); and lastly

married daughter (cf. ūhaduhite-ty apare). Among these, the first two opinions cited, are certainly based on later conceptions, as there is hardly any instance in the Brāhmanas of 'jāmi' conveying the sense of 'an abducted woman' or 'a widow', but the next two merit consideration. The idea of a married daughter, is perhaps based on an obvious contrast between <sup>and</sup> 'jāmi' with 'kumārī' but misses the significance of 'jāmi' as far as marriageable groups are concerned. Even in the Brāhmanas the social rights and privileges enjoyed by a daughter when married are those borrowed from her husband, and as such 'jāmi', according to this interpretation, would be identical with 'jāyā', a conception which, as has been pointed out above is contrary to what is basically conveyed by 'jāmi'. The third inference is rather vague, though more cogent if by 'adhikara' is meant matrimonial rights.

A sense of propriety between the deity related to 'Āsā' (hope) and that <sup>connected with</sup> 'Pratīkṣā' (expectation), and the two victims <sup>'jāmi'</sup> (and 'kumārī' respectively, seems inferable though not inevitable. The commentators explain 'Āsā' and 'Pratīkṣā' as referring to desiring an unobtainable object, and expecting the attainment of something obtainable respectively. - (āsāyai alabhya-vastu-visayatṛṣṇābhīmāninyai pratīkṣāyai labdhavyasya vastunā lābhapratīkṣā-ābhīmāninyai).

If we accept these derivations, it seems possible to understand the difference between 'jāmi' and 'kumārī' on the



basis of the distinction between these two deities. Thus 'jāmi', being the woman who belongs to the non-marriageable group would be hoping to acquire the unattainable, if she desired to be wedded into an exogamous clan. On the other hand, the maiden (kumārī) would naturally expect an exogamous marriage.

The rendering 'unmarried sister' is possible, but does not bring out the fundamental idea underlying 'jāmi'.

Another passage in the Taittirīya, in the context of Agnistoma, the mantras for expiation, necessary for the errors committed during the performance of the new and full-moon, sacrifices (darsa-pūrṇa-māsa) are cited <sup>in which</sup> 'jāmisamsa' is stated as an alternative for 'sajātasamsa' (sajātasamsā sād uta va jāmisamsāt, jyāyasaḥ samsād uta vā kaniyasaḥ III.7.12.2. - also M.S.IV.14.17). 'Jāmi' is taken by Sāyana here again to refer to 'wives' <sup>and</sup> whilst 'Sajāta' conveys <sup>to him</sup> the idea of relatives or friends. (samāna-janmano jñātayah samāna-vayaskāḥ sakhāyo vā sajātān, jāmayah jāyāḥ bhāryāḥ), but as we have held above this is a later interpretation of 'jāmi' and as such even in this passage ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> word should be taken to refer to a distinct social group. The connotation of Sajāta, as we shall see later on, cannot be limited to relatives claiming equal parentage. The only difference between the two is, probably, that while the former

belongs to a much wider group comprised of one's fellows, the latter is restricted to those with whom one cannot contract marriage.

Passing on to the Jaiminiya, we come across an interesting passage, where the use of 'jami' is revealing. In III.197 while explaining the origin of the Jarābedhīya melody, the legend of the dalliance of Gaurivīta with the daughter of the Asura Asita Dhāmya is narrated. In this connection it is stated that as a result of this illicit relation with Gaurivīta, the unmarried daughter of the Asuras became pregnant, and a son was born to her. But he was torn asunder and thrown away by the Asuras, who said: 'This forsooth is the fruit of a sister, it is an ogre that has been born there'. (1) ('bruvan; jānigarbho vā ayam; rakso vā idam ajanīti). Here it is perhaps the conceiving of a maiden through one not belonging to the exogamous group into which she would be eventually married. It is certainly not only the rivalry of Asita Dhāmya with the Gandharvas, but also the fact that this offspring is the result of an illicit relationship and the more so specially when it is between non-marriageable partners, that ~~that~~ leads the Asuras to disclaim the child and destroy it. The phrase 'rakso idam ajani' is indicative of their

(1) According to Caland's Trans. of the P.V. (Note 2 on XIV.5.29).

wrath. It is however, not suggested here that the above passage provides evidence for the non-acceptance by society of children whose parents were unmarried, but on the other hand it cannot be denied that using the significant word 'jāmi' it emphasizes the social contempt for such an illegitimate union. 'Jāmi-garbhā', compared with 'rakṣo' (ogre) shows how strongly the impropriety of such an occurrence was felt.

Another illuminating passage in the Jaminīya is probably I.300, which throws light on the meaning of the Neuter 'jāmi' and 'ajāmi'. In the context of the four melodies (saman) - (1) Svāra, (2) idhanvat, (3) Rksāna, (4) ailaṃ, it is stated that, 'Jāmi' is that which is contrary to sexual relationship and procreation, whilst 'ajāmi' is that which is in agreement with such conditions. To illustrate, the basis of this conjecture, the absurdity of perverted relationship between males and also females is brought out. (amithunam tad aprajananam yaḥ jāmi; yathā pumāṃso vā saha śayātām striyau va; kiṃ pumāṃsau saha śayānau prajānayetām; kiṃ striyau, tau ca mithunīkartāram no labheyātām; atho yad evājāmi tanmithunam tat prajananam). It is not, however, that merely a distinction between 'jāmi' and 'ajāmi' on the basis of natural and unnatural sex-relationship is stressed but also the fact that no union by marriage is possible with the 'jāmi', whereas with 'ajāmi' it is

normal. In other words, 'jāmi' represents a group totally different from that which is formed up by the 'ajāmi'. It is, however, true, that what is mainly emphasized here is 'sameness' and 'dissimilarity' with reference to 'jāmi' and 'ajāmi' respectively.

Lastly we may deal with the famous passage in the Aitareya, which has attracted the attention of most Vedic scholars.

(i)

(ii) (of the gods . i.e. Rākā)

Here 'jami' is set aside in favour of the 'devānām patnīh' - the wives of the gods, in the context of the 'lauding of the wives of gods' (patnīśamsana) during the performance of the Agnihotra. It is stated that "the performer" (of the Agnihotra) then lauds the wives of the Gods after Agni the 'grhapati'. Thus the wife (of the performer) sits behind the Gārhapatya fire. They say 'Rākā should be formerly lauded, as the primary drink is for the 'jāmi'; but one should not pay heed to it; he should first of all laud the wives of gods - this indeed, that is Agni Gārhapatya, puts the seed into the wives of the Gods; verily through the Gārhapatya fire, he puts seed into his wives. He who knows this, thrives with children and cattle. Therefore, the sister from the same womb lives

(1) V.I. I.285 - D.I.V.464

(11) III.37.1, cf. Sāyana - 'devānām jāmi'

under the patronage of the wife from another's womb":  
 "devānām patnīh śamsaty anūcīr agniṃ gr̥hapatim, tasmād  
 anūcī patnī gārhapatyam āste; tad āhuḥ Rākām purvam śam-  
 set, jāmyai vai purvapoyam iti, tat tan nādr̥tyam devānām  
 eva patnīh purvāh śamset, eṣa hā vā etat patnīsu reto dad-  
 hāti yad agnir gārhapatyah, agninaiv āsu tad gārhapatyena  
 patnīsu pratyaksād reto dadhāti prajātyai; prajāyate pra-  
 jayā paśubhir ya evam veda; tasmāt samānodaryā svasānyo-  
 daryāyai jāyāyā anujīvinī jīvati". (1) According to Delbrueck  
 'jāmi' here refers to 'sister', but as the equation with  
 'svasā' in the later portion of the passage, can only be  
 maintained (in his opinion) in the context of the sister,  
 while she lives in her brother's house, it would probably  
 be better to take 'jāmi' in the sense of 'unmarried sister'.

(1) Cf. Delbrueck - Op.cit. "d.l. er richtet einen Spruch  
 an die Gattinnen der Goetter nach dem Agni Gr̥hapati des-

halb sitzt die Gatin (der Opferers) hinter dem Gārhapatya-  
 Feuer. Man wendet freilich ein; er richte zuerst einen  
 Spruch an Rākā, denn der Schwester, gebuehrt der Vortrunk.  
 Aber darauf nehme man keine Rucksicht, vielmehr richte er  
 zuerst den Spruch an die Gattinnen der Goetter. Agni  
 Gārhapatya legt auf diese Weise samen in die Gattinnen und  
 so legt auch der Opferer durch den Agni Gārhapatya offen-  
 bar Samen in die (menschlichen) Gattinnen zur Fortpflanzung.  
 Were dieses weiss, pflanzt sich fort an Nachkommenschaft und  
 Vieh. Deshalb lebt eine Schwester (naemlich wenn sie im  
 Hause ihres Bruders lebt), die doehaus demselben Mutter-  
 leibe stammt, als Untergebene der Gatin welche aus einem  
 andern Mutterleibe stammt."

Delbrueck further argues that the injunction with regard to the right of the sister to have the first drink may be either an individual opinion or a statement of a usage. He is, however, inclined to accept the latter (Op. cit. Das kann lediglich seine Ueberlegung sein, kann sich aber auch auf einen Gebrauch stützen. Ich nehme das letztere... (1) It is,

however, apparent that 'jānyai vai pūrva-payan iti' is merely one of those stock phrases, so frequent in the Brāhmanas, which are assumed to express the view of the opponent (pūrvapakṣa) for the sake of strengthening the argument, and may not necessarily be a statement of facts. Even if we admit Delbrueck's standpoint to be correct, the question as to how such a precedence of one related by blood over the other coming from another clan had no recognition in the Brāhmana period, remains to be answered. Moreover, the significant epithets 'samāne-dāryā' and 'anyodāryā' seem to imply something more than mere 'blood-relationship', and its 'absence', for the simple reason, that, had this been the case, the order of precedence should have been the reverse. Is it not reasonable to think that ~~that~~ one with whom one had the closest ties should be preferred against the other coming from outside the clan, with

(1) Op.cit.

whom kinship exists only through marriage? It is therefore more probable that 'samānodayā' indicates 'one belonging to the same clan, and 'anyodayā', 'one belonging to a different clan', <sup>and as such considered as an asset.</sup> In other words, here also, 'jāmi' refers particularly to a member of the non-marriageable group, although it apparently seems only to be identical with the 'unmarried sister'.

In the other Brāhmanas 'jāmi' (mostly in the neuter) appears in the sense of repetition and so also in the Śrauta Sūtras.

Thus on comparing the Brāhmana passages we arrive at the conclusion, that 'jāmi' in the Brāhmana texts has a wider sense than that of a 'sister'. It, in all probability is a common designation for the members of a non-marriageable group, who could hardly claim any social status amongst those who abided by the exogamous system.

Concluding this chapter it may be pointed out that in the Brāhmanas the eagerness expressed, to be established among the 'jana's on the one hand and the slur cast upon the 'jāmi' on the other, provides further evidence for the existence of clan-exogamy in those days. In an exogamous system alone, such a liking for the marriageable group, and contempt for the non-marriageable one, seems natural.

'Family Relationship'.

'Family Relationship'.

Closely related to the problem of clan-exogamy, is that of family-relationship, for which again, no direct evidence is available in the Brāhmanas. It is only through a study of some words expressing kinship directly, that we are able to form an idea of the familiar life of those days. Such words in these texts have already been studied by Delbrueck, (i) Schroeder, (ii) the authors of the Vedic Index, and others. It is, however, easily perceptible that some of them, even after their analysis <sup>by these scholars,</sup> are of doubtful meaning and as such a further investigation is necessary, with a view to understanding their right implications.

Among these, both in the Brāhmanas and the Sūtras, Ānujāvāra, Agre-didhisu, Didhisūpati, Parivitta, Parivividāna, Bhrātrvya and Sajāta are undoubtedly of much social significance. In this chapter, therefore, we are primarily concerned with them, and the following pages present a review of most of the passages in the Brāhmanas in which they occur. Their appearance in the different Samhitās has been noted, and suggestions have been made with regard to their gradual change in meaning in later texts.

(i) D.I.V.

(ii) Pre.Ant.



(a)

'Agre-didhisu, Didhisūpati, Parivitta and Parivividāna'.

The laws of marriage even as early as the period of the Samhitās, can only be inferred from the words found in such texts expressing marriage-relationship. Among them, 'Agre-didhisu', 'Didhisū-pati', 'Parivitta' and 'Parivividāna' are of considerable importance. It is true that these are related more with the violation of marriage rules, for which expiation is later prescribed, but the very fact that they reappear in the Brāhmanas and even in the Sūtras, indicates that such prohibited forms of kinship, with which the people were too familiar, played an important part in regulating marriage in those days. It is therefore reasonable to find out what is precisely meant by these words, for which a consideration both of the Mantra and the Brāhmaṇa portions in which they occur is indispensable.

It is necessary to understand what is meant by 'didhisu' in order to find out the significance of 'agre-didhisu' and 'didhisū-pati'. Fortunately 'didhisu' occurs in the R̥gveda more than once, though the compounds 'agre-didhisu' and 'didhisū-pati' are not found. Its first occurrence is in R.V.VI.55.5., where Pūṣan is spoken of as the 'didhisu' of his mother, the lover (jāra) of his sister, the brother of Indra and 'our friend': "mātur didhisum abravam svasur jārah śrnotu nah; bhrātendrasya sakhā nah". Sāyana here interprets it as husband (patin). The authors of the Vedic

Index, Grassman, Boehtlingk and Roth, and Griffith, however, translate it as 'wooer' or 'suitor'.<sup>(1)</sup> There is a slight difference in these two interpretations as the 'wooer' or 'suitor' may not essentially be the 'husband'. That the rendering of the modern scholars is more appropriate here, is clear from the fact that 'jāra', which can be understood only in the sense of a 'lover' (cf. V.I. Vol.1 p.286 - 'jāra' has no sinister sense'), appears in the same context and is also to be connected with Pūsan. That 'didhisu' and 'jāra' are almost identical in sense here, is easily inferrable.

The word appears next in X.18.8., in the context of a woman who has lost her husband, and lies beside his dead body, intending to follow him even in death. The Rk states: 'Arise O woman, to the world of life, thou liest beside this dead one (husband); Come! this thy position of wife to the husband, <sup>he</sup> 'didhisu', who holds thy hand, <sup>is reached</sup> 'udīrṣva nāryabhi jīva-lokaṃ gatāsum etam upa śosa chi; hasta-grābhasya didhisos tavedam patyur janitvam abhi saṃ babhūtha'. This Rk has been studied with great care by Vedic scholars, and as such may be analysed here in detail. At the outset, it may be mentioned that it appears also, (with slight variation as Sāyana interprets it, but agrees verbatim according to

(1) cf. V.I. Vol. 1. 359; W.Z.R. and P.W. - Bewerber, Freier.

Whitney and the authors of V.I.) in A.V.XVIII.3.2. Introducing R.V.X.18.8. he<sup>(Sāyana)</sup> says that 'the brother of the husband etc; should raise the wife of the dead (husband) from (where she lies near) her (dead) husband with this (Rk. beginning with) 'Udīrṣva' etc; ("Devarādikaḥ pretapatnīm udīrṣva nārīty anayā bhartr-sakāsād utthāpayet"). He also refers to Āśvalayāna Gr. Sūtra IV.2.18. <sup>(i)</sup> '(sutritam ca' etc). On the other hand, with reference to A.V.18.3.2. he says more specifically: "one should raise her (the wife) who (wishes) to meet her dead (husband) in death, if she desires to live again in this world after being made to lie down beside (her dead husband) saying this second Rk, beginning with 'udīrṣva' etc.": "upa-ni-padyānā sā yadi iha loka punar jīvitum icchet tadā udīrṣva ityanayā dvitīyayarcā pretena saha samviṣṭām tām abhimantrya utthāpayet". Commenting on R.V.10.18.8 he explains 'didhīṣor' as the 'layer of the seed': 'garbhasya nidhātuh' and understands the second part of the Rk thus: 'Come, as thou hast decided to die along with him, keeping in mind thy position of wifehood, being related with this thy husband, who laid his seed in you and held your hand (in marriage)': (yasmāt tvam hasta-grābhasya paṅgra-ham kurvato didhīṣor garbhasya nidhātuh tavāsyā patyuh sambandhād āgatam idam janitvam jāyātvam

(i) V.I.'s ref. to Āś. Śr. Sūtras IV.2.18 is a misprint.

abhilaksya sam-babhūtha sambhūtāsi anumarana-niśāyā akār-  
 sīh tasmād āgaccha). Interpreting 'dadhiṣos' in A.V.XVIII,  
 3.2. he says it refers to the 'supporter': dhārayituh' and  
 renders the verse as: 'thou hast obtained the birth of thy  
 husband, in the form of the progeny etc., who was the suppor-  
 ter, and the holder of (thy) hand; (hastam gr̥hṇātīti hasta-  
 grābhāḥ paṇi-grahana-kartā tasya, dadhiṣoḥ dhārayituh tava  
 patyuh idam janitvam apatyādi-rūpeṇa janmatvam abhi sam-  
 babhūtha abhi-sam-prāptāsi). It is apparent from these two  
 meanings that he gives to 'didhiṣu' that he connects the  
 word <sup>with the dead</sup> husband ('preta'), and while in the R̥gvedic passage he  
 suggests the futility of the wife lying beside her husband,  
 who is dead, in spite of her having lost the position of  
 a wife, due to which alone, she had decided to meet her lover  
 even in death, in the A.V. passage he points out the re-  
 birth of the husband in the offspring. The second suggestion  
 of Sāyana is undoubtedly based on a mis-conception of 'jan-  
 itvam' being identical with 'janmatvam'. The corresponding  
 form in Avestan is 'jani', meaning 'wife' and not 'zani',  
 which we would naturally expect if the root in 'janitva'  
 was 'jan', which the explanation of Sāyana obviously pre-  
 supposes.

Whitney, in his translation of the Atharvaveda, however,  
 takes 'didhiṣos' to be the correct reading as is found in the

Paippatāda recension, and also in some manuscripts of the vulgate. Thus, A.V.18.3.2. which is the same as Rv.X.18.8 should be translated according to him as: 'Go up, O woman, to the world of the living; thou liest by this one who is deceased; Come to him who grasps thy hand, thy second spouse (didhiṣu) thou hast now entered into the relation of wife to husband'. He further argues that abhisam-bhū can only be understood in the above sense, and 'didhiṣu' must be interpreted according to its 'later accepted meaning'.<sup>(1)</sup> Again, he disagrees with the views expressed by the Kausika-Sūtrakāra, (80-45), by Sāyana and by the redactor of the Vaitāna-Sūtras (38.3) with reference to the specification of the context in which this Rk is used. According to him: 'the woman cannot be left free and independent, she can only be relieved of her former wife-hood by taking up a new one (even if this be as is probable enough nominal only); he who grasps her hand to lead her down from the pile, becomes at least for once her husband'.<sup>(ii)</sup> (confirmed by Ās. Gr.S. IV.2.18).

Oldenberg, too, in his 'Die Religion des Veda' seems to hold a similar opinion. He translates it as: 'Arise up O

(1) i.e. the meaning given to it by the later lexicographers. A.K.2.6.1.23. H.525.

(ii) Trans. of the Atharvaveda pp.848-849.

wife to the world of the living, his life-breath is gone, by whom thou liest. To this groom here who holds your hand who woos thee, thou hast reached' (Erhebe dich, O Weib, zur Welt der Lebender. Hingegangen ist sein Lebenshauch - bei dem du liegst. Zu dieser Ehe hier mit dem Gatten, der deine Hand ergreift der um dich freit, bist du gelangt), and thinks the reference is to 'the brother-in-law taking over the position of the bride-groom' (die Stelle des Gatten einnehmender Schwager) confirmed by Ās.G.S.IV.2.18. He also raises the question whether in this context we should understand 'didhisu' in the special sense given to it by the lexicographers: (Ist bei dem im Text verwandten Wort 'didhisu' an den speciellen Sinn den die Lexicographen ihm beilegen (Gatte einer zum zweiten Mal verheiratheten Frau) zu denken).<sup>(i)</sup> He, however, does not attach much importance to Hillebrandt's analysis of this verse in Z.D.M.G. 40.708.

Keith and Macdonell too, are of the opinion that in this context, the word (didhisu' is used for the 'brother-in-law', and find a parallel here to the Hebraic levirate, which is also confirmed by R.V.X.40.2. (kuha svid dosā kuha vastor asvinā kuhābhipitvam karataḥ kuhośatuh; ko vām sāyutrā vidhava veva devaram maryam na yoṣā kṛnute sadhastha ā). They agree

(i) Die Religion des Veda-573.

with Oldenberg in maintaining that the supposed connection of this verse with the Puruṣamedha, suggested by Hillebrandt and accepted by Lanman, cannot be considered to be plausible. (i)

Grassman, Boehtlingk and Roth, however, agree with Sāyana's interpretation and do not think that the term 'didhisu' here refers to the 'second husband'. (ii)

It is clear here that the crucial word is 'didhisu'. The whole controversy lies as to whether it has been used for the dead husband or the brother-in-law. It cannot be denied that the rk quoted above has been the basis of Manu's statement regarding the 'didhisū-pati', though, however, the funeral context of the mantra does not necessarily refer to the second marriage of the widow, as even 'Āśvalayana' who quotes this verse (iii) applies it to merely lifting up of the woman, whose husband is dead, from the pile, by the representative of the husband, the pupil of the husband or the old servant. It seems, however, natural to imagine that the representative of the husband refers to himself as 'didhisu', and 'abhi-sam-babhūtha' makes better sense if it is construed as referring to a recent happening. There seems to be little justification, however, for maintaining that 'didhisu' is used here in the later sense of 'the husband of a twice-married woman' as understood by lexicographers, since in the

(i) V.I. Vol. I.p.359  
(ii) Z.D.M.G. 40.708.  
(iii) loc.cit.

Rgveda no other verse occurs, which, conforms to this. Even in X.40.2. the term 'devara' appears and not 'didhisu'. It is therefore, safer to render 'didhisu', even in this context, as the 'lover' or 'suitor'. (1)

Prior to our understanding of 'agre-didhisu' and 'didhisū-pati' occurring only in the Brāhmana portions of the Black-Yajurveda and the Brāhmanas (with the exception of 'didhisuhpati' in the Vājasaneyī Samhitā which is probably the corrupt form of agre-didhisuh) the single instance of 'parivitta' found in the Atharvaveda should be considered, as both 'parivitta' and 'parivividāna' appear in the same context, as 'agre-didhisuh' and 'didhisū-patih' in the later texts.

Thus in A.V.VI.113.3., in the context of the 'Expiation for the precedence of the younger brother over the older brother in marriage', 'parivitta' is used. It states: "The fetters with which the 'parivitta' is bound, with which, he has been encumbered and shackled limb by limb, may they be loosened since they are fit for loosening; O Pūṣan wipe off the sin on the slayer of the embryo": 'yebhiḥ pāśaiḥ parivitto vibaddho 'nge' anga' arpitah utsitas ca; vi te mucyantām vimuco hi santi bhrunaghni pūṣan duritāni mrkṣva'. Śāyana explains 'parivitta' here as 'the man (the younger

(1) cf. Delbrueck D.I.V. p.583.



brother) who marries first (in the family) whilst the eldest brother remains unmarried: "parivittah jyeṣṭhe akṛtā-<sup>(i)</sup> dāra-parigrāhe pūrvam grhīta-dārah puruṣah". Ludwig, in his translation agrees with Sāyana, but proposes to read 'parivettā' instead of 'parivitta'. Delbrueck, Keith and Macdonnel, Bohtlingk and Roth, Bloomfield, Zimmer and Whitney, however, understand it in the sense of 'the elder brother who remains unmarried, while the younger brother gets married,<sup>(ii)</sup> It is difficult to come to a decision as to which interpretation is correct as both the unmarried elder brother and the married younger brother were considered to be equally sinful. This variance however, does not make any material difference as far as the meaning of the verse goes, though it is rather peculiar, that Sāyana goes against the traditional interpretation. On the other hand, as will be seen later Mahidhara does not deviate from the tradition. It is, however, obvious that 'parivitta', which also appears in the Vājasaneyī, refers merely to one of sinful conduct in the A.V. and indicates, as has been rightly pointed out

(i) Ludwig also contradicts Sāyana by saying 'oder (so der text) der aeltere der den juengeren fruher hat heirathen lassen'. - 'Der Rgveda'.  
(ii) Del. 'einer dem ein anderer im Heirathen zuvor gekommen ist; V.I.p.496; B. & R: ein alterer Bruder, der unbeweibe ist, während der jungere geheirathet hat. Am. J. O. Ph. Vol. 17. 430 Z. 'der unverheirathete ältere Bruder; 'Trans. of the A.V. 'the over-slaughting one.'

by Zimmer and others, that the order of marriage was based on seniority in the days of the Saṃhitās.

In the Vāsjaśaneyī, we find 'parivitta', 'parivividāna' and 'edidhisuhpati' in the context of 'the victims to be sacrificed in the Puruṣamedha'. It may be pointed out here, that it is more than probable that the list of victims found in V.S.XXX.9, is a later addition to the main bulk of the Saṃhitā, as it is more complete than that in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. Thus 'parivitta' and 'parivividāna' occurring here should, more appropriately be studied along with the Taittirīya passage in the context of the main Brāhmaṇas.

Passing on, therefore, to the Brāhmaṇa portions of the Kāthaka and Maitrāyaṇī, we find all these expressions appearing in the list of sinful beings, probably, in the context of the legend of 'Trita and <sup>the</sup> other Aptyas wiping off the guilt of the gods, deposited in themselves'. (1) Thus in M.S.IV.1.9, it is mentioned that "they (gods) wiped it (sin) off over 'the 'suryabhyudita''; (i.e. one who sleeps while the sun has risen), he in turn (wipes it off) over 'one upon whom (while sleeping) the sun has set, and (thence the sin is passed on successively) from him to one with brown teeth,

(1) Bloomfield: A.J.P.17, 430 etc. Bloomfield is justified in thinking A.V.VI.112.3 to be another version of the legend of Trita.

to one with bad nails, to the 'agre-dadhus', to the 'parivitta', to the 'parivividāna', to the killer of human beings and finally, to the slayer of the embryo (or the Brahman)". (i)

In the Kāthaka the list again appears in XXXI.7. with the addition of 'didhisūpati' and the form 'agre-dadhisuḥ' instead of 'agre-daduh'. In the Kapiṣṭhala recension it is shortened beginning with 'kunakhī' and the reading is slightly different in the end: 'viraha brahmajye, (one who molests or oppresses Brahmans), brahmajyo bhrūnahani, bhrūnahanam eno nāty eti. (ii)

It must also be noted that the order in the transference of guilt, is slightly different in the Kāthaka and Kapiṣṭhala, than that found in the Maitrāyaṇī. In the latter 'agredadhuh' precedes 'parivitta' and 'parivividāna' whereas in the former two versions 'agredidhisuḥ' and 'didhisūpatiḥ' come after 'parivitta' and 'parivividāna'.

This difference in the order, cannot, however, be considered to be of much significance, <sup>as</sup> and the passage re-appears in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III.2.8.12) <sup>(iii)</sup> and the classification is identical with that in the Maitrāyaṇī. It seems reasonable to infer from these passages, that 'agre-

- (i) 'suryābhyudite te' mrjanta (yam sūptam sūryo 'bhyudeti) suryābhyu-ditah suryābhinirukte, suryābhiniruktah śyāvadati, śyāvadan kunakhini, kunakhy agredadhusi, agredadhuh parivitte, parivittah parivividāne, parivividāno virahani, viraha bhrūnahani, bhrūnahanam eno nāty eti.
- (ii) cf. Delbrueck's emended version in D.I.V.580. Here, on the other hand, yet another form 'agre-dadhisu' appears.
- (iii) Here the form 'agra-didhisu' is found and 'didhisūpati' seems to be omitted.

'didhisu', 'didhisū-pati', 'parivitta' and 'parivividāna', were all considered to be equally sinful in those days, and that there is certainly some common element between 'agre-didhisu' and 'didhisū-pati' on the one hand, and 'parivitta' and 'parivividāna' on the other.

Prior to our discussion on the interpretation of these words, we may reasonably review the passages in the Vājasa-neya and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, which are relevant to our investigation, and state the point of view of the commentators.

In V.S.XXX.9, 'parivitta', 'parivividāna' and 'edidhisu-pati', mentioned among the Puruṣamedha victims, are stated to be sacrificed for the deities presiding over 'arti' (injury), 'nirrti' (destruction) and 'arāddhi' (ill-success), while 'jāra' (lover) and 'upapati' (co-husband) appearing before these are dedicated to deities connected with 'sandhi', (unification) and 'geha' (household) respectively. (i) The Tai.B., however, places 'nirrti' before 'parivitta', and 'ārti' before 'parivividāna' and has 'didhisupati' in place of 'edidhisu-pati'. (ii)

Commentators are at variance in interpreting this passage. Thus Sāyana understands: (1) 'parivitta' as the youngest brother marrying before the eldest has married', (2) 'parivividāna' as 'one having the intention to marry first in other words, though the youngest (among brothers) yet eager

(i) 'sandhaye jāraṃ gehāyopapatim, ārtiyai parivittam;  
nirrtiyai parivividānam arāddhyai edidhisu-patim;

(ii) III.4.4.1.

for it, and (3) 'didhisūpati', as the husband of a twice-married woman: (parivittam-jyestha-purvamev odhabhāryam kanistham, parivividānam-prathamato vivāhasīlam, kanisthah sana-tadāgrahayuktam ityarthah, 'didhisupatim' - dvir vivāham krtavati strī didhisūs tasyāh patim). Mahīdhara and Bhattabhāskara Mīśra on the other hand explain them differently. According to Mahīdhara (a) Parivitta refers to the unmarried elder brother while the younger brother is already married. (b) 'Parivividāna' to the married youngest brother, while the eldest is unmarried and (c) 'Edidhisuhpati' to the husband of one (younger daughter) <sup>married before</sup> (the eldest daughter (in the family) is married. (ūdhe kanisthe anūdham; anūdhe jyesthe udhav- antam; jyesthāyām putryām anūdḥāyām udhā edidhisuh tat patim). Bhattabhāskara holds a similar view regarding 'parivitta' and 'parivividāna', <sup>(1)</sup> and interprets 'didhisū-pati' as the husband of the younger sister while her elder sister is unmarried; jyāyasyāmanūdḥāyām kaniyasī pūrvam uhyate sā didhisuh tasyāh patim.

Sāyana, as we see here, construes 'parivividāna' differently and gives to 'parivitta' the same sense as in A.V.VI.112.3. With regard to 'didhisūpati' he quotes a later tradition. Mahīdhara and Bhattabhāskara explaining 'edidhisuhpati' and 'didhisūpati' respectively, conform to a totally

(1) "yasmāt pūrvam kaniyan udhabhāryah; jyesthapūrvamev odhabhāryam".

(i)  
 different tradition. It is strange that in elucidating  
 'parivitta' in Taitt. Br. III.2.8.11 (referred to above)  
 he agrees with Śāyana, and considers the sense of the  
 'unmarried elder brother' (which he proposes in this context)  
 as being accepted by some. (ii)  
 It is, perhaps, not so much  
 indicative of his inconsistency in interpretation as of the  
 prevalence of two equally strong traditions. It can not,  
 however, be decided which of these traditions was known to  
 the Brāhmanakāras merely on the basis of these renderings as  
 Śāyana, Mahīdhara and Dhāṭṭabhāskara have only repeated the  
 well-known views expressed on these in the Dharma and Grhya  
 Sūtras, which may not necessarily be identical with those  
 held by the Brāhmana compilers. Still it cannot be denied  
 that almost similar notions must have prevailed even in  
 those days, in connection with these significant words. It  
 is worthwhile noting in this passage that while 'jāra' and  
 'upa-pati' are dedicated in sacrifice to the deities rep-  
 resenting conciliation and settlement, parivitta and pari-  
 vividana and didhisūpati are given away to those represent-  
 ing 'injury', 'destruction' and 'ill-success', which reason-  
 ably leads us to the conclusion that the conduct of the

(i) 'parivittah jyeṣṭhāt pūrvam ūdhavān, asyaiva jyeṣṭha  
 ityeke.

(ii) The view suggested here is usually linked with the  
 'agredidhisu' in the later Dharmasūtras (cf. V. I. I. 360)

latter was considered to be much more sinful than that of the former. Moreover, in the Brāhmanas we hardly come across any deprecation against the secret lover and the co-husband. Again the absence of the 'jāra' and the 'upa-pati' in the lists of sinful beings quoted above shows that in the relationship expressed by them, no departure from the normal practice was involved, which precisely was the case with that indicated by others mentioned in that context. Consequently we have to understand 'parivitta' as referring to the elder brother, who is superseded in marriage by his younger brother, who would then naturally be the 'parivividāna'. It need hardly be mentioned that the right of priority belonged to the elder brother not only in marriage but also in other matters, as is clearly indicated by the use of 'ānujāvāra' etc. <sup>(1)</sup> and the laying down of the injunctions specially for the 'jyestha' and the 'jyaisthineya' in most of the Brāhmanas, and a supercession of such rights could not be considered normal.

With regard to 'agre-didhisu' and 'didhisūpati', the situation is not so simple, and hence the emergence of diverse traditions in the context of their interpretation. Now, it is obvious, 'didhisu' provides the common link between them, which, as we have already indicated means only the 'wocer' or 'suitor' in the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda.

(1) See next Chap.

It is not, however, clear whether in these early texts it denotes simply the male wooer or applies also to the female having the choice of the spouse (thus being comparable to a suitor), since the form 'didhiṣū' with the long 'u' (the regular feminine form according to the unādi sutras) is not found in them. There is, nevertheless, one instance in the R̥gveda, where the feminine plural 'didhiṣvo' appears (aryo didhiṣvo vibhr̥trā), which may reasonably be construed as referring to the women having the right to court their own husbands. <sup>(i)</sup> Here, it is not certain whether the basic form is 'didhiṣu' or 'didhiṣū', though Sāyana accepts the latter in accordance with the later usage. It may, ~~on the other hand~~, be argued fairly reasonably that as 'didhiṣu' is not met with anywhere else in the R̥gveda, 'didhiṣu' has to be accepted as being both masculine as well as feminine. Eventually 'agre-didhiṣuh' may be treated either as a masculine form or as a feminine form. In other words, it may be considered as an adjectival noun with two terminations.

If we accept therefore, 'agre-didhiṣu' as describing the female, it has to be understood as 'the woman wooed before', implying that she has had the freedom of courting someone other than the man to whom she is wedded, before entering into marriage, and, as such is considered to be

(i) I.71.3. - Here 'aryo' is significant, meaning 'belonging to the 'ari' and probably confirms our interpretation of 'ari', but as the meaning of the verse is not clear, it is safer not to make any deductions.



sinful. That the 'fore-courting' <sup>(i)</sup> woman, was looked upon with special disfavour is clear from some passages in the Brāhmanas. On the other hand, if we take the word as depicting the male, the obvious inference would be, that 'a man who possesses a wife who had a former suitor' is meant. In that case, however, 'agre-didhisuḥ' would be identical with 'didhisūpati' which can only mean 'the husband of such a woman who has been wooed before'. It would, therefore, be more advisable to interpret 'agre-didhisu' in the former sense. It is interesting to note that in one of the much later Dhārmāsūtras the form 'agre-didhisūpatiḥ' <sup>(ii)</sup> does appear, which leads us to the presumption that 'didhisūpatiḥ' <sup>(iii)</sup> is perhaps an abbreviated form for 'agre-didhisūpatiḥ'.

The views of the commentators concerning the marriage of the younger and the elder sisters, being implied in these two words, does bring out the difference between the two, but there is no evidence in the Brāhmanas to prove that one was not permitted to marry the younger sister when her elder sister was unmarried, or even to marry such an unmarried elder sister.

The transference again, of the sin is quite understandable, as it passes from the wife to the husband, while in

(1) cf. Delbrueck - D.I.V.583-86 - 'Vorfreierin'.

(ii) Vas. XX.7 - cf. Delbrueck Op.cit.

(iii) The distinction between 'agre-didhisu' and 'agre-didhisū' as noted by Delbrueck, can hardly be considered to be of much significance in the context of the Brāhmanas.

the case of the 'parivitta' and the 'parivividāna' it is carried over to the younger brother from the elder brother.

In the Śrauta Sūtra of Āpastamba we come across 'paryāhita', 'pariṣṭa', 'parivinna' in addition to 'parivitta', 'parivividāna', 'paryāhita', which are certainly concerned more with <sup>the</sup> ritual in particular, though based on the same principle of priority of the elder brother over the younger one. 'Parivinna' though interpreted by the commentator as referring to the gaining of heritage by the younger brother at the expense of his eldest brother, must be understood, as proved by Delbrueck <sup>(1)</sup> to convey the same sense as 'Parivitta' in the Brāhmanas and hence the simultaneous occurrence of 'parivitta' and 'parivinna' here, is, in all probability, an error on the part of the compiler: (yanmā ātmāno mindābhūt punar agnis cakaur adād, ityetābhyām abhinimruktābhyu-dita-paryāhita-pariṣṭa-parivitta-parivinna-parivividāno vā juhuyāt: japed ityeko..IX.1211).

Thus, in the Brahmanas, while in 'agre-didhisu', and 'didhiṣū-pati', the impropriety, in the woman having a suitor prior to her marriage, and the man contracting marriage with such a woman, is emphasised <sup>while</sup> in 'parivitta' and 'parivividāna', the improper supercession <sup>by the younger brother</sup> of the right of priority in marriage ~~is~~ associated with the elder brother is stressed.

(1) cf. D.I.V., 582.

(b)

'Ānujāvāra'

Ānujāvāra again presents an interesting study. The meaning of the word in the Brāhmanas is uncertain and as such an investigation of passages in which it occurs will not be unjustifiable. It will be apparent from the following analysis that its appearance is rather infrequent in the Brāhmanas, and consequently has not attracted much the attention of scholars. Nevertheless, it has to be borne in mind that the special use of the term in certain contexts, evidences the fact that some importance was attached to it, inasmuch as it expressed a particular type of kinship, in the earlier and the later phases of the Vedic period, and It is with a view to find out this significant idea underlying the conception of 'ānujāvāra' that this review seems all the more necessary.

At the outset, it must be stated that it is striking that it is not found in any of the Saṃhitās other than that of the Black Yajurveda, and here also only in its Brahmana portions. This does not inevitably lead us to conclude that it was unknown in the early period of the Rgveda, since it

may be suggested more reasonably that in these texts one is not expected to find such words which are peculiar to the ritual. The utmost that we can infer from the fact that it occurs only in the Brāhmana portions and the Brāhmanas is that while it basically denotes a certain degree of family relationship, it also implies the lack of a status which was essential primarily for the performance of rituals.

Thus in the Kāthaka, Maitrayani and also the Taittirīya recensions in their Brahmana portions we find 'Ānujāvāra' used in a few places under separate contexts. To begin with in the Kāthaka XI.4., in the context of the Istis with special reference to the offering of the Aindra-Bārhaspatya-caru, it is stated "the Bārhaspatya-caru (rice oblation for Brhaspati) of the Ānusūka rice should be offered by the Ānujāvāra. Brhaspati is indeed the Ānujāvāra among the Devas, he should come forward; Brhaspati is his deity, it is after him that he (the Ānujāvāra) performs; he (Brhaspati) leads him forward; Brahman (the priest) is indeed Brhaspati, Brahman is the father (originator) of the Brahman. (1) Again in XIII.7., in the same context describing the animals (victims) ordained

(1) 'Bārhaspatyam carum nirvaped ānusūkanam vrīhīnām ānujāvāro; brhaspatir vai devānām ānujāvāras so 'gram paryaid; brhaspatir va etasya devata ya anujāvāras tamev ānvarābate, sa enam agram parinayati; brahma vai brhaspatirbrahma brāhmanāsyā pitā.'

for Varuna etc. (varuna-grhitādi-pasavaḥ) it is stated: 'the Anujāvara should sacrifice the Kṛṣṇa-lalāma (victim with a black-spot), ordained for the Āsvins; the two Āsvins are indeed the two Ānujāvaras among the Devas; they went forward; the Āsvins are the deities of him, who is an Ānujāvara, in accordance with them he performs (the Isti), they carry him to the forefront; possessed of evil is he who is an Ānujāvara, Evil is like black -- (in that) it (the victim) is black, he (the Ānujāvara) destroys evil.'<sup>(i)</sup> Further in XXVII.7.9., in the context of the Āgrāyana rite, it is laid down: 'The Devas and the Asuras performed equally in the sacrifice; whatever the Devas did, the Asuras (also) did; those Asuras rose higher and grew more prosperous, the Devas (on the other hand) fell lower and were considered to be sinful like the Ānujāvara-tara's. Those Devas saw the Āgrāyana rite; they took it; through it they went forward. That they went forward, this is why the Āgr. is so called.'<sup>(ii)</sup> Lastly in XXX.3., in the context of the holding of the cup for Indra and Vāyu etc., it is laid down that "the Ānujāvara should accept those (cups) which are before (āgra) the Āsvins; the two Āsvins indeed are the two Ānujāvaras among the Devas. These two went forward; the two Āsvins are the deities of one,

(i) 'Āsvinam kṛṣṇa-lalāman ālabhet ānujavarō, āsvinau vai devānām ānujāvarau, tā agram paryaitem āsvinā etasya devatā yā anujāvaras tā evānvārabhate, tā enam agram parinayataḥ; pāpmanaisa grhitō ya ānujavarah; kṛṣṇa iva yat pāpmā, yat kṛṣṇah; pāpmanam eva apahati'.

(ii) "Devāśca yā asurāśca samavad eva yajñe kurvata; yad eva devā akurvata tad asurā akurvata; te 'surā bhūyāmsas śreyāmsa āsan, kanīyāmsah pāpiyāmsa ānujavaratarā iva devās; te devā etam āgrāyanam apasyāms tam agrāyan; tenāgram paryāyan yad agram paryāyans tad āgrāyanasy agrāyanatvam".

who is an Ānujāvāra, in accordance with them he performs; these two lead him forward. <sup>(1)</sup> Here it is evident from the way in which the word 'Ānujāvāra' occurs, that what is meant to be emphasized is his inferior position, which he should set aside, with the aid of these performances, in order to attain a position higher than the original one. It is needless to state, that the phrases 'agram paryait' of 'agram parinayati' can only be understood in the sense of achieving a higher rank. Moreover the fact of sin or evil being connected with the Ānujāvāra especially in 13.7. presupposes that the state of being an Ānujāvāra was considered to be indicative of lowliness in the opinion of the ritualists of those days. Still the exact position of an Ānujāvāra or as a matter of fact the very meaning of the word is not clear in these passages. Similar is the case with passages agreeing verbally with these, which are found in the Maitrāyaṇī recension (IV.6.4; II.5.4.6. etc.). There is, however, an interesting piece of evidence in 11.4. above, for the rather peculiar position of Brhaspati among the Devas. As the passage stands, it seems that primarily the position of Brhaspati was considered to be inferior in the pantheon of Gods, but was subsequently raised with the passing of time. In the days of Brahmanical superiority, that we should come across the dual conception of Brhaspati as the Brahman priest

(1) Āsvinagran gr̥hit, ānujāvāro; āsvinau vai devānām ānujāvārau, tā agram paryaitām āsvinā etasya devatā ya ānujāvāras; tā evānvārabhate tāñ enam agram parinayatah.

as well as the Ānujāvāra among the Devas, seems rather strange and the reasons which led to this discrepancy may call for further investigation, but that, strictly speaking, is not within the purview of our study here.

Coming to the Taittirīya Samhitā, we may examine the views of Sāyana in this connection. In II.3.4.2; 3; 4; 'ānujāvāra' occurs in the context of the Istis for those who wish to attain Svarga etc. (Svarga-kāmādīnām istayah). It is stated: 'Indra indeed is the Ānujāvāra among the Devas. He approached Prajāpati. Prajāpati made the Ānusūka oblations for Indra, and thus enabled him to attain eminence among the Devas. Similarly if a Rājanya is an Ānujāvāra, he should offer the Ānusūka for Indra on eleven pots-herds. (or) if a Brahman is an Ānujāvāra he should offer the Ānusūka for Brhaspati. (Indro yai devānām ānujāvārah syāt sa prajāpatim upadhavat.....yo rajanyah anujāvarah syat tasmā etam aindram ānusūkam ekādasākapālam nirvapet; sa evainam agram samānānām parinayati.....yo brāhmanah ānujāvārah syāt tasmā etam bārhaspatyam ānusūkam ekādasākapālam nirvapet). Sāyana begins by pointing out that these passages apply to him, 'who being unable to attain eminence among his equals, remains inferior to his brother among them (yah samānānām madhye śreṣṭhyam a labhamānaḥ tadyānujād avaro nīkrsto vartate). Further he explains Ānujāvāra as; one who lives as an 'ānujāvāra' i.e. one who has a status lower than that even

of the younger brother, implying thereby one extremely low (anu pascāḥ jato bhrātānujaḥ tasmād apy avaro 'nujāvaraḥ, tadvad vartamāna ānujāvaro 'tyantanikṛṣṭa ityarthah).

Again, in VII.2.7.2. which is more or less the same as Kāthaka XXX.3.; Sāyana indicates that the reason for the Asvins being known as 'Ānujāvara's among the Devas lies probably in the fact that, though they were foremost among the Devas, still, on account of their presiding over, or being physicians, they fell in rank (Devānām madhye aśvinām ānujāvarau; svayaṃ devatvena pūjyau santāvapi bhisaktven avartvam āpannau) and in agreement with this hypothesis interprets Ānujāvara as 'one who is disdained by others by becoming (behaving as) inferior as a younger brother, although he is considered by others to be worthy of respect, being the eldest in the family' (svayaṃ sarveṣām agrajatvena pūjyah samāpi anujavad avaro bhūtvā yah sarvais tiraskriyate so 'yam ānujāvaraḥ).

In VII.2.10.2. where the phrase 'Indro vai devānām ānujāvaraḥ; sa prajāpatim upā-dhāvāt' reappears, Sāyana accounts for the falling in rank, of Indra, among the gods thus: 'Though Indra demanded respect as an elder brother by his excellence (among the Devas), yet, on some occasion, in the days gone by (became) inferior or degraded like a younger brother, and being shunned by all the Devas attended on Prajāpati in order to (be able to) know the means of averting



(i)

this disgrace.

It is obvious from these interpretations that according to Sāyana 'Ānujāvāra' is the same as 'anujāvāra' with the short 'a' and should be split up as 'ānuja' or 'anuja' and 'āvāra' meaning that the two components of this word refer to the younger brother and 'inferior' respectively. The connecting link between them can be understood according to him in two ways; 'either as 'even inferior than 'the younger brother, or 'as inferior (in rank) as 'the younger brother'.

This division, however, does not correspond with that in the Pādapāṭha (to the Saṃhitās mentioned above), where we have 'anu' 'jāvāra' and not 'anuja' 'āvāra'. It is also known, as pointed out by Viśvabandhu Śāstrī in his Vedic Kośa, that in the Pāda-pāṭha usually the short 'a' is not left out as in bhūta-amsū, upa-amsū. It is true, that the derivation in the Pāda-pāṭha may not invariably be the correct one, (ii) but in cases where it yields a better sense it may readily be accepted and this is precisely the case here, as will be evident from the relevant passages in the Brahmanas.

The Vrddhi or the elongation of 'a' in Anujāvāra has no significance, as the Mahabhasya on p.5.4.36. 'Tad yuktat karmano 'n' actually mentions it among those, which have the

- (i) Indra uttamaten āgraja-bhrātrvat pūjyo'pi san purā kad-  
 ācit anujāvāra avarah sarvair devais tiraskriyamāno  
 bhūtvā tat-parihāropayan veditum prajāpatim upasevitavan.  
 (ii) 'as is the case with 'aripra' - see Chap. I.

'An' suffix causing the Vṛddhi, added to them without any specific reason as 'Sānnāyja' 'ānukṛṣṭa' etc. (i) The separation 'ānu' - 'jāvara', therefore, is identical with 'anu - jāvara'. Thus, from the etymological point of view the word may be explained as formed with the root 'jan' to which the prefix 'anu' in the sense of 'after' and the taddhita suffix 'varac' in the sense of possession, (ii) (matyarthīya) are added. Consequently, 'Ānujāvāra' is just another form of the word 'anuja' literally meaning 'born after', i.e. 'younger brother'. It can hardly be denied, however, that it meant something more than 'anuja' due to its special use in the Brahmanas.

It occurs only in the Tāndya and the Taittirīya. Even in the latter it is seen only once in the context of a legend concerning the gaining of sovereignty of Indra among the Devas (S. Indrasya devādhipatyam). Thus in II.2.10.1 we have 'Prajāpatir indram asṛjat ānujāvāraṁ devānām'

('Prajapati' created Indra the Anujavara among Devas). Here also both Sāyana and Bhattabhāskara Miśra explaining the term, divide it into its two components as 'anuja' and 'avara'. Sāyana as elsewhere, comments:- 'Ānujāvāra is like a younger brother, who being born after (the elder?) is considered to

(i) ('Sānnāy-ānu-jāvāra-nukṛṣṭ ānusūka cātusprāsya-rākso-ghna-varivaskṛt-āgrāyan-āgrahayana-santapanāni ity-ētāni chhandāsi bhāṣāyām ca) nipātyante' - cf. Boehtlingk and Roth - 'wo eine form 'Anujāvāra' (sic) mit bedeutungsloser verlaengerung des anlauts aufgefuehrt wird. - P.W.645.

(ii) cf. R.V. 'suprajāvant, purvajāvan-vijāvan etc'.

be inferior (yathā bhrātrṇām madhye anujo pascājjātaḥ avarah nikṛṣtas tad vad ayam ity ānujāvarah). Bhaṭṭa-  
hāskara, however, views it slightly differently as referring to one who acts in an inferior manner as a younger brother (anujavad avaram karma kurvānam). In other words according to him, Ānujāvāra resembles a younger brother in so far as his actions are of an equally inferior nature. It seems possible, from this interpretation that 'Ānujāvāra' may have been used to denote a special type of 'Anuja' with whom some form of misconduct was usually associated, which led to his inferiority in rank. It is, however, too flimsy an evidence on which any such deductions can be based.

The references in the Tāndya are much more interesting. The first instance is II.3.3; where in the context of the Kūlāyini vistuti of the Trivṛt stoma with special reference to the authorized 'sacrificer' (Adhikari), it is stated that this (vistuti) should be chanted (by the chanters) for (the yajamāna who is) an Ānujāvāra, (for by this) he (sacrificer) goes ahead of those children, who have (already) gone forward. (etam evānujāvārāya kuryādetāsām evagram par/yatīnam prajānām agram paryyēti). It is apparent that the passage is rather curiously worded. Śāyana, interprets this as referring to an 'Ānujāvāra' who (as before) is one even inferior to the younger brother (anujah kaṇiyan sa hi

nikṛṣṭāḥ tasmādapyavaro, nikṛṣṭā ānujāvārah), and reaches by this chanting, that high position, which is attained by those, who are at the highest, among the people by reason of merit or age. (i) Caland on the other hand understands by Ānujāvāra 'one born long after his brothers', and translates 'who by this (chanting) 'comes at the head of those (other) children' who by birth are the first'. It is not clear, what Caland actually implies by 'one born long after his brothers'. He may be hinting at a 'posthumous son' which is appropriate in this context and may aptly be considered to be the correct sense of Ānujāvāra at least in this passage.

In II.10.2, we come across another interesting reference in the context of the Ubhayaseptaika-madhyā-vistṭuti, again, with reference to the authorised sacrificer. It reads: "the Ānujāvāra should chant it (vistṭuti); he who is an Ānujāvāra is indeed bereft of 'loka', (ii) as seven verses come first, seven last and three in the middle and; 'puruṣa' is trisyllabic, thus he provides a 'loka' for himself in the middle and thrives in that 'loka' (Ānujāvāras stuvītāloko vā eṣa yad ānujāvāro; yat sapta-prathamāssaptottamās tīro madhye, try-

(i) 'yāḥ prajāḥ agram vayogunādibhiḥ śreṣṭhapaḍam pari-  
iyanti parito gacchanti etāsāmeva śraīsthyam parigoc-  
chantīnām prajānām madhye sa yajamāna agram śreṣṭham paḍam  
paryyeti'.

(ii) i.e. 'has no abode'.

akṣaraḥ puruṣaḥ; lokamevāsmāi tan madhyataḥ karoti tasmin loke pratitiṣṭhati). Here also, the meaning of 'Ānujāvāra' is uncertain. Caland translates Ānujāvāra as above and 'loko' as 'room'. Sāyana on the other hand, giving to 'Ānujāvāra' the same sense (as in the above-quoted passages), understands 'aloko va eṣa' as indicating the non-acceptance of an 'Ānujāvāra' by the people at large, but fails to state the cause of such an attitude being held for the Ānujāvāra in particular. The implication is obvious that the passage refers to his low status and achieving a slightly higher position, but what precisely is meant by the 'middle status' <sup>(1)</sup> is not easily deducible. It may however be suggested, that the Brāhmanakāra probably intends to point out that the 'Ānujāvāra' who was usually considered to have no status, could raise himself higher, only to a certain extent, as a place among the chosen few in society, was completely denied to him.

In other words, the position of an 'Ānujāvāra' was similar to that of the younger brother, who, in the family could never achieve the status that was rightfully claimed by the eldest son. Here too, it cannot be denied that the rendering 'posthumous son' seems to be fairly in agreement

(1) 'Loka' here is possibly identical with 'sthāna' in the sense of 'position' or 'status'.

with the context, though not inevitable.

Lastly in XVI.14.2 in the context of the *Sadyah-kra-Ekāha*, yet another injunction for the authorised sacrificer is laid down. According to it: "the *Āngirasas* reached the *Ādityas*; through this (*Sadyah-kra-Ekāha*); one who is like an *Ānujāvāra*, inferior (in status), should perform this (thereby) he attains the 'prahā' of those before him. The word 'prahā' seems to be indicative of something lost by the '*Ānujāvāra*' and hence Galand translates it as 'advantage' by which probably he means 'the advantage of a better status'. *Sāyana*, however, expresses the opinion that 'prahā' is the same as '*prahīṇa*' meaning 'deterioration' which though etymologically correct does not fit in with the context. The sense of 'a posthumous son' is clearly acceptable here, as '*purveṣām*' here can only refer to those who preceded him in age. It may, however, be argued that the sense of a son born long after the birth of his elder brothers in a family, could be applicable to '*Ānujāvāra*' in this context, but that is tantamount to saying that the *Ānujāvāra* is the same as *Anuja* and as such does not help us in interpreting the passage.

To conclude, mention must be made of Keith's interpretation of *Ānujāvāra* in his translation of the *Taittirīya Samhitā* and <sup>also</sup> the renderings proposed by Boehtlingk and Roth.

Keith attaches to it the signification 'one of 'lower rank'' wherever it occurs, and probably implies that it had nothing to do with family relationship in the days of the Brāhmanas.

Boehtlingk and Roth interpret it as one 'born later' or 'born after', (spätgeboren, nachgeboren), obviously meaning the 'posthumous' one. <sup>(i)</sup>

Thus, on the evidence of the passages quoted and explained above, kinship-significance has undoubtedly to be attached to Ānujāvāra in the Brāhmanas. The two possible interpretations that may be given to Ānujāvāra are (a) 'a younger brother having an inferior status in the family', and (b) 'a posthumous son'. The younger brother may also be conceived of as a son born late in the family, who could even be the progeny of a second wife, and as such could not lay claim to a high rank in society. A posthumous son could in no way be considered equal to his step-brothers inasmuch as his status in the family was concerned.

(i) cf. also Monier Williams. Sk.Dict.

(c)

'Bhrātrvya'.

That 'Bhrātrvya' originally expressed a certain degree of family-relationship is accepted by all Vedic scholars, though with a certain amount of difference in its specification. Strangely enough, however, no where in the whole range of Vedic literature, have the ancient commentators on the Vedas taken it as expressive of kinship, in spite of clear contextual evidence, in quite a number of places both in the Samhitās and the Brāhmanas. The only reason that one can possibly think of as to how these erudite interpreters should have failed to notice the fundamental conception of 'Bhrātrvya' is that of the influence <sup>which</sup> was unavoidable of a firmly established tradition, in which either the original sense was so obvious as to need no mention, or it was completely lost. Whichever may have been the case, as 'bhrātrvya' is known to be of primary importance in the sphere of rituals in the Brāhmanas, and also has not yet been so satisfactorily explained as to disassociate from it, its natural vagueness, a further analysis is necessary.

Even as early as the period of the Rgveda, we come across 'bhrātrvya' conveying probably the later accepted sense of the 'enemy' or 'rival'. In VIII.21.13 the negative



form of 'bhrātrvya' appears as referring to Indra:

'abhrātrvyo anā tvam anāpiz indra janusā sanādasī; yudhed  
āpitvam icchase' - A.V.20.114.1. Sāyana understands it in  
the sense of 'enemy or rival' and interprets: 'O Indra thou  
art by birth, without enemy' <sup>(i)</sup>. It may, however, be reason-  
ably argued that, 'anāpi' [(kinless) - api in the sense of  
relations of kinsmen is frequent in the Rgveda], appearing  
here, together with 'abhrātrvya' indicates that some form of  
relationship is also expressed by the latter. Now, as 'āpi'  
refers to relatives who are usually friendly towards the  
related ones, 'bhrātrvya' may <sup>aptly</sup> partly designate those who are  
inimical towards them. In other words, both 'bhrātrvya'  
and 'āpi' are words expressive of kinship, though directly  
opposed to each other. It is, however, difficult to be  
definite about the correct interpretation of 'bhrātrvya'  
here, as this is the only instance in the Rgveda, in which  
it occurs. <sup>(ii)</sup>

In the White Yajurveda, however, in the Vājasaneyī  
recension in I.17.18, 'bhrātrvasya vadhāya' can only be  
explained as 'for the slaying of the rival': 'dhruvamasi  
prthivīm dṛuḥa; brahmavani tvā, ksatравani tvā sajātavany

(i) 'he Indra tvam janusā janmanaiyābhrātrvyah, vyan sapatne';  
pa. 4.1.145; 'iti vyan pratyayah'.

(ii) cf. Weber - I.S. 17.307 'dafür ist das such im Rik  
selbst einmal (8.21.18) nach der 'Anukr. Sobhari  
Kāva'.

upadadhāmi bhrātr̥vyasya vadhāya. (i) Mahīdhara too, con-  
 strues 'bhrātr̥vyā' in the same way as Sāyana. (ii) In this  
 Saṃhitā also, it is not clear whether 'bhrātr̥vyā' could  
 be understood in any sense other than that of the rival,  
 as there is no other passage which mentions it.

In the Black-Yajurveda, both in the Kāthaka and Mai-  
 trāyaṇī recensions, it is seen in several passages and  
 seems to involve both the ideas of 'kinship' and 'rivalry'.  
 Thus in Kāt. X.7, we find the 'bhrātr̥vyas' of the sac-  
 rificer divided into three sections; e.g. (a) those who have  
 preceded him, (b) those who are like him, and (c) those who  
 come after him. Thus: 'a sacrificer having many 'bhrātr̥vyas'  
 should offer to the 'Pravat' the 'Vibādhavat' and the  
 'Pratīkavat' forms of Agni. In offering to the Pravat he  
 destroys the 'bhrātr̥vyā' gone before him, and in that to the  
 Vibadhavat he afflicts terribly the one (bhrātr̥vyā) who is  
 his equal, while by offering to the Pratīka he drives out  
 the 'bhrātr̥vyā' who (comes) after him. (iii) It cannot be  
 denied, that the constant wish of the sacrificer to uproot  
 completely the 'bhrātr̥vyā' brings the sense of the 'enemy'

(i) 'Thou art firm, fortify the earth - I worship thee,  
 protector of Brahman, of Kṣatra and of the Sajāta'.  
 See also the next chapter.

(ii) 'vyan sapatne (pa.4.1.145) ityādy udattatvāt bhrātr̥vyā  
 śabdah śatruvāci'.

(iii) 'Etayā yajet bhrātr̥vyavān; yo bahubhrātr̥vyas syād agnaye  
 pravate....nirvapēd agnaye vibādhavate....agnaye pratīkavate  
 'stākapālam, yad agnaye pravate, ya evainam purvo 'tik-  
 rānto bhrātr̥vyas tam tena pranudate; yad vibādhavate,  
 ya evānena sadri tam tena vibādhate; yat pratīkavate,  
 ya evāsya pascad bhrātr̥vyas tam tena apanudate -  
 N.S.II.1.11.

to our mind, but at the same time the priority, the equality and the posteriority of the 'bhrātrvya' in relation to the sacrificer, leads us to believe that there was some relationship between the performer and his 'bhrātrvya' or 'bhrātrvya's.

Again in the Taittirīya we find another parallel passage which refers to the status of the 'bhrātrvya's. In II.4.14 in the context of the performance of the isti known as Vijiti, it is brought out that by this performance, the offerer repels the 'bhrātrvya' who is superior, surpasses him who is equal and he who is inferior does not reach him. (1) Keith translates 'Bhrātrvya', here, as 'foe,' which fits in with the context, as the conception of a foe as superior, equal, or inferior, in strength is adequate enough. Sāyana too, taking 'bhrātrvya' in the sense of 'foe' thinks that the three adjectives describe the 'bhrātrvya's' greater in strength, equal in strength or inferior in strength (prabalah, samānebalah, hīnabalah). Despite this, it is not impossible to imagine that the passage refers to the hostile kinsmen of the performer, among whom there are superiors, equals, or inferiors, in relation to him, according to age or status.

In the Atharva, we are certainly in a better position to understand the precise connotation of 'bhrātrvya'. In

(1) 'pra śreyāṃsam bhrātrvyaṃ nudate, ati sadraṃ kṛmāti nainam papīyaṃ apnoti'.

V.22.12, the 'bhrātrvya' undoubtedly signifies relationship, other than that between brother and sister. It is clear, that the diseases are spoken of here in terms of kinship. Thus 'Takman' (fever) with 'balāsa' (consumption) is addressed as the brother, 'kāśikā' (cough) as the sister, and the 'pāman' (scab) as the 'bhrātrvya' (Takman bhrāta balāsona, svasrā kāśikayā, saha pāmnā bhrātrvyena saha gacchāmum aranam janam). Sāyana does not comment on this verse. Delbrueck expresses the opinion that 'bhrātrvya' here must describe some type of relationship with reference to the 'brother' ('Bhrātrvya' wo es also irgend einen zu dem Bruder in Beziehung stehenden Verwandtschaftsgrad bezeichnen muss). (i) Weber is definite that it refers to 'brother's son' (eig. Bruderssohn (S.A.V.V. 22.12)). The authors of the Vedic Index, on the other hand take it in the sense of cousin. (ii) Whitney too, construes it as cousin, though in translating II.18.1 he annotates: 'Adversary is literally 'nephew' or 'brother's son'.

In A.V.X.3.9, again, 'bhrātrvya' has a similar significance. Here, the 'bhrātrvya's are termed as 'sabandhavaḥ' (kinsmen) which clearly indicates that the rivalry of the 'bhrātrvya's was restricted to the family. (iii) Keith and Macdonnell are of the opinion that 'bhrātrvyā', perhaps, expresses

(i) Op.cit.506.

(ii) Vol.II.114.

(iii) 'Varanens pravayathitā bhrātrvyā me sabandhavaḥ'.

relationship here and so also Bloomfield (H.A.V.), though Delbrueck and Whitney both prefer to interpret it as referring to enemies.

Further in Mantras, like VIII.13.2 (i) and IX.5.31.36, though the occurrence of 'apriya' together with 'bhrātrvya', emphasizes the inimical aspect of 'bhrātrvya', (ii) yet does not preclude the possibility of thinking of 'bhrātrvya' as one designated as a so-called brother, who may have been considered to be an object of special dislike by those related to him, since he belonged to a hostile group. The connection of 'arāti' (iii) with 'bhrātrvya' in X.6.1, may also be similarly explained. The various spells, again aiming at destroying the 'bhrātrvya's, occurring in II.181, (iv) would be more appropriate in the context of such brothers.

The meaning 'cousin' has found special favour with scholars in the context of 'bhrātrvya'. The validity of such an interpretation has eventually been discussed at length. Thus Delbrueck argues: that 'Pāṇini mentions 'bhrātrvya' among the patronymics, and hence the Indian lexicographers have

- (i) 'vr̥scate 'syāpriyo bhrātrvyo ya evaṃ vedya'  
 (ii) cf. Delbrueck - "sonst bedeutet es immer "Feind" theils in Verbindung mit 'apriya'.  
 (iii) 'arātiyor bhrātrvyaṣya durhardo dviṣataḥ 'śiro' pi vr̥scāmy ojaṣā'.  
 (iv) 'bhrātrvya-ksayanam asi, bhrātrvya-cātñam me dah svāhā'.

explained it in the sense of 'nephew' through 'bhrātrja' (born of the brother); 'bhrātrputra' (son of the brother); and 'bhrāturātmaja' (the progeny of the brother). Similarly Boehlingk and Roth <sup>(i)</sup> too, have derived the sense 'Father's Brother's son - cousin' for which one would have to suppose that the meaning 'cousin' had developed in the dual and the plural uses <sup>(ii)</sup>. That the meaning 'cousin' is appropriate can be deduced on two grounds. In the first place, the current signification 'rival' is only explained in this way, (since) the 'cousin' represents that rank from which the struggle for inheritance starts. Secondly the suffix 'vya' points to it. Bhrātrvya like 'pitrvya', the one other (than the father) is a kind of brother, the other brother. It has to be supposed that, at first, the designation was limited to the brother's son (in accordance with the composition of the family) <sup>(iii)</sup>.

- (i) P.W.
- (ii) The dual and plural forms presume the sense of 'cousin' as the relationship between two 'cousins' cannot be expressed in any other way, than referring to each other as 'cousins'.
- (iii) F. rechnet 'bhrātrvya' unter die Patronymischen Bildungen; die Lexikographen erklären es durch 'bhrātrja' 'bhrātrputra' und 'bhrātur ātmaja' als "Neffe". Danach haben Boehlingk-Roth als Bedeutung angesetzt "(Vaters) Bruderssohn, vetter", wobei man also annehmen müsste dass die Bedeutung "Vetter" sich in der dualischen und pluralischen Verwendung entwickelt hätte. Dass die Bedeutung "Vetter" richtig angesetzt ist, ergibt sich aus zwei Gründen; Erstens erklärt sich nur so die geläufige Bedeutung "Nebenbuehler". Der Vetter ist derjenige Grad bei welchem naturgemäss der Streit um die Erbschaft beginnt. Zweitens spricht dafür dass suffix 'vya'.....Wie pitrvya der andere..... so ist 'Bhrātrvya' eine Art von Bruder, der andere Bruder. Dabei ist (wegen des Gesamtzustandes der alten Familie) anzunehmen das sich die Benennung zunächst auf den Bruderssohn beschränkt hat. p. 506 - 507.

The authors of the Vedic Index also uphold that the sense of 'cousin' alone, fits in with the conception of a rival and 'in an undivided family the relation of cousins would easily develop into rivalry and enmity.'<sup>(1)</sup> Weber, even goes to the extent of finding a parallel in the much later conception of rivalry as that between Buddha and his cousin Devadatta, and equates 'pitṛvyaputra' (son of the uncle) in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa (Act. I) with 'bhrātrvya'. Despite such argumentation, the cousin-interpretation does not seem justifiable, as it cannot be accepted in the context of the Brāhmanas. In these, it will be clear from the following investigation, that 'bhrātrvya' conveys a totally different sense. It may, however, be suggested that Delbrueck rightly infers, on the basis of a comparison between 'pitṛvya' and 'bhrātrvya' that the latter means nothing more than 'another brother', but this 'other brother' is not essentially the same as 'cousin'.

Passing on to the Brāhmanas we find the growing influence of 'bhrātrvya' in the sphere of ritual. It becomes almost axiomatic with the Brāhmana-kāras to interpret the successful performance of rituals, as inevitably leading to the conquering of the 'bhrātrvya'. Thus we find the phrase 'Parā-asyātmano bhrātrvya bhavati' repeatedly occurring in

(1) Op.cit.

the Brāhmana texts. It is certainly logical to argue that the conception of a 'bhrātrvya' in the Brahmanas in most places is tantamount to that of a rival or enemy. (i) Consequently Delbrueck has aptly remarked that in the Brahmanas the more exactly expressed 'bhrātrvya' is the natural born enemy, who tries to oust the person, in particular, the sacrificer, from his place, (and deprive him of) his good fortune etc., which is due to him, and thus, stands in relationship to him as the 'asura' to the God. (Ehenso in den Brāhmanas genauer gesprochen ist 'bhrātrvya' der natuerliche, geborene feind, der dem Menschen insbesondere dem Opferer den Platz, das Glueck u.s.w. streitig macht, das ihm gebuehrt und ihm also ebenso gegenuebersteht, wie der Asura dem Gotte:). (ii) It is nevertheless, well-nigh impossible to maintain that 'bhrātrvya' in the Brahmanas had lost its former significance, and was only synonymous with 'rival', as there are some positive references in these texts which clearly reflect on the kin-like nature of the 'bhrātrvya'. The silence of the commentators in this respect is of no consequence, as they usually quote later traditions.

Thus in the Jaiminiya passage quoted above in the context of 'jana' i.e. II.183.184 the equation of 'bhrātrvya'

(i) cf. V.I. loc. cit.

(ii) loc. cit.



with 'jana' cannot be explained unless we consider both as members of a hostile group, to which the performer is related in some way.

Now, 'jana' (in the collective sense) of the sacrificer, as has been explained above, is inimical towards him, inasmuch as it signifies the marriageable exogamous group with which he is connected through matrimony. Consequently the 'bhratryya' may also be considered <sup>as</sup> to belong <sup>ing</sup> to the same group, and, naturally be looked upon as an enemy. In that case <sup>it</sup> 'bhratryya' has to be interpreted as 'one among the kinsmen of the bride'. Further the fact that the basic conception of 'bhratryya' is 'brother', leads us to presume that the word probably designated the wife's brother or the brother-in-law.

Two other passages also of the Jaiminiya provide confirmation for our conjecture. In I.153-154 (D.J.B. in Answahl p.46) in the context of the Kāleya laud, we find the mention of two 'bhrātrvyau's, one possessing cattle and the other devoid of it. Among them, the one who owns cattle gains an upperhand over the other. (tasmād yat paśumāns' cāpasūśca bhrātrvyau spardhote, ya eva paśumān bhavati, sa eva taylor abhibhavati). Caland translates it by 'rival' (Nebenbuhler) as before. It is obvious that, what is meant to be emphasized here is that cattle-ownership was one of the basic reasons for rivalry between two parties, in those days,

but the specific use of the dual 'bhrātrvyau' naturally leads us to an inference similar to that which seems inevitable in the context of the Samhitās. (1) 'Bhrātrvyau', therefore, could be understood as signifying 'two brothers-in-law'. That the possession of cattle may have been one of the chief causes of enmity between such brothers-in-law, in the ancient days of the Brāhmanas, cannot be deemed as an impossibility.

In II.122-124 the occurrence of 'bhrātrvya' is highly significant. In the context of the Parikrī, here, it is stated that "the Kṣatra and the Vit (peasantry) are dependent on the Brahman. Analogous to them is the world of the 'bhrātrvya's'. In that he separates the two (verses) he splits the world of the 'bhrātrvya's. The wife and the child (or progeny) are dependent on one's own self. Analogous to them is the sphere of the 'bhrātrvya's. In that he separates the two, he splits the world of the 'bhrātrvya's." (avalamba u ha vai brahmanah ksatram ca vit ca; ksatram co ha viśam cānu bhrātrvyalokah, so ye dve avaciccheda, bhrātrvyalokam eva tad avaciccheda; ..... avalamba u ha vā atmano jāyā ca prajā ca jāyā co ha vai prajāṃ cānu bhrātrvya-lokah; so ye dve avaciccheda

(1) cf. Delbrueck: Op.cit. - It may be pointed out that the form of address between brothers-in-law is similar to that between cousins.

bhrātrvyalokam eva tad avacicchedā). Caland seems not to have noticed the particular aspect of 'bhrātrvyā' here, and gives the usual rendering 'Nebenbuhler', although he adds in a note to it that 'the implication of these sentences is not very clear to him'.<sup>(1)</sup> It is almost inconceivable that 'bhrātrvyā' means nothing more than 'rival', even in the second part of the passage where his sphere is considered as identical to the 'jāyā' and 'prajā'. That a sense of rivalry had come to prevail between the Kṣatra and Viṭ, on the one hand, and the Brahman on the other, is understandable, since the growing influence of the latter in all spheres could hardly be tolerated by the other two classes. The comparison, however, of the world of the 'bhrātrvyā' with the 'jāyā', presupposes that the former in this context is certainly a member of the same group as the wife. In other words, his clan is identical with that of the wife. With reference to 'prajā', on the other hand, the comparison seems unjustified, as among the descendants of one, who obviously belong to the same clan as himself, a 'bhrātrvyā' (coming from an alien clan) cannot exist. This anomaly can only be explained by the logical assumption that either it is a case of textual interpolation, or that the compiler to whom the association of 'jāyā' with 'prajā' was too familiar, has failed to take notice of the apparent incongruity in connecting the 'bhrātrvyā' with 'prajā'.

(1) 'die Absicht dieses satzes ist mir nicht vollkommen deutlich'. (D.J.B. in A. - 163)

In the other Brāhmanas 'bhrātrvya' occurs frequently but there is possibly no other passage, which recalls to our mind, the social implications of 'bhrātrvya' as a term for kinship. Still in such compounds as 'bhrātrvya-janman' or 'Bahu-bhrātrvya' (S.B.1.6.4.18, etc.) and also 'abh-ratravya (A.B.4.2.), Bhrātrvyavat' (A.B.3.7. S.B.12.7.3.4. etc)' one cannot deny that something more is meant than a 'mere rival'.

In this connection it may be interesting to refer to the explanation that Patañjali provides for the <sup>trifold</sup> ~~equal~~-conception of 'bhrātrvya'. Commenting on Pān.4.1.145 (vyan sapatne) he quotes the Vārtika which states that the use of 'vyan' is meaningless, as there is the absence of the suffix sense (vyan vacanam anar-thakam pratyayārthā-bhāvāt). Then he explains it thus: "the use of vyan is meaningless; why? - as there is the absence of the suffix sense? - what is this absence of the suffix-sense? - that is the absence of the 'apatya' (progeny) sense. (The aphorism) 'Apatya etc' is also applicable here (but) the word 'bhrātrvya' is used (~~appears~~) also in the sense of 'enemy' different from 'apatya'. 'Papmanā bhrātrvyena etc; the opponents may argue that where (the senses) 'apatya' and 'enemy' (exist) there 'bhrātrvya' (is used) but how (do we justify) 'Inimical bhrātrvya (Papmanā/bhrātrvyena). (To this the answer is) It

(the phrase) is correct, due to it (Pāpman) being that which compares - thus the bhrātrvya (papmā) is like the 'bhrātrvya' (apatya) (vyan vacanani anarthakam kim kāraṇam; pratyay-ārth-ābhāvāt; kim idam pratyayārth-ābhāvād iti, apatyārth-ābhāvāt; Apatyam iti vartate, anapatye cāpi sapatne bhrātrvya śabde vartate; Papmanā bhrātrvyena iti; astu tāvad yad apatyam sapatnesca tatra bhrātrvya iti; katham papmana bhratryena iti; upamānāt siddham; bhrātrvya iva bhrātrvyah). 'Papmanā bhrātrvyena' here, undoubtedly reminds us of the Brāhmana references. It is not unreasonable therefore, to conclude that even to Patañjali, 'bhrātrvya' in the Brāhmanas, has not lost its significance as a term for kinship. By 'apatya', however, he possibly means 'the brother's son',<sup>(i)</sup>

Reference to the 'bhrātrvya' is also not infrequent in the Śrauta Sūtras, but there is hardly any passage which could lead us to <sup>any</sup> further inferences.

To conclude therefore, 'bhrātrvya' both in the Samhitas as well as in the Brāhmanas, has more than one meaning. In most of the passages it is merely a synonym of 'rival'. In some, however, it possibly designates the brother-in-law. In an exogamous system, he would naturally be considered as being similar to a rival, in so far as he belongs to the

(i) See above - the view of the lexicographers quoted by Delbrueck.

hostile marriageable group'. The absence of a specific name for such a relative in the Brāhmanas, perhaps, provides some further evidence in favour of our hypothesis. Much importance, however, cannot be attached to such findings.

(d)

## 'Sajāta'.

It is generally held by scholars that the relationship expressed by 'Sajāta' is not clearly defined in the Brāhmanas. It is true, that the ritualistic context of the latter, presupposes an amount of vagueness in matters not concerning the ritual in particular, although etymological derivations are found in abundance which have no bearing on the ritual.

In the context of some passages, however, specially in the earliest Brāhmanas, it is possible to arrive at some definite conclusions, with regard to the limitations involved in 'Sajāta', since they indicate, more or less clearly, the extent of kinship conveyed by this word. Here again, it is primarily essential to consider its connotation in the Samhitās.

It occurs twice in the Rgveda, (i) In X.103.6 (ii) 'sak-  
hāyo' (friends) also appears which probably has a wider  
conception than that of 'sajāta'. Sāyana interprets 'sajāta'  
rather literally, as 'born together', i.e. 'blood-related'.

(i) Not once, as stated by the authors of V.I. Vol.II.418

(ii) ('Gotrabhidam govidam vajrabāhum jayantam ajma pra-  
mrnantam ojasā; imam sajātā anu vīrayadhvam indram  
sakhayo anu sam rabadhvam).'

(he sajātāḥ sahotpannā yoddhārah).<sup>(i)</sup> There is, however, nothing stated in the verse which may lead us to presume that such a form of relationship existed among 'sajāta's and that the distinction between 'sakhāyah' and 'sajātāḥ' is based upon the fact that while with the latter consanguinity is inevitable, it is not so in connection with the former.<sup>(ii)</sup> In 1.109.1,<sup>(iii)</sup> however, 'sajāta' alternating with 'jñāsa' has to be understood in a more precise manner (VI hy akhyam manasa vasya icchana indrāgnī jñāsa uta vā sajātāḥ). Sāyana again lays emphasis on equality of birth and maintains that they (sajatas) are those relatives who are different from the 'jñati's. (jñāso jñātīn uta vāpi vā sajātāḥ samājanmano jñāti-vyatirikta bāndhavāḥ). It cannot be denied that 'jñāsaḥ' occurring only in this verse in the Rgveda, has precisely the same sense as 'jñāti' which occurs more than once, but, at the same time, it is also known that even 'jñāti', which literally means 'acquaintance'<sup>(iv)</sup> (being derived from 'jñā' - to know) also appears in the sense of 'brothers and sisters', related by blood, in X.117.9.<sup>(v)</sup> It is not clear, therefore, what Sayana implies by

(i) 'O Sajatas - warriors, born together (of equal parentage).'

(ii) Grassman 'Verwandter' (W.Z.R.1449)

(iii) Grassman has referred to this verse also under Sajāta.

(iv) cf. V.1.1. 291; W.Z.R.502

(v) 'jñāti' cit santau na samam prñitah' - Grassman 'Geschwister'.



'jñatī-vyatirikā'. If 'equal parentage' was the only common factor between one and his 'sajāta's, his 'jñatis' too, would be his 'sajāta's and 'jñāsa uta va sajātām' in the verse would naturally be meaningless.

(1)  
Goldner suggests 'verwandter und Standesgenossen', implying that while in 'jñāti' (jñā), 'relationship' is emphasized, in 'sajāta', merely 'companionship' is expressed. That such an interpretation is possible, cannot be denied, but, perhaps, the point of emphasis here is, that whereas 'Sajāta's were only members of the same clan, and kinship with them was restricted to the clan, 'jñāti's could also specify those belonging to a separate clan, and presumably connected through matrimony. In other words 'jñati's could be associated with the exogamous group, but there could be no 'sajāta' among those constituting that group.

In the Vājasaneyī, in I.17, 'sajāta' occurs side by side with Brahma (priesthood) and Kṣatra (nobility). Mahādhara commenting on it interprets 'Sajāta' as 'the jñātis of the sacrificer, who are born in the same family'. (Dhruvamasi pṛthivīm dr̥ṇha brahma-vani tvā kṣatравani, sajātavany upadadhāmi bhṛātrvyasya vadhāya - M. Sajātāh samānakule jātāh yajamānasya jñātayah). Again in V.23 'sajāta' and 'asajāta'

appearing together (yam me sajāto yam asajāto nicakhāna) are interpreted by him as 'the brother born in the same family', and 'one not having equal parentage', (samānajanma bhṛata tad viparito 'sajatah). That in this context too, 'sajāta' should be interpreted in the above sense is apparent, and the 'asajāta' should be interpreted as 'one not belonging to the same clan'. Mahīdhara's equation of 'sajāta' and 'sajatiya', in his commentary on XVII.51, (1) (sajātānām samānajatiyānām), however, is definitely impossible in the context of the Saṁhitās. It is rather interesting to note that Mahīdhara, with a lot of ingenuity, tries to find all the three conceptions of 'kula' (family), 'janma' (parentage) and 'jāti' (caste) being involved in the significant word 'sajāta', but, unfortunately, it shows his inability to understand the restricted sense of 'sajāta' here much as he was removed from the days of the Saṁhitās.

In the Kāthaka and the Maitrāyaṇī, both in the Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa portions 'sajāta' is found in various contexts. Apart from the repetition of some 'mantras' already found in the V.S., there are some references, especially in the Brāhmaṇa portions, which indicate the importance of 'sajāta's in the context of rituals. Thus in the Maitrāyaṇī (II.3.2.) and Kāthaka (XII.2.) we find a constant attempt

(1) 'indra imam pratarām naya sajātānām asad vaśī'.

on the part of the 'Yajamāna' to win the favour of the 'Sajātas' in connection with the 'Kāmya Istis'. It lays down that the sacrificer desiring <sup>to</sup> overlordship of a village should try to capture the minds of the 'Sajātas'; that he should offer with the 'Āmana' mantras (those beginning with; Āmanasya devā ye sajātāḥ samānasas tān aham kamaye) thereby making the Sajātas friendly disposed towards him. These indeed are the 'sajatas' like those of the same clan, or sons, or wives or cattle; with these he connects himself. Further, he wishes to be firmly established among the sajatas, to be loved by them, to be strong and conquer them; (Grāmakāmo yajeta manograhanam vā etan; manōmsi vā etat sajātānām, samgrhṇati .... āmanena juhoty āmanasa evainān karoti .... ete vai sajātāḥ sajātā iva, putrā iva, striya iva, pasava iva tair ātmānam samyunkte .... dhruvā hīyam dhruvo' si dhruvas tvam deveṣv edhi dhruvo 'ham sajātesu bhūyāsam; priyaḥ sajātānām; ugrasācettā vasuvid .... ugro 'ham sajātesu bhūyāsam .... abhibhūraham sajātesu bhūyāsam). It is apparent that 'Sajātāḥ' here, is a generic term for all who claim kinship with the performer. The relation with 'cattle' would naturally amount to possession. The desire of the performer to appease the 'Sajātas' or to vanquish them if possible, shows that some among them have a similar status whereas others are superior to him. This

inference fits in adequately with the conception<sup>of</sup> 'sajāta' as clans-men. In the context of the Agnihotra the 'samāna's (equals) are equated with 'Sajāta's ('ya evam vidvān agni-hotram juhōti upāsya samānāḥ sajātyaṃ yanti),<sup>(1)</sup> which implies that the 'equals' of the sacrificer (in age, rank or status) are similar to his 'sajātas'. Again in K.S.II.1.8, it is said that the 'Sajātas' draw towards them the performer just as the calf pulls the udders (of the cow) or the cow (her) calf. (yathā vatsa udhar abhyāyācchati vatsam vā gaur evam enam sajātā abhyāyācchanti). Thus in the Maitrāyaṇī and the Kāthaka we find close affinity with the 'sajāta's being essential for the sacrificer. It is difficult to avoid the inference, that the connotation of 'sajāta' is much more extended in the Maitrāyaṇī and<sup>Ka</sup> Kāthaka than that found in the Rgveda<sup>and</sup> had little or nothing to do with the primary need of blood-contact.

In the Brāhmana portions of the Taittirīya we come across a more explicit analysis of the mantras (paridhy-anu mantrana mantra)<sup>appearing</sup> in the already quoted context of<sup>Ka</sup> Maitrāyaṇī (II.3.2) and the Kāthaka (II.2). In I.6.10.1, it is indicated that by reciting the Homa-mantras beginning with 'Dhruvo'si', he (the performer) makes the 'sajātas' secure, by those with 'Ugro 'si' he makes them harmonious; by that with 'Abibhūrasī'

(1) M.S. I.8.7; K.S.VI.6.8.

he repels him who acts against him, to bring about his ruin. (Dhruvo 'si dhruvo 'ham saajātesu bhūyāsam ityāha, dhruvān evainān kuruta; ugro 'sy ugro 'ham saajātesu bhūyāsam ityāhāprativādina evainān kurute; abhibhūrasy abhibhūrahaṃ saajātesu bhūyāsam ityāha, ya evainam pratyutpipīte tam upāsyate). Sāyana interprets 'saajāta' in the sense of 'jñāti' or relatives in general, which, as we have seen before is not appropriate. On the other hand, Keith translates it as 'equals'.<sup>(1)</sup> It is rather curious, as is rightly pointed out by Keith, that the equation of the security of the Saajātas with the established state of the performer, 'is not the natural sense of the verse', and this method of interpretation is not applied to the next Mantra. The only possible explanation lies, perhaps, in assuming that the 'Saajas' mentioned in the first 'mantra', are equal to him or inferior to him in rank, and whereas the 'saajas' among whom he wishes to be the powerful one, or the conquering one claim a higher status. The explanation 'ya evainam ~~praty~~ /utpipite' is significant as it indicates that even among the members of the same clan quarrels were not infrequent. Keith rendering it as 'equals', leaves the meaning of 'saajāta' rather vague. Yet another passage<sup>appears</sup> in the Taittirīya which throws further light on the precise meaning of Saajāta.

(1) 'V.B.Y.' (trans.) 93. Vol.I.

In II.3.9; in the context of the Sāṅgrahaṇī istī (one of the Kānya istis) it is stated that with the words 'Thou art affection; O, ye gods of affection, he (sacrificer or the offerer) offers three oblations; so many are his 'sajata's who are great, small and women, them he wins (cf. etāvanto vai saajātā, ye mahānto, ye ksullakā yāḥ striyas tānevāva-runddhe). Keith, translates 'Sajāta' again, as 'equals', as according to him "the primary sense of 'a man's relatives' gave way to the general sense of 'equals of whatever rank they and he may be'".<sup>(1)</sup> Sayana still takes it in the sense of the 'related ones', though in a very extensive way. He construes 'mahāntah' (great) as those who are the elders in ones own family, jāti or village, 'ksullakāh' (small) as the younger members and 'striyah' as 'wife, sister, mother and others like them. (svakule svajātisu madhye svagrāme ca ye mahāntah puruṣāḥ praudhāḥ; ksullakāḥ bālāḥ, striyaḥ patnī-bhagini matrādayaḥ). The passage is very similar to those in the Maitrāyaṇī and the Kāthaka, quoted above, and probably the same significance is to be attached to it. Sayana's interpretation is also reminiscent of Mahīdhara's explanation in the context of the Yajurveda. It is, however, important that 'ksullakāh' and 'mahāntah' here refer directly to the superiors and inferiors in one's own clan. 'Striyah'

(1) V.B.Y. (trans.) I.7.

probably denotes the women-folk, and in the Maṭrāyaṇī passage, as well as here points to the fact that even the female members of the clan were considered to be 'sajāta's. Thus in the Taittirīya 'sajāta' means nothing more than 'clan-fellow'.

In the Atharvan, we find the idea of 'enemy' connected with 'sajāta' in certain mantras. Thus in 1.19.3 - ('yo nah eva yo aranān sajata uta niṣṭhyo yo asmān abhidāsati; Rudrah śaravyāy aitān manāmitrān vi vidhyatu'). Though the verse only suggests the possibility of a 'sajata' too being an enemy, yet for the first time in the Samhitās, 'sajata' he is positively stated to be <sup>an amitra</sup> hinting possibly at the fact that disputes were becoming rather more frequent among the Sajatas; Śāyana understands 'sajata' here either as 'of equal birth', 'of equal strength' or 'kinsmen' or 'enemy' (tathā anyo'pi sajatah samāna-jannā samabalah, jñātin arā-tirvā), which proves that he is uncertain about its sense in this verse. The parallelism between 'eva' and 'sajāta' on the one hand and 'arana' and 'niṣṭhya' on the other is certainly indicative of the 'sajata's being members of one's own clan. The meaning of 'niṣṭhya', however, is not very clear. In 1.10.4., <sup>(1)</sup> however, the sense of 'rivals among one's fellows' fits in more with 'Sajata' than the rendering

(1) 'sajātān ugreṇa vada brahma cāpa eikīni nah - '.

of Śāyana 'warrior-instructors marching along with the army' (sajātān saha<sup>it</sup>cāriṇaḥ śikṣakān bhaṭān). In the other mantras (e.g. 3.3.4; 3.3.6; 3.8.2; 11.1.6. etc.) 'Sajāta' <sup>it</sup> occurs only in the sense of 'relatives', the degree of relationship being not specified, and Śāyana's interpretation of 18.4.37, <sup>(i)</sup> shows only the reflection of his times <sup>(ii)</sup> (sahajanmāṇaḥ samānakule jātā gotraṇaḥ).

In the main Brahmanas, it appears frequently and though the sense implied by it, seems to be well-understood in those days, yet there are a few passages in the Tāndya, Taittirīya, Jaiminīya and Śatapatha, which indirectly explain the status of the 'Sajāta'.

To commence with, 'sajāta' <sup>it</sup> occurs in the Tāndya in the context of the Prsthā lauds, 'Sarveṣāṃ vā etat pṛsthānām te-jo yad udvaṃśīyam tasmādvā etat purā sajātāya nākran pāpavasiyaso vidhrtyai - (8.9.7), (that which is the Udvaṃśīya land, is lustre (the most effective) among all the Prsthās, and hence formerly they (the Udgatas) did not apply it for the Sajāta, in order to keep sin and virtue apart. Śāyana explains it, as referring to a known (jñātāya) yajamāna, implying thereby one related to the present performer. He

(i) 'idam kaśāmbu cayanena eitam tat sajāta ava-pasyateta'.  
(ii) "of equal birth, born in the same family, possessing the same gotra".



explains the separation of vice and virtue as 'kimartham, pāpa-punyayor asānkaryāya yasmād udvamsīyam karoti sa vasiyan bhavatyeva; atas tathāyam jñātīnām bhaved iti vṛddher abhiprāyah'. <sup>(1)</sup> Galand translates the above passage as:.....

'Therefore they formerly did not apply if for a tribesman in order to hold apart the good and the bad' and annotates;

(i) 'A tribesman' sajāta, who seeks equal or greater influence than the sacrificer', and (ii) 'If he were to apply for the rival the Udvamsiya which means lustre, the good (prosperity) would fall to the share of the rival'. Apparently Galand thinks 'a rival tribesman' is meant here by Sajāta, an idea met with, as shown above even, in the Atharvaveda. Weber, however, translates it as "Vormals brauchte man das udvamsīyam (sama), welches das Licht aller prstha ist, nicht für einen sajāta, Gleichgebornen. I. S.X.156 (Formerly the 'udvamsīya' (sama) the light of all Prsthas was not used for one of the same age).

It cannot be denied that the prevalence of a sense of fear in the all-round prosperity of the 'Sajāta' is easily deducible from the above passage. The applying of the 'udvamsīya' for the Sajāta would lead to a rise in his rank, which is not the specific purpose. The sin (pāpa) in this context refers to the lack of the fulfilment of purpose by

(i) 'Vreddeh' is possibly an editorial error for 'vidhrteh'

the result or merit according<sup>rueling</sup> to the 'sajāta' instead of the Yajamāna, and the merit (vasiyas) refers to the achievement of purpose by the growth in prosperity of the 'yajamāna'. It seems that a sense of rivalry between one and his 'sajāta's is inferable here, but the very fact that the injunction is laid down specifically for 'sajāta' indicates that the rival belongs to the same clan as the performer. Caland's translation 'tribesman' is again rather vague, and 'fellow-clansman' fits in more with the context.

In the Jaiminiya, the passages mentioning 'sajāta' are particularly interesting. In I.271 in the context of the application of the Dhūr verses, Āśādha Sāvayasa is stated to have been asked by the Brahmavādins in the midst of discussion, as to how he had attained the position of the Grāmanī (village-headman) of the Śārkarāksas, to which he replied: 'In the Dhūr verses verily, I have acknowledged (obtained) it'; (they questioned again) 'what is it that thou hast attained in the Dhūrs', to which he replied 'The Jāta'; (they continued) 'what does he become who obtains the 'jāta' of these' (verses); (he answered) 'Wherever there is a sajāta there (happens) to be a Grāmanī'. They said; 'This is how you are' (Atha hocur āśādham Sāvayāsam yat tvam śārkarāksānām vāva grāmany evāsi, kena tvam idam prāpitheti sa hovāca dhūrsy evāham tad upāsa iti; kim tvam tad dhūrs-ūpāsa

iti; jātam iti; ya āsām jātam upāste kim sa bhavatīti; yatraiva sajāto bhavati tad grāmanīr bhavatīti; evam eva tvam asīti hōcuh). In this, the points to be noted are the meaning of 'jāta', its connection with 'sajāta' and the association of the latter with the Grāmanī. Caland translates 'jāta' as 'the born one' (Das Geborene), in accordance with its literal sense, and it is not clear to him what this word means, specially in this context. (was jātam' hier besagt sehe ich nicht recht). (1) He renders 'sajata' as 'Angehöriger' (relative) and hints at the possibility of a "word-play here with 'jāta'". (Wortspiel mit dem vorhergehenden jātam?).

It may be suggested with regard to the interpretation of 'jāta', that later on, in this very passage 'jagatī', which is the metre of the verse in question here, is equated with 'abundance' (bhūm<sup>an</sup>) and 'procreation' (prajātin), which presumably are equivalent to 'jāta', as 'prana' (breath) and 'kṣatra' (nobility) are to 'priya' (dear) and 'śrī' (prosperity) of the first two verses in 'gāyatrī' and 'ṛṣṭubh' respectively. (ii) Now, 'abundance' and 'procreation' are symbolic of growth, and 'jāta' possibly signifies the same idea. 'Sajāta' coming after it, leads<sub>us</sub> to it being as a <sup>Consider</sup>

(i) Op.cit. 106

(ii) 'prāno vai gāyatrī; prāno vai priyam; kṣatram vai ṛṣṭubh, kṣatram vai śrīh'.

more specified word for 'expansion within the clan'. In other words, the clan grows by the preponderance of 'sajāta's. Grāmanī here probably signifies the chief of the clan, and hence his connection with the clans-men is presupposed.

In another instance in the Jaiminīya (I.337.338) contempt is expressed for the 'sajāta'. In the context of the 'stobha' of the śyāvāśya melody, it is mentioned that the Vailunaya<sup>i</sup>s brought to their Samiti (assembly), the 'jaimava' sajāta of the king Prasenajit Kausalya; him they called with the syavasva melody; 'O come, Bi come; lower in status in this sajāta, he causes his own ill-luck to reach him, in that he sings: 'O come' (atha hāsya jaimavaṃ sajātam vailūnaya a/ninyire; teṣāṃ ha samitiṃ jagāma.....tam haitam śyāvāśvenaiv aiho vā chi vā ity udahvayan; hina iv-aisa yat sajatah; sa yad aiho vā chi vā iti gāyati sveniv-aitat tat pāpmanābhyāroh-(a) yata iti). Galand understands 'sajāta' here as a fellow-tribesman (Stammgenossen) and leaves 'jaimava' untranslated. 'Jaimava' does not appear anywhere else in the Brāhmanas, and hence it is almost impossible to find out what it implies. It is, however, fairly clear that it indicates the status of the particular 'sajāta' mentioned in this passage. Galand's interpretation of 'hina' as 'left behind' (zurueckgelassen) is too literal. It is certainly the lower rank of the

'sajāta' which is emphasized here. The rendering 'fellow-tribesman' too, does not bring out the type of kinship that presumably exists between Prasenajit and his 'sajāta'. That a closer affinity lies between the two is undeniable. It is therefore more reasonable to translate it, as in the passages above, as 'fellow-clansman'. The reason for the censure of the 'sajāta' by the Vailunis (as is to be inferred from the passage) is not clear as the identification both of the Vailūnis, and the 'sajāta', is not possible merely on the basis of this passage.

In the Taittirīya we find, the recurrence of some mantras, which occur in Maitrāyaṇi, where 'sajāta' is again expressive of close-relationship. In III.7.12.2., in the context of the Mantras to be recited by the sacrificer at the commencement of the performance of the Agnistoma, with a view to purification (1) the fourth mantra runs: 'Oh Jātavedas (Agni) deliver us from that sin, committed unconsciously with reference to the gods, through 'Sajāta-samsa' or 'Jāmi-samsa', the 'samsa' of the elder or of the younger (sajāta-samsād uta vā jāmi-samsāt jyāyasaḥ samsād uta vā kaṇīyasaḥ; anājñātam devakṛtam yadeneḥ; tasmāt tvam asmān jātavedo

(1) cf. Śāyana: 'agnistomādaḥ ekavimsatyā darbhapuñjilāḥ pavyamanāsyā yajamānasyā japārthāḥ mantrā ucyante'.

mumugdhi: - K.S.IV.14.17). (1) 'Samsa' is, according to Sayana 'praise' (stuti) whilst 'sajāta' refers to 'kinsman, equals in age, or friends' (सज, 'samāna jānmano jñātayah samāna-vayaskāh sakhāyo va) and 'jāmi' stands for 'wife' (jāmāyo jāyā bhāryāh). The authors of the Vedic Index, maintain on the other hand, that the reference is to 'disputes among the Sajātas' and 'family disputes', taking 'samsa' in the sense of imprecation. (ii) Jāmisamsa' fortunately occurs also in A.V.II.10.1., and also in another context in the Taittirīya (B.). Jāminīya - (evam ahamimam kṣetriyāj jāmisāmsāt; drūho muñcāmi varunasya pāsāt). In the former verse Sāyana proposes for 'Jāmi' the sense of 'relatives', and interprets 'Jāmi-samsa' as referring to 'the sin resulting from the crying aloud of the relatives, who wish to attain that which they have not obtained'. (1) 'bandhavo jāmayah aprāptābhilas/itānām tesām sāmsanāt ākrośa-janitāt pāpāt'. In the later passage, however, he thinks it conveys the sense 'indicative of sloth' (2) ā-lasyaparakhyāpakāt). In view of this difference in <sup>his</sup> the interpretation, it is difficult to decide what he apprehends by 'sajāta-samsa' and 'jāmi-samsa'. It is, however, more likely that Bloomfield's translation 'curse of a kinswoman' (iii) <sup>even,</sup> is more apt, in this context

(1) See above

(ii) Vol.I.285; Vol.II.419 - (i)<sup>b</sup> III.2.6.3

(iii) H.A.V.14.

to some extent as far as 'jāmi' <sup>Sāmsa</sup> is concerned, since it is already pointed out that this word <sub>(jāmi)</sub> refers to the non-marriageable group. 'Sāmsa', however, probably means the chant performed in an improper manner by the Sājāta, or the jāmi or others, without the knowledge of the performer. In that case, the gods are invoked for protection against the sin committed by these who belong to the same clan as himself. Thus 'jāmi-sāmsa' should be translated as 'the chant of those belonging to the non-marriageable group', and 'sajāta-sāmsa' as 'the chant of our clansmen'. This, however, in the long run weakens the Sajatas, keeps out the 'jami's, and stamps the ambitious schemes of the elders and the younger ones, leading to the prosperity of the sacrificer. Anyway, whichever view we may adhere to with reference to 'sāmsa', it is apparent from this passage, that there is a difference between the conception of 'sajāta' and 'jāmi' in the sense that while the former merely come from the same clan, the latter not only come from the same clan, but are also beyond the range of marriage. It is in fact a difference in emphasis, one connected with the clan, the other with the non-exogamous group.

Lastly in the Śātapatha we find quite a number of passages wherein 'sajāta' occurs. Śāyana here too, as in the other Brahmanas interprets it in various ways. Thus in 1.2.1.7 in the context of the setting or placing of the kapālas <sub>(herds)</sub> in the Agnihotra, <sup>where</sup> the Brāhmanakara explains the

Mantra 'Sajāta-vanīti' as 'abundant are the Sajātas, thus he prays for abundance: (Sajāta-vanīti bhūmā vai sajātās tadbhūmanam <sup>(i)</sup> āsāste), Sāyana equates it with 'jñātayah' <sup>(ii)</sup>. In 1.9.1.15 in the context of the Sūktavāka, Samyuvāka etc., it is stated that 'in the Sajāta-vanasyā hymn, he glorifies the breaths, as the Sajātas, are like the breaths; one is born with (sahajata) the breaths' ('tat sajāta-vanasyām āsā<sup>s</sup>ta iti; prānā vai sajātāḥ prānair hi saha jāyate tat prānān āsāste). Sāyana has here "sajātas are 'brothers', the breaths are <sup>(also)</sup> one's own, and 'sajāta-vanasyā' is the lack of separation between them and the performer and them" (sajātā bhrātarah; ātmikāstu pranah; tesām ca tasya sambhaktistair aviyogah sajāta-vanasyā). In these passages we see that a relationship between the sacrificer and the 'sajātas' is implied but at the same time there is no <sup>specific</sup> indication towards blood-relationship. There is one more passage in the Śatapatha, which brings in once again the connection of the Grāmanī (village chief) and the Sajātas. In the context of the passing round of the 'Sphya' (sword), during the performance of the Rājasūya, it is stated that the 'Sphya' is handed over to the king, further to the 'sūta' or 'Sthapati', who in turn hands it over

(i) cf. Jaiminiya - 'jāta', above. <sup>(See</sup>  
(ii) Eggeling - 'kinsmen' - S.B.C.XII.



to the Grāmanī, the Gramani then passes it over to the Sajāta. It is also mentioned that this passing over has for its purpose, the weakening of the receiving party. Thus 'the Gramani, by handing it over to the Sajāta with the Mantra, you are the thunderbolt of Indra, serve me herewith' makes the Sajāta weaker than himself; the reason for their handing over in this manner, is that they do so in order that there may not be confusion, and it may remain as before. (1)

Eggeling annotates on 'sajāta' thus: 'The saajāta would seem to be one of the peasant proprietors of 'sharers' constituting the village 'brotherhood' ruled over by the headman and often actually belonging to the same family as the latter (Gaugenosse, clansman). (ii) It can, however, be safely inferred here, on the basis of the statement in the Jaiminiya ('yatraiva sajata bhavati tad grāmanīr bhavati) quoted above that the 'sajāta' even in this context is related to the 'grāmanī' in the sense that he comes from the clan to which the latter belongs. It may even be argued that the 'sajāta' in this context is one of the relations of the

- (1) 'tam grāmanīh saajātāya prayacchati; indrasya vajro' si tena me radhy-eti tena grāmanīh saajātam ātmano baliyūṁsam kurute tad yad evam samprayaçhante net pāpavasyasam asad, yathapurvam asad iti tasmad evam samprayaçchante (V.4.4.19). Eggeling gives rather a free translation - 'they do so lest there should be a confusion of classes, and in order that (society) may be in the proper order. S.B.E.XLI.III.
- (ii) Ibid.

'Grāmanī', <sup>who</sup> assists him in managing affairs connected with the clan or the village. That the 'sajāta' should be subordinated by the Grāmanī, is natural, as obedience from all members of the clan must have been demanded by the chief of that clan. Finally in the Taittirīya II.7.18.5., the close connection between the Grāmanī and 'sajātas' is expressly stated:

'vyatisakto vai grāmanīh sajātaih'.

The Śrauta Sūtras have practically nothing to say on 'sajāta', as probably by that time, the conception of 'samāna-jāti' had come to prevail, which though totally absent in the Brāhmaṇas, was a logical out-come or derivation from the older idea of sajāta.

From this comparative analysis, we may conclude that the word 'sajāta' was restricted in its sense inasmuch as it referred to those only with whom kinship could be claimed within the clan. The argument of Keith, referred to above, that 'sajāta' gradually came to imply 'equals' of whatever rank he or they may be' is justifiable to some extent, but that even in the Brāhmaṇas the 'primary sense' of the word was not altogether lost, cannot be denied. It is not certain, how far blood-relationship was conveyed by 'sajāta' but, that, it was involved in it to some extent is obvious, and it is in this strain that it can be translated best as 'fellows', or 'fellow-clansmen', specially in the context of the Grāmanī. It seems also fairly plausible <sup>to argue</sup> that it conveys a sense almost similar to that of 'samāna-jana'.

CHAPTER IV.

'Social and Functional Groups'

The background of the differentiation between the social and functional groups in society, is well known to those familiar with the Samhitās and the Brāhmanas. The memorable work of Zimmer, <sup>(i)</sup> which is the only one of its kind, to deal with the social life in particular, is really indispensable to forming an idea of the social frame-work in the age of the Samhitās. There are some incidental references to the Brāhmanas in it from this point of view, which are not without significance. <sup>(ii)</sup> Weber, <sup>(iii)</sup> and <sup>(iv)</sup> Winternitz, Keith and Macdonnell have also attached much importance to this classification, a knowledge of which is essential to framing up a picture of the Vedic society in toto. <sup>(v)</sup> Some of the recently published works, again present a more detailed analysis of the problem. The inferences drawn in these from some of the Brahmanā excerpts are, however, far from being justifiable. It is, therefore, worth-

(i) Alt. Leb. Chap. on 'Familie und Sittlichkeit'.

(ii) I.S.X.

(iii) H.T.L.I.

(iv) Vedic Index.

(v) Ghosh - Caste and class in India; "Vedic Age" etc.

while reconsidering some of these passages, the interpretation of which is still a matter of controversy.

As far as social groups are concerned, the situation is fairly simple, and the facts may be stated in outline. In the Śatapatha appears the off-quoted statement: 'the Varnas are four; the Brahman, the Rājanya, the Vaisya and the Śūdra (catvāro vai varṇāḥ; brāhmaṇo rajanyo vaiśyaḥ sudro).<sup>(1)</sup> It is significant that 'jāti' in the later sense of 'caste' is not known to the Brāhmaṇas, and it is difficult to decide whether 'varṇa' in these texts is better applicable to 'class' or 'caste'. We find, however, that the Rgvedic division of 'varṇa' into the 'ārya' and the 'dāsa' is replaced here by that of the Arya or the Daivya and the 'asurya'. In the context of the Mahāvrate, the symbolic striving of the Arya and the Śūdra on a piece of a round hide, results, according to the Tāndya<sup>(ii)</sup> in the victory of a member of the Ārya<sup>varṇa</sup> caste (Śūdrāryau carmaṇi vyāyacchete taylor āryam varṇam ujjāpayanti).<sup>(iii)</sup> The Taittirīya, in the same context, states that the Brahman represents the divine Varna, and the Śūdra, that associated with the Asuras (daivyo vai varṇo brāhmaṇaḥ asuryaḥ śūdraḥ) and in

(1) V.5.4.9.

(ii) V.5.14. - The Jaiminiya has 'śaudra' instead of 'asurya'.

(iii) I.2.6.7.

the struggle the Brahman is victorious (brāhmaṇaḥ saṃjayati).

Among these four 'varna's, the pre-eminence of the Brahman, and the servility of the Śūdra are fully established. The Taittirīya (i) refers to the Brahmans as veritable gods (ete vai devāḥ pratyakṣam yad brāhmaṇās), and the Śatapatha (ii) mentions them as 'human gods' (manuṣya-devā). "The woman, Śūdra, the dog and the blackbird are according to the latter 'untruth', and are not to be seen" (iii) (anrtam stri śūdraḥ aya kṛṣṇaḥ sakunis tani na preksate). It again prescribes non-communication with a Śūdra for the consecrated, stating that, "should there be occasion for him to converse with a Śūdra, let him say to one of those (the Brahman, Rājanya and Vaiśya) 'Tell this one so and so', 'tell this one so and so' (yady enam śūdrena saṃvādo vinded eteṣāṃ evaikam brūyād imam iti vicakṣv enam iti) (iv).

The Aitareya lays down that the 'Brahman is higher than the ksatriya' (bhuyān vai brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyād), and the Śūdra is 'the servant of another, to be removed and beaten at will', (anyasya preṣyaḥ kāmottḥāpyo yathā-kāma-vadhyo).

The Rājanya and the Viś or Vaiśya are mutually interdependent. It is usually the Rājanya who subordinates the

(i) I.7.3.1.

(ii) 'atha ye brāhmaṇāḥ śuśrūvāṃso 'nūcānās te manuṣyadevāḥ'.  
- cf. Winternitz, H.I.L.199; Weber I.S.X.35.

(iii) XIV.1.31.

(iv) III.1.1.10.

Vaiśya, as the latter is said to be subservient and not refractory to the nobility (ksatrāyaiva tad viśam krtānukaram anuvartamānam karoti). Further, in the Aitareya the Vaiśya-like progeny of the Kṣatriya who drinks curds, is described as 'anyasya balikṛt' (a tributary to another), 'anyasyādyaḥ' (to be lived upon by another) and 'yathākāma-jyeyah' (to be oppressed at will). According to the Tāṇḍya, however, 'the Rājan' (king or Kṣatriya) is the child (embryo) of the Viś (people or Vaiśya), (vid vai saptadasas tasya rājā garbho), who could expel him (aparuddha rājanya). This implies that the peasantry was sometimes more powerful than the nobility.

The precedence of the Brahman over both the Rājanya and the Viś is clearly stated: The Kṣatra and the Viś are made subject to the Brahman (brāhmaṇa eva ksatraṇca viśāṅgānuge karoti). At some places, however, we hear of the Brahman following the Rājan (not necessarily the king) - 'brāhmaṇo rājānam anucarati, and his being an object of respect after the Rājan (tasmat brāhmaṇo rājānam anu yaśah). In the Taittirīya, the Rājanya is spoken of as 'doing much that is untruth' and one of his evil deeds is stated to be 'the conquering or subjecting of the Brahman. These

(i) S.B.XIII.2.2.15.

(ii) VII.29.

(iii) II.10.4.

(iv) P.B.II.8.2.; XI.11.9; XV.6.3.

(v) S.B.1.2.3.2.

(vi) Ibid. V.4.2.7.

(vii) See passage quoted above in connection with 'jami'.

passages and many such like show that the supremacy of the Brahman was not fully accepted by the Rājanya.

Regarding the inter-relation between the Vaiśya and the Śūdra it is apparently impossible to infer from the passage (quoted above) in the Tāndya, describing the Mahāvratā, that the necessity of clearly distinguishing the Aryan Vaiśya from the Śūdra, 'who was a doubtful Aryan' <sup>(i)</sup> was clearly felt in those days, since the <sup>word</sup> expression 'Arya-varṇa' is understood, only by the commentators on the Sūtras, in the sense of a Vaiśya, and may not necessarily be the view of the Brāhmaṇa-<sup>(ii)</sup> kāra.

It may be interesting to note here, that in the Taittirīya Saṃhita it is laid down in the context of the Māhendra sacrifice, that the 'agata-srī' should not perform the Māhendra sacrifice; three are the 'Gatasrī's, the learned (Brahman), the Grāmanī and the Rājanya' (nā' gata-srīḥ māhendram yajeta; trayo vai gatasrīyah; sūśrūvān, grāmanī rājanyas). <sup>(iii)</sup> Similarly in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 'gatasrī' appears in the context of the milking of the cow, during the performance of the Agni-hotra; "the udders of the cow facing the east should be milked by the eldest among brothers, the son of the eldest among the co-wives, or whoever

(i) See V.A.450.

(ii) The parallel Taittirīya version (also referred to above) clearly has: 'brāhmaṇasā śūdrāsā carmakarte vyāyacchete".

(iii) II.5.4.4. cf. VII.2.7.

is a 'gataśrī', while those facing the west, should be milked by the youngest, or the son of the youngest among the co-wives, or one who wishes to be established.'

(purvau duhyāḥ jyeṣṭhasya jyaisthineyasya, yo vā gataśrīḥ  
<sup>dhvyāt</sup>  
 syat aparau kanīṣṭhasya kanīṣṭhaneyasya; yo vā bubhūset.) (1)

Here, according to the Sūtrakaras 'yo vā bubhūset' refers to the 'ānujāvāra' who may be compared with the 'agata-śrī' in the Saṃhitā. It is rather strange that the word should be taken by commentators to convey the idea of the 'prosperous one', (ii) since in accordance with its form, it should signify the reverse. Possibly they have interpreted it in conformity with its derivation, in the Kāthaka, the Maitrāyaṇī and the Taittirīya, in their treatment of the Dvādāśa-rātra. The justification for the drawing of the Śukra cup first by the 'Gata-śrī', according to these texts, <sup>lies</sup> in the fact the 'the Śukra is yonder sun, this is the end, man having reached the end of prosperity stops; from the end indeed, he grasps the end, and thenceforth does not resort to evil'. (śukraṃ grhnīta gataśrīr, asau vā ādityas sukra, eso 'anto, 'ntam manusyaś śrīyo gatvā nivartate, antād evāntam ālabhate, na tataḥ pāpīyān bhavati). (iii) A similar explanation is found in the Śatapatha where, in the context of the kindling of fire, during the performance of the Darsapūrnāmāsa, it is stated, that 'the verses should be recited for the 'gataśrī' by one who wishes neither to

(i) II.1.8.1.

(ii) cf. Śāyana - 'prāpta-śrīkah'.

(iii) Kāt. - XXX.3.T.S. VII.2.7; cf. M.S.III.8.3.;9.1.etc.



attain prosperity nor be degraded. (Ta haitā gatasr̥er  
evānubruyād ya icched na sreyaṅt syām na pāpīyān). (i)

The only inference that we can derive from these inter-  
pretations is that 'gatasr̥ī' denotes 'one who is well-  
established'. (ii) As it is peculiar to the Brāhmanas in  
this sense, it may be considered to have been of primary  
importance <sup>only</sup> in the context of rituals, as was also the  
case with 'Ānujāvāra' and 'Bhrātr̥vyā'. The learned  
Brahman, the Grāmanī (iii) and the Rājanya (presumably the  
warrior-chief, naturally came to be designated as the  
'gatasr̥ī's, as they were the thriving ones in their own  
classes.

Among functional groups, (iv) most of which are known  
to us from the lists of victims at the Purusamedha in the Vājas-  
aneyī (Samhitā) and the Taittirīya (Brahmana), those of the  
'Ratha-kāra' and the 'Taksan' raise interesting issues.  
The 'Taksan' (carpenter) appears in the R̥gveda as 'wishing  
to break wood into pieces' (taksan ristam rutam bhīsak  
brahma sunvantam icchati). (v) Again in the Atharvaveda, he  
is mentioned as the 'skilful worker with the axe' (śikvah

- (i) I.3.5.12. cf. Eggeling XII.98, who also quotes the Kanva  
version, which is 'much briefer and clearer'.  
(ii) cf. Eggeling 'one of established prosperity' & Keith -  
'prosperous one' - Y.B.Y. (trans.) 19.  
(iii) According to the Satapatha, he is usually a Vaiśya  
(Vaiśyo vai Grāmanīh). V.3.1.6.  
(iv) Some of these are also found in the 'sata-rudriya' litany  
in Kat. 9.XVII.12.13; Kap. 9.XXVII.3; M. 8.II.9.3.4.4.5;  
V. 5.XVI.21-28; T. 3.IV.5.  
(v) IX.112.1. - 'tast̥r̥' (identical in sense), however,  
appears more than once - I.61.4; 105.18; 130.4. etc.

parāvadhīt takṣā hastena vāsyā).<sup>(i)</sup> There is no reference to the 'rathakāra' in the Rgveda. In A.V.III.5.6., however, 'the intelligent rathakāras' (chariot-makers) are described as the 'upastī's (dependents) of the king, together with the "clever 'karmāra's" (smiths).<sup>(ii)</sup>

In the Samhitās of the Black Yajurveda,<sup>(iii)</sup> in the context of the offerings to Rudra, the 'takṣan's and the 'rathakāra's are placed in close proximity (namo namas takṣabhyo rathakārebhyaśca), obviously due to their occupations being alike.

In the context of the Puruṣamedha, the 'rathakāra' is clearly distinguished from the 'takṣan' inasmuch as the former is to be consecrated to 'skill', and the latter to 'perseverance'.<sup>(iv)</sup> (medhāyai ratha-kāraṁ, dhairyāya takṣaṇam). It may be inferred from this, that the 'rathakāra', being employed specially for the making of chariots, was far more accomplished than the ordinary carpenter who turned out wood-work of a cruder type.<sup>(v)</sup>

(i) X.6.3.

(ii) 'ye dhīvāno ratha-kāraṁ, karmāra ye manīsinah; upastīn parna mahyam tvam sarvān kṛvy abhito janān'. Sāyana's interpretation of 'dhīvānaḥ' as 'matsyikāḥ' (fishermen) is rather doubtful, though the authors of the Vedic Index accept it, since the usual word for fishermen is 'dhaivara' or 'dhivara'. The Paippalāda recension has 'ye takṣāno rathakāraṁ karmāra ye manīsinah (III.13.7). Here, presumably a difference is made between the carpenter and the chariot-maker.

(iii) cf. V.8.XVI.27.

(iv) XXX.6; T.B.III.4.2.1.

(v) In the R.V., however, the making of chariots was also associated with 'takṣan' (see V.I.1.297).

(1)

Among the references to the 'takṣan' in the Brāhmanas, that in Ś.B.I.1.3.12., merits consideration. Here, in the context of the new and the full-moon sacrifices, in connection with the sprinkling (of water) on the sacrificial vessels (yajna-pātrāni prokṣati) it is stated: 'whatever of these (gods) is touched by the impure carpenter, or one not fit for sacrifice, that, he (performer) purifies by (sprinkling) water (on it)' - ('tad yadevaiṣām atrāsūddhas takṣa vānyo vāmedhyah kaścit parāhanti tadevaiṣām etad adhir medhyam karoti'). This is the only passage in the Brāhmanas which refers to the impurity of the carpenter, who makes the sacrificial vessels, thus rendering them impure by his touch. The reason for such an impurity is not clear, but it seems possible that there may be a connection with an earlier idea of offence to the woodland spirits in the desecration of the tree. (ii)

With reference to the Ratha-kāra, on the other hand, the Taittiriya prescribe the mantra; 'Oh Lord of vows, (Agni), I place thee with the vows of the Rbhu gods' for performing the Agnyādhāna (placing of the fire), according to the deity' (Rbhūnām tvā devānām vratapate vratēnādadhāmīti

(i) G.B.I.2.21; Ś.B.II.3.1.21; III.6.4.4.; J.B.II.269.72

(ii) This view has been suggested by Professor Brough. It must be noted that in the case of the chariot-maker this impurity would not apply, since the latter may be held to work in dead, or cut-wood, thus giving no offence to the spirits of the trees.

ratha-kārasya yathā devatam agnir ādhīyate. <sup>(i)</sup> Sāyana, in this context, raises the query whether 'the chariot-maker is a Brahman (Ksatriya or Vaiśya) or some one else, and answers that he could be a Brahman etc., if it (the word Ratha-kṛt) 'is broken up into its component parts but through convention a different class (is meant), and for his ādhana the rainy season <sup>(ii)</sup> is mentioned'. (viprādīr eva rathakṛd anyo vā; 'dyo' stu yogatah, rūdher varnāntaram; tasyādhāne varsartur ucyate). The same question is discussed by Jaiminī in his Pūrva-mīmāṃsā Sūtras (VI.1.44.50). According to him, the 'rathakāra's are 'Sādhanvan's who represent a caste below the Vaiśya but superior to the 'Sūdra'. <sup>(iii)</sup>

It is logical to conclude from this that the Ratha-kāra being placed after the Brahman. Rājanya and Vaiśya, and having a special Ādhana-mantra represents a different class, and has the right to perform sacrifices. It is, however, far from possible that he is a Sūdra, as in the Brāhmanas, a member of the fourth class, is clearly stated to be 'ayajñīya' and 'videva'. Again, it is apparent from the statement in the Śatapatha <sup>(iv)</sup> with regard to the residence of the Brahman who knows not of the Asvamedha, in

(i) T.B.I.1.4.8.

(ii) cf. K.S.S. - 'varsāḥ prajāpasūkāma-vaiśya-ratha-kṛtām.

(iii) cf. Kane - H.D.S. Vol. II.1.45.

(iv) 'tesām ratha-kāra-kula eva vo vastis tad hy asvāsya āyatanamiti'.

the house of the 'ratha-kāra', that he is a man of  
 consequence. <sup>(i)</sup> Thus it seems possible that the Ratha-  
 kāra was originally held to be a man of specialised im-  
 portance, possibly even as a sub-division <sup>(ii)</sup> of the Vaiśya.  
 Later, with the wider spread of skilled labour through the  
 community, and the consequent loss of his unusual position,  
 there follows the steady decline of the esteem in which  
 he is held, and his subsequent relegation to the lower,  
 non-Aryan caste. <sup>(iii)</sup> There is certainly no evidence for  
 the use of the word in the specific sense of the offspring  
 of the union between the Karanī (the daughter of a 'śūdra'  
 woman through her Vaiśya husband) and the Bāhiśya (the son  
 of a Vaiśya woman and a Kṣatriya man), in the Brāhmanas. <sup>(iv)</sup>

(i) of. V.I.II.266.

(ii) of. Ibid. 265.

(iii) This conjecture differs from that of the authors of  
 the Vedic Index who see the reason for this decline  
 in the growth of a revulsion against manual labour.

(iv) Yā: I.95. 92. Kāt.<sup>5r.5.</sup>4.9.5.

CHAPTER V.The Vrātya Problem.

One of the most interesting and intricate problems that strikes us, while studying the social conditions of the Vedic age, is undoubtedly that of the Vrātyas. To all Indologists interested in the Vedas, it has been a matter of prime importance to endeavour to solve what Hauer has rightly referred to in his comprehensive work 'Der Vrātya', as 'das Vrātya-Rätsel'. The abstruse nature of the passages which mention the Vrātyas in particular, coupled with the apparent contradictions found in their conception in texts, which are not probably much separated chronologically, has led scholars to approach the problem from many angles, resulting in the accumulation of a mass of analytical material, ranging from brief reviews to prolonged theses. The answer to this riddle, however, is still uncertain.

An attempt has been made by Hauer in his work to state briefly the widely-divergent views of scholars who have preceded him in studying this problem. The list is a fairly complete one, as it takes into account most of the former interpretations, that have appeared

in journals and bulletins both in the West and the East, from the time of Weber, when Vedic research was in its infancy, down to his days. As there have been some more Vedic interpreters in the East, who have tried to explain the 'vrātya' references in the Vrātya texts, in a totally different manner, even after the appearance of Hauer's treatise, a better and more complete review will hardly be considered to be superfluous. Moreover, a further analysis of the subject would be meaningless without a detailed treatment of the contributions of those who had formerly studied it in extenso.

1. 'Critical Review of past investigations'.

Weber, as has been noticed by Winternitz and Hauer, was the first orientalist to refer to passages in the Tāndya Mahā-brāhmaṇa, dealing with the sacrifices of the Vrātyas, the Vrātya-stomas. In the very first part of the first volume of his 'Indische Studien' he quoted excerpts from the seventeenth chapter of this Brāhmaṇa, and added his own translations. It was suggested by him, that these Vrātya-stoma passages were of special significance with regard to the date of composition of the Tāndya. He understood the Vrātyastomas as special ceremonies through

which, Indians of Aryan origin, but not living according to the Brahmanical system, obtained admission into the Brahman community (die Ceremonien abgehandelt, durch welche arische, aber nicht brahmanische lebende Inder in den brahmanischen Verband Eintritt gewinnen). (i)

In the same volume also appeared Theodor Aufrecht's well-known edition and translation of Book XV. of the Atharvaveda which is usually known as the Vrātya Book. A.V.XV., as Lanman claims "was the first book of the Atharvaveda to be translated in any occidental language". (ii) Annotating generally on A.V.XV., Aufrecht added that the word 'Vrātya' was not to be met with anywhere else in the Atharvaveda, and can be possibly derived from 'vrāta' occurring in A.V. II.9.1; Y.V.III.55 etc., having the sense of 'multitude'. He further referred to Patañjali's explanation of 'vrāta' on Pān. V.2.21., mentioned the statement of the scholiast on Pān. V.3.113., on the existence of the Vrāta families e.g. the Kapotapāka and Vrihimata, quoted Mahīdhara's interpretation of 'vrāta-saha' in Y.V.XXIX.45 (vrātān sūra-samūhān sahate) and pointed out the mention of the 'vrātya' in the context of the Puruṣamedha in Y.V.XXX.8. Lastly he surmised that the Vrātya Book was probably a common

(i) I.33

(ii) Whitney-Atharvaveda (Trans.) - Introduction to Book XV.



glorification of the Upanaya i.e. the entry of the Vrātya himself, of his own accord, into the community of the Aryans ("das Vrātya-buch sei eine allgemeine Verherrlichung des dem Upanaya, dem Eintritt in den Verband der Ārya, sich unterziehenden Vrātya"). (1) Are we to infer from this that he considered the Vrātyas to be Non-Aryans?

In his lectures on the History of Indian Literature, again for the first time, Weber discussed the position of the Vrātyas as they appear in the Atharva Saṁhitā and the Sūtras. A.V., in his opinion, 'mostly originated in the Brahmanical period, yet songs and formulae may have been incorporated which properly belonged to these un-Brahmanical Aryans of the West', and 'a very peculiar relation to these tribes is revealed in the XVth book, where the Supreme Being is actually called by the name of 'Vrātya' and at the same time associated with the attributes that are peculiar to the Vrātyas in the Sāmaveda. Similarly in the Atharvana Upanisads the word is employed in the sense of 'pure in himself', to indicate the Supreme Being'. (ii) Dealing with the Sūtras of the Sāmaveda he pointed out, that the Śyena sacrifice applying only to the Vrātīnas in the Sadvimsa Brāhmana should be connected with non-Brahmanical

(1) Op. cit. I.139.

(ii) Lit. Ges. (Trans.) - 112.

western Vrātyas who are considered to be on a par with the eastern non-Brahmanical, i.e. Buddhistic teachers, as Lātyāyana in his Śrauta Sūtra mentions the converted Vrātyas as transferring their former impurity to a Brahmanabandhu Māgadha-deśīya. (1) It is clear from this, that Weber tried to connect the Ātharvāna Vrātya with the Vrātyas and Vrātīnas of the Brāhmanas and the Sūtras. It seems from his way of arguing, that he understood 'Māgadha-deśīya' of Lātyāyana as 'one belonging to Magadha in the east'.

Böhtlingk and Roth, however, argued differently. They derived 'Vrātya' from 'vrāta' and defined it as 'one belonging to a roving band', a 'vagrant' or 'one moving about' or 'member of a fellowship that was outside the Brahmanical pale' (einer schweifenden Bande angehörig, Landstrelcher; Mitglied einer Genossenschaft, welche ausserhalb der brahmanische Ordnung steht). (ii) Further with reference to the Ātharvāna Vrātya, they denied the relationship between him and the Vrātyas of the Brāhmanas and the Sūtras. In their opinion, the praise of the Vrātya in the XVth Book of the A.V. has for its purpose, only to idealize the pious vagrant or the wandering religious mendicant (Den Preis des Vrātya in A.V.15 betrachten wir als Idealisierung des frommen Vaganten oder Bettlers 'parivrājakas'). In other words they

(1) Op.cit. 76; Tr. 78.

(ii) P.W. See under Vrātya.

held that the Vrātyas were merely nomadic tribes, having no connections with the Brāhmins.

Zimmer referred to the Vrātyas and the mixed castes while discussing 'State and Law in the Vedic period'. He stated clearly that the Vrātyas belonged to a distinct social order, though they owed allegiance to the Brahmanical State. They were Aryans, who generally did not subordinate themselves to the Brahmanic-Order, and like some other tribes found their abode to the west of the Sarasvati. <sup>(i)</sup>

Rajaram Ramkrishna Bhagvat was, perhaps, the first to examine in detail the position of the Vrātyas with special reference to the 17th chapter of the Tāndya Mahā-brāhmaṇa. He viewed the problem in a totally different manner, and evidently worked upon the hypothesis that the Vrātyas were originally Non-Aryan tribes and their habitat was probably in the East (Bihar). To put it in his own words: "the graphic description of Vrātya life as found in the Tāndya, clearly establishes that the Vrātyas originally represented some Non-Aryan tribes. Their peculiar outfit, as described in the Brāhmaṇa is enough proof of their being semi-civilized. In the Sūtra period they are known to have acknowledged the three-

(i) Alt. Leben - 216.

fold division of society into the 'educated', 'the high-born' and the 'wealthy'. "This division coupled with their faith in the three Vedas," according to him, "gave impetus to 'the Aryan plan of assimilation by conversion, which may have been suggested to them by the need for expansion'. Further, 'the Vrātyas failed to stand against the Aryans due to the lack of a cohesive force within them, and retired ignominiously from the unequal contest leaving the combined Aryans masters of the field. He again suggested the possibility of some Aryans being called Vrātyas due to their free associations with the 'licentious or gay Vrātya women' as can be inferred from the fact stated here, that a class of Vrātyas were named 'Sama-nīca-medhira'. Thus it appeared to him that the word 'Vrātya' had a triple significance in the Vedas, e.g., Non-Aryan, semi-civilized, and the licentious Aryan. Concluding, he pointed out that in spite of the fact that today in Mahārāṣṭra the Vrātya-stomas are completely forgotten due to the unpopularity of the Sama-veda among the Mahārāstri Brahmins, and the Brahman priest hardly knowing how to perform it for himself or for others, curiously enough, the word 'vrātya' is "still preserved in the sense of 'naughty', 'unmanageable', 'playing pranks' in the every day language of the Maratha people". (1)

(1) J.B.(B), R.A.S. - Vol. 19 357ff.

It is difficult to say precisely to what extent the description in the Tāṇḍya represents such facts, as shall be clear, later on when the Brāhmana evidence is examined. The use of the word in <sup>the</sup> present day in Marathi is certainly not based on its occurrence in the Brāhmanas, as the modern sense given to it agrees more with the interpretation of the later Smṛtikāras.

(1)  
Hillebrandt in his Ritual - Literatur, explaining the one day sacrifices (Ekāhas) had also something to say on the Vrātya-stomas and the Vrātyas. He, however, took into account only the passages in the Tāṇḍya on them and also the Sūtras. A.V.XV., was strictly speaking, beyond the scope of his ritualistic study of Vedic literature. He quoted the later conception of Vrātya as 'sāvitrī-patita' (fallen from or deprived of Sāvitrī), found in Manu, Yājñavalkya etc. He sided with Weber in maintaining, that they belong to the non-Brahmanical groups of tribes, and especially to those who were to be admitted into the Brahman community. He had no theory of his own, and restricting his findings to the purely philological sphere, gave a wholly factual analysis of the Vrātyas and their sacrifices. He also accepted Weber's translations

(1) G.Ia. Ph. - Bd. III. Hft. 2. - 1387f.

of the references to the Vrātyas in the Brāhmanas. His contribution to the problem through a presentation of concrete data from the Brāhmanas and the Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, gives a further basis, as Hauer rightly remarks, to Weber's deduction, that the Vrātyas should be associated with countries to the East of the Land of Brahmanical culture, like Magadha etc. (1)

Lanman in his introduction to Whitney's translation of A.V.XV., brought out the statement of the Anukramanī which significantly connects the Vrātya with Brahman, as one of its many forms, and puts him on a par with the 'brahmacārin', 'skambha' and the 'palita', using all these terms in the same verse. The latter have been extolled, he mentioned, in A.V. (XI.5; X.7,8; IX.9. etc.). Further he referred to the penultimate verse of the Chandogya Upaniṣad, which states that the remains of the sacrifice offered either to the outcast or the Omnipresent, or All-soul are of equal merit, only if the offering is done with the 'right knowledge', and surmised that 'a similar idea' is, perhaps, expressed in A.V.XV. Much more valuable was his considered opinion: 'In spite of its puerility and surface-obscurity the book (A.V.XV.) is not unworthy

(1) Der Vratya.-p.15. This deduction of Weber is purely based on Lātyayana's reference to 'prācya-ratha' (the car of the easterners) and 'Māgadha-deśīya) in connection with the Vrātya-stomas. Thus, according to him, the Vrātyas originally came from the West, but were afterwards mixed up with the Eastern Vrātinās.

of a searching investigation" which made the study of the Vrātya problem almost imperative with later Indologists.

Bloomfield, in his earlier work 'Hymns of the Atharvaveda' had gone to the extent of stating that both the books XV and XVI were of 'doubtful quality and chronology'. In his later contribution - 'Atharvaveda and the Gopatha Brāhmana', (1) though he abided by his former view in calling the contents of book XV., still 'too absurd for analysis', yet was compelled to deal with our problem. He was of the same opinion as Lanman in taking the theme of this book to be in reality 'Brahman', though section 5 introducing the 'mūrtis' of Rudra was, according to him, certainly under Śivaitic influence. He interpreted Vrātya as - 'a Brahmaçārin or at any rate one who has entered the Brahmanical community after having been converted from an Aryan but non-brahmanical tribe'. Again the Vrātya-stomas described at length in the Brāhmanas and Sūtras were, in his estimation, rites which 'make it possible for an unholy half-savage community (cf. Pañcavimsā Br. 17.1. - 2) to become Brahmans'. He also pointed out the reasonable connection of A.V.XV., and Pv.Br.17.1-4, and concluded that the Vrātya 'having become holy enough,

(1) G.Ia.Ph. - 1909 - 94.

through his acquired 'brahmacaryam' is emphatically the representative of Brahman; like the Brahmacārin he is apotheosized'.

Hopkins, about the same time, in his treatment of the 'Gods and Saints of the Great Brāhmaṇa',<sup>(i)</sup> made a passing reference to the Vrātyas and recalled Weber's statement on the chronological position of the Tāndya Mahā-Brāhmaṇa. He indicated further, that, the Vrātyas were probably 'a host of still non-Brahmanized outlaws, vagrants who wander about in a sort of gypsy wagon'. Clearly he was influenced by the interpretations of Böhtlingk and Roth.

R.P. Chanda incidentally referred to the Vrātyas and Yatis in his article on the 'Survival of the Pre-historic civilisation of the Indus Valley',<sup>(ii)</sup> He found the existence of two classes of non-Brahman magician priests in the Vedic and the proto-historic periods, e.g. the Vrātyas and the Yatis respectively in Vedic literature. He also agreed with Roth in maintaining that the prototype of the mystical Vrātya was the wandering or religious mendicant, while the Vrātya himself was 'a true Śadhu', 'a Siddha-puruṣa', who 'acquired the highest occult powers'.

(i) Trans. Con. Aca. - XV.

(ii) M.A.S.I. - 41.



Further, in his opinion, A.V.XV.8., shows the close connection of the Vrātya with the Ksatriya caste, and A.V.XV.3., indicates that he practised Yoga; the Yatis were probably the fore-runners of the Vrātyas and the aim of the Vrātya sacrifices described in the Brāhmanas was to incorporate within the Brāhmana caste a class of religious mendicants, who were occasionally employed as priests in non-Vedic and indirectly even in Vedic sacrifices. (1) Finally he supposed that with the growing popularity of Vedic religion the Yatis receded into the background and were gradually reduced to the position of the out-casted religious mendicants or Vrātyas.

With Bloomfield and Hopkins we probably reach the end of the first phase of the process of research on the Vrātyas. The second phase is represented by others holding totally different views. Before we pass on to the next stage, it is necessary to analyse the opinions of these former scholars and ascertain how far they help us in understanding the true life and character of the Vrātya. Thus, critically viewing the deductions of Weber, Aufrecht, Böhtlingk and Roth, Zimmer, R.R. Bhagavat, Hillebrandt,

(1) cf. A.V.XV.2.

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Lanman, Bloomfield, Hopkins and R.P. Chanda, we find the main points of emphasis are: (a) the tribal aspect of the Vrātya derived from 'vrāta' used in the sense of 'multitude'; (b) the Aryan or Non-Aryan character of the Vrātyas; (c) their non-Brahmanical practices; (d) their location on the fringes of the East or West; (e) their assimilation in the Brahman community through the right performance of the Vrātya-stomas; and (f) an underlying connection between the Vrātya of A.V.XV., the 'Vrātina' of the Śadvimśā and Lat. Sr. S., and Vrātyāḥ' of the Pañcavimśā. Böhtlingk and Roth denied the tribal aspect and also the Vrātya-Vrātina connection. Hopkins characterized them as outlaws. Bhāgavat thought them to be Non-Aryans. Lanman and Bloomfield took them to be outcasts and members of a half-savage community respectively, and equated the Ātharvana Vrātya with the Brahmaçārin as one of the forms of Brahman. Weber, Aufrecht and Zimmer unhesitatingly defined them as western non-Brahmanized Aryan tribes. R.P. Chanda connected them with the Yatis. The only point on which all have agreed, with but one exception, is that regarding the Vrātya as a Non-Brahman Aryan.

The second phase is represented by the investigations of J. Charpentier, K. Chattopadhyaya, Keith and Macdonell,

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Winternitz, Hauer, N.N. Ghosh, B.L. Mukerji, D.R. Bhandarkar and A.P. Karmarkar.

In his essay on Rudra-Siva, Charpentier studied the Vrātya problem from quite a different angle. Here, <sup>(i)</sup> he described the Vrātyas, as a band of people not governed by the rules of caste, probably representing the worst elements of Indian society, - the thief, the robber, the highway maurauder, the drunken one etc. He suggested, further, a probable connection of these with the wild tribes in the Vindhya e.g. the Bhils, the Pulindas, the Śabaras etc., and surmised that originally they may have been members of the Pre-Aryan autochthone tribal groups, but their later association with the highly civilised rulers and nobles inhabiting the eastern part of India, especially the State of Magadha, such as the Licchavis in Vaisālī, the Mallas in Pāvā and Kusinara, seems strange. The only explanation, in his opinion lies in taking them to be the ancient worshippers of Siva, connected with a religion that the orthodox Brahman priests and law-givers have hinted at, already in the period of the R̥gveda with <sup>(ii)</sup> abhorrence. The Vrātya hymns of the Atharvaveda appeared to him as 'nothing more than a small collection of psalms

(i) W.Z.K.M. Vol. 23.151ff.

(ii) W.Z.K.M. 25 - 355ff.

for the Śiva-devotee (Um zu den Vrātya-Hymnen des Atharva-veda.....eine 'kleine Psalmensammlung der Śiva Verehrer enthalten), as is clearly deducible from the 1st 'paryāya' of A.V.XV. In his later 'Bemerkungen ueber die Vrātyas', he studied the problem in greater detail. In this article he examined most of the sources dealing with the Vrātya stomas, ranging from the Tāṇḍya to the works of Manu and Yajñavalkya. He translated and critically annotated the relevant passages in the Tāṇḍya, as well as the fifteenth book of the A.V. His main conclusions were: (a) the Vrātyas are the originators of the wide-spread Rudra-Śiva cult and spiritual predecessors of the ancient and modern Śivaites; (b) the Vrātya-stomas are rites to mark the entry of these into the Brahman community, <sup>who were</sup> looked upon suspiciously by the orthodox fellows; (c) the Ātharvana Vrātya is identical with Rudra-Śiva; (d) the 'grhapati' of the Vrātyas mentioned in the Brāhmanas and the Sūtras is also comparable with Rudra-Śiva as is clear from the similarity between his dress and the imagined outfit of Rudra.

Keith found it difficult to agree with Charpentier's view-point and subjected his inferences to severe criticism, <sup>(i)</sup> reviewing his contribution inasmuch as it <sup>re-</sup>presented

(i) J.R.A.S. 1913.

<sup>attempt</sup> an <sup>solve</sup> solution to the problem. Thus he pointed out: (a) Manu's reference to the Rājanya Vrātyas, e.g. Licchavis and Mallas (X.22) has no value for Vedic times; (b) Pāṇḍya XVII.1.1., can not have any connection with Śat. 1.7.3.1., as Dyutāna Māruta could not be identified with Śiva; (c) the equation of the Vrātya 'grhapati' with Rudra Śiva was impossible as the similarity of apparel is not supported by textual evidence; (d) no confirmation could be found in the Atharva-veda for the Vrātya-Rudra identification, as A.V.XV., is only a 'late piece in Brāhmaṇa style' and it is natural to find theological speculations in it. Further, 'Bhava', 'Śarva', 'Rudra', 'Paśupati', 'Ugraḍeva' and 'Īśāna' are all forms symbolic of the cosmic potency of the Vrātya, and have no bearing on his original nature. He also indicated certain fundamental difficulties not explained by Charpentier's interpretations: (1) the total absence of any rite in Vedic religion in which a certain deity, who is conceived of here as the Supreme Brahman, is supposed to be received into the order of the orthodox deities; (2) Rudra-Śiva was not out<sup>side</sup> of the pantheon of gods in the Brāhmaṇa period (cf. Śatarudriya of the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā); the dreadful conception of the Rgvedic Rudra leading to that of Rudra-Śiva in the Brāhmaṇa period, does not imply that Rudra-Śiva was a strange

god, unknown to the Brāhmanakāras; (3) certain characteristics of the Vrātyas mentioned in the Pañcaviṃśā remain unexplained in the Rudra-Sīva context, e.g. non-practice of agriculture and trade, different code of law and difference in language.

(1)  
According to authors of the Vedic Index, the Vrātyas are outcastes and the Pañcaviṃśā speaking of the Vrātyastomas, refers to four different types of outcastes, though, those belonging to the first category (that of hīna) alone, were 'really important Vrātyas, others being subsidiary'. Again, they could not be Non-Aryans (as suggested) by Bhagavat, as they are expressly stated (in the P.B.) to have spoken the tongue of the consecrated, though they were unconsecrated, and also because they 'probably had a somewhat Prakṛtic form of speech'. Further, in their opinion the view that they were Aryans was more confirmed by the fact that they were allowed to become members of the Brahman community by performance of the Vrātya-stomas, which could hardly be natural in the case of the Non-Aryans. The locality of the Vrātyas, which could be either in the East or West of the Sarasvati, does not provide additional help to solve

(1) Vol. II. 342ff.

the problem, and A.V.XV., treats the Vrātya 'in so mystical a way that he is represented as being in all quarters'. They did not accept Roth's interpretation of this mystic Vrātya <sup>(i)</sup> and agreed with Bloomfield and Lanman in imagining the purpose of A.V.XV., to be limited to 'exalting the converted Vrātya as a type of perfect Brahmācārin and in so far, of the divinity' <sup>(ii)</sup>.

K. Chattopadhyaya, in his two articles entitled 'The Boghazkoi inscriptions and their value for Vedic chronology' <sup>(iii)</sup> and 'Dionysus in Megasthenes' <sup>(iv)</sup>, suggested that the Aryans who were wandering about in Asia Minor between 2,000 B.C. and 1,500 B.C. should be associated with the Vrātyas. In the first article, he argued that the Vrātyas, who were Aryans, had entered India from the North, as the Vāj. Sam. in the context of the Purusamedha (human sacrifice) mentions the Gandharvas and Apsarasas together with the Vrātya, which implies that he was a Northener <sup>(v)</sup>. He limited the date of their arrival in India to the beginning of the Brāhmana period, as A.V.XV., Pv.Br. Vāj.S. (XXX) and the corresponding 'portion of it in the Taittirīya Brāhmana', in which we find the earliest

(i) Ibid.

(ii) Op.cit. 343

(iii) C.R.1924 - 287ff.

(iv) IIIrd. Or. Conference. Madras. - 1925. 261ff.

(v) This inference is probably based on a supposed connection of the semi-mythical Gandharvas and Apsarasas with the tribes of the north, which is clearly impossible.

mention of the Vrātyas are ascribed to this period. He further maintained that the Vrātyas leading a nomadic life formerly, were deeply concerned with their religion, though they never performed sacrifices, and it was after some time, that they were 'overcome' by the 'glamour' and 'convinced' of the superiority of Vedic sacrifices and the Vedic way of life, and thought of entering the Brahman - Vedic fold through the performances of the Vrātya-stomas. He also contended that the Ātharvana Vrātya was no converted Vrātya, but one 'still a Vrātya and fresh from his northern home'. He concluded: 'whether they actually invaded India is not known, they may have only sneaked their way into the land like gypsies'. In his second article he referred to the expression 'daivā vrātyah' in the Tāndya XXIV.18 and proposed that they should be looked upon as the original Vrātyas appearing in a deified manner and represented possibly the early Aryan immigrants. These two articles, as we see from the way of argumentation were attempts to solve the problem on a political basis :

'Die Vrātyas', a short discussion on 'the Vratyas' by Winternitz, <sup>(1)</sup> should certainly be deemed to have made a distinct contribution towards a synthetic study of our problem. Formerly referring to A.V.XV., he had stated

(1) Zeit. fuer Bud. VI. 311f.



that 'composed in prose it is probably one of ritualistic origin, a kind of mystically complex glorification of the Vrātya, i.e., those Non-Aryans who were brought into the Brahman caste, and the sayings (mantras) were connected probably with a ceremony through which this admission of the Non-Aryan Vrātya into the Aryan Brahmanical society was accomplished' (Rituellen ursprungs ist wahrscheinlich auch das in Prosa abgefasste XV Buch. Es ist dies eine mystische verworrene Verherrlichung des Vrātya, d.h. des in die Brahmanenkaste aufgenommenen Nichtariers; und die Sprüche wurden wohl bei einer Zeremonie verwendet, mittelst welcher diese Aufnahme vollzogen wurde<sup>(i)</sup>). Here, again, with regard to the Vratyastomas, he stated, that they were of special interest being sacrificial ceremonies through which one belonging to a nomadic (wildly living), (possibly) non-Aryan tribe, was admitted into the Brahman caste': (opferzeremonien durch welche Angehörige wildlebender, vermutlich nichtarischer Stämme in die Brahmanen kaste aufgenommen wurden<sup>(ii)</sup>). In the article stated above, he studied the problem and on the basis of all the textual sources that deal with the Vrātyas, came to certain tentative

(i) Ges. Ind. Lit. - 130.

(ii) Ibid. - 166.

conclusions. He started by analysing the views of others who preceded him, and in particular criticized those of Charpentier and J.W. Hauer. <sup>(1)</sup> 'Etymologically' he conjectured, 'vrātya' could be derived either from "vrata" (religious vow) or from "vrāta" (band):' ("Etymologisch kann 'vrātya' entweder von 'vrata' (religiöse Pflicht), (Brauch), oder von 'vrāta' (Sehar), (Bande), abgeleitet werden"). He, however, was of the opinion that both 'vrātya' and 'vrātina' should be derived from 'vrāta' and not, as Bloomfield thought, from compounds like 'anyavrata' (of different vows) or 'apavrata' (fallen from vows) etc., and indicated that Pan. V.2.21 and Patañjali's comment on it, confirm the derivation. His inferences were: (a) the Vrātyas could not be distinguished from the Vrātinas as Lātyāyana mentions the Vrātya-stomas of the Vrātyas and the Syena sacrifice of the Vrātinas in close proximity; (b) it was clear from the testimony of the Brāhmanas and the Śrautasūtras taken as a whole, that the Vrātyas were people who remained outside the Brahmanical Caste-system, led a sinful life according to the orthodox Brahmanic conception, roamed about in bands, had a strange carriage, were robber-like leaders of hosts, and had their own

(1) Hauer's 'Die Anfaenge der Yogapraxis' had already appeared by this time, which shall be dealt with later on.

social organisation, but, at the same time enjoyed a certain amount of respect from Brahmans who admitted them into their socio-religious order; <sup>and (c)</sup> it was difficult to answer the question whether the Vratyas were Aryans or Non-Aryans, but, nevertheless, whatever is said about their way of life and behaviour points more to a Non-Aryan origin, and on the evidence of a certain circumstance (Lāt.'s reference to 'prāeya-ratha', 'the eastern wagon') at least, it could be held that they belonged to the east. (Ob sie Arier oder Nicht-Arier waren, laesst sich nicht entscheiden. Was uber ihre Tracht und ihre Lebensweise gesagt ist, deutet eher auf nichtarische Stamme hin. Einige Umstaende weisen darauf hin, das sie dem Osten angehooerten. (i)

Discussing the theme of the hymn A.V.XV., he argued as Lanman and Bloomfield had already inferred, that on the one hand it was a glorification of the Brahman - the highest godly and cosmic principle, and on the other, that of the heavenly Vrātya (also mentioned in the Brahmanas), who here seems to be identical with Rudra, Mahādeva and Īsāna. The praise of the divine Vrātya, according to him, leads to the reflection on the earthly Vrātya, that in

(i) Op. cit. p.55-56.

agreement with A.V.XI.5., where the Brahmaçarin is glorified as the Brahman, the divine Vrātya-Rudra-Mahādeva here, is praised as being identical with the Highest Being, and then in a vague way connected with the earthly Vrātya. Further he maintained that the earthly Vrātya of A.V.XV., 'is none other than the Vrātya who through the Vrātya-stoma sacrifice, was already admitted into the Brahmanical community; (Der letztere ist aber kein anderer als der Vrātya, der durch das Vratyastoma-Opfer schon in die brahmanische Gemeinschaft aufgenommen worden ist.)

Criticizing Charpentier's assumption that the 'grhapati' and the Vrātyas remind us of Rudra-Sīva and the Śaivaites, and that the former may be Rudra himself, on grounds of the similarity of outfit, <sup>(1)</sup> he suggested that it was quite probable that the order may have been the reverse. In other words Rudra as the holy Vrātya or the God connected with forests and mountains was presented with the equipment of the ancient Vratyas residing in mountains and jungles. (Konnte es nicht vielmehr umgekehrt sein, dass Rudra als der himmlische Vrātya und als der mit Wäldern und Bergen enge zusammenhängende Gott in der Ausstattung

(1) Ibid - above.

einigermassen den in Bergen und Dschungeln Wohnenden Vrātyas  
 (1) ähnlich dargestellt wurde?).

Examining Hauer's theory that the Vrātyas were wild  
 ecstasies and the ancestors of the Yogins of to-day, (ii) he  
 made it clear that the inferences drawn from the Atharvanic  
 references to the colour of the Vrātya's turban and hair,  
 his dress, his moving out in the heavenly directions, his  
 standing on one foot for a year, his kingship, his royal  
 retinue etc., in close analogy with the Yoga practices of  
 the wild ecstasies, are too far-fetched. Especially he  
 pointed out that the connection of the Yogin, with the  
 'pumsāli' and the 'Māgadha' was impossible. In his  
 opinion 'the Māgadha is better known from Indian literature  
 than through the practices of these wild ecstasies', (Aber  
 wer der Māgadha ist, wissen wir doch wirklich aus der  
 indischen Literatur besser, als aus der Praxis der Wild-  
 ekstatiker) and the Yogin has hardly anything to do with  
 the Fertility rites (Aber was hat der Yogin mit dem Frucht-  
 barkeitszauber zu tun?). Hauer's understanding of the  
 Brahmana phrase 'adīksita dīksita-vācam vadanti' in his  
 estimation, may be correct, but 'speaking the language of the

(1) Op. cit. p. 58

(ii) See below.

initiated' does not 'however concern all the Vrātyas, but only the initiated Gr̥hapati who has to perform the ritual functions'.<sup>(i)</sup> Further Hauer's surmise that 'the Vrātyas were habitual poison eaters like some present day Yogins, and that they had for their daily nourishment, hot rice-gruel cooked, perhaps, with brandy, which was only eaten at sacrifices in the Brahman culture-brotherhood' on the basis of the Brāhmaṇa phrase 'garagiraḥ vā ete' and 'janyam annam adanti', had not, as far as he could judge, been implied in the texts.<sup>(ii)</sup>

Winternitz concluded rather pointedly, saying 'the clever and imaginative conclusions of Hauer had something fascinating in them, and had at first fascinated me also, but on closer examination they were found not to be based on facts' (Ich gestehe, dass diese gestreichten und phantasievollen Ausfuehrungen etwas Besteckendes an sich haben und zuerst auch mich anziehen, aber bei naeherem Zusehen fehlt ihnen doch der Boden der Tatsachen).<sup>(iii)</sup>

Next, B.L. Mukerjee had contributed three articles in this connection in which he had attempted to survey briefly the Vrātya texts. In his first article 'the

(i) Op. Cit. p.59.

(ii) Op. cit. p.60.

(iii) Ibid.

(iv) J.A.S.B. Vol.21.

Vrātyas and their sacrifices' he had dealt with the two main Brāhmana texts, e.g., the Pañcaviṁśā and the Jaiminīya, making a few improvements on the older interpretations of Sayana, Weber and Charpentier of passages in these Brahmanas mentioning the Vrātya-stomas, which we shall discuss later on. He had come to the conclusion that 'Vrātya-stoma, is a social or religious penance for those who have in some manner or other defied or neglected religious law and order'.<sup>(1)</sup> In his second article entitled 'the word 'vrā' in the Rgveda', going through the Rgvedic verses containing the term 'vrā', he had examined the interpretation given to it by Yaska, Sayana, Wilson, Griffith, Langlois, Ludwig, Grassman and Oldenberg, and in agreement with Yaska had suggested that it meant 'hunter' (cf. Durgā-'lubdhaka'), and not 'troop or host' or even 'the female' as thought by others. (Ibid. p.177). His last article 'Atharvaveda Kānda XV' was a short analysis of the Vrātya book. His inferences may be best expressed in his own words: 'In Kānda XV of the Atharvaveda, the word (Vratya) stands for the spirit of Disorder. The author here enunciates that it is a law of nature that out of Disorder evolves Law and Order and further states that

(1) Op. Cit. 165.

although originally, there was religious Disorder everywhere, Vaidic precepts and rules were evolved out of Religious disorder according to the inscrutable laws of nature and that these precepts, rules, Yajñas, and chants constituted true principles of Law and Order". (1) Concluding, he had added a tabular representation of (a) the regions and objects into which disorder penetrated, (b) the names under which order appears and (c) the forms in which Order appears, based on inferences supported by the text.

Undoubtedly Hauer's 'Der Vrātya' is up to the present, the most detailed analysis of the problem, and if it has not been convincing enough to bring to us the final solution of our riddle, it has not failed to convey the remarkable importance of the Vrātya tradition, traces of which are to be found as early as the period of the Atharva-veda and the oldest Brāhmanas. His former attempt at understanding the Vrātya book embodied in 'Die Anfaenge der Yogapraxis' which, as shown above, was characterized by Winternitz as 'a deliberate flight into the Land of Fantasy', was according to him 'a bold endeavour on my part to understand the book itself, without much consideration of the former hypotheses of Charpentier, which constitute an important phase in solving

(1) Op. Cit. 179.



the Vrātya problem, and that too, from a view-point which dominated my research at that time and was mainly concerned with the ecstatic practices appearing in the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda. (1) The 'result was' as he further stated, that he understood the Vrātya of A.V.XV., as 'a type of wild Ecstatic, as the oldest figure of the Yogin that can be found in literature' and called it 'the warrior-ecstatic' so as to indicate that his home is to be found out-side the Brahmanical Kulturkreis, where instead of the Brahman, the priestly warrior was the dominating holy person. He even searched for 'a close contact of the Vrātya with Sāṃkhya-Yoga and thence with Buddhism without being able to prove it in detail'. (Ibid). It was, however, the detailed and pointed criticism of Winternitz, which instigated him to enter into this elaborate study which resulted in the publication of 'Der Vrātya'. In this book he viewed the problem under three headings: (1) 'the philological basis as an aid to the understanding of the original character and outfit of the Vrātyas'; (2) 'the Vrātyas and the Mahavrata' and (3) 'the deification of the Vrātya'. Summarily his views give us the impression that

(1) Op. Cit. - Vorbemerkung - 12ff.



the Vrātina went to the Brahman countries to perform the Vrātya-work and were paid for it, while the Vrātyas acted in their own homeland. (Der unterschied zwischen beiden war offenbar nur den dass sich die Vrātina zum Vrātya-work dinge liessen und zu diesem Zwecke...ins land der Brahmanen führen, während die Vratya in den heimatlichen K<sup>v</sup>genossenschaften amtierten).<sup>(1)</sup>

The most interesting part of Hauer's thesis is probably, that dealing with the deification of the Vrātya. His reading of the different texts of the Sāmaveda and the Black Yajurveda and also that of A.V.XV., convinced him that these texts had a tradition of divine beings called Vratyas, who possessed and passed on a type of secret wisdom. A comparison of Jaiminiya I.10; Jaiminiya Upa. Br. 1.34 and A.V.X.8; 35;36 and also VIII.6;IX.6., led him to the conclusion that A.V.VIII-XIII contains the remaining portions of the Vrātya tradition (in dem Abschnitt A.V.VIII-XIII die Reste der Ueberlieferung der Vratya enthalten sind.299). Further he found 'the centre of the secret tradition of the Vrātyas being theistic mysticism with the purusa as the central conception' (Der kraftlebendige Mittelpunkt scheint aber eine theistische gerichtete Mystik gewesen zu sein mit Purusa als dem Zentralbegriff. 301). The evidence of the Anukramani

(1) Op. cit. 215.

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mentioning Āngirasa Tirāscī as an alternative to Dyutāna Maruta, perhaps the Rsi. of R.V.VIII,96, suggested to him the possibility that the Vrātya 'grhapati' Dyutāna was somehow connected with the Angirases, (302). The addition of the old rites of power and fertility in the Vājasaneyīsam and the Śatapatha in the context of the ceremony for the erection of the Sadas, (with which Dyutana Maruta is connected according to some texts) proves, in his view that the Vrātyas performed the rebirth and fertility rites: 'Muessen sie vor allem die Trager dieses Wiedergeburt- und Fruchtbarkeitsritus bei den Weihen gewesen sein', (304). Referring to the 'Ekavrātya' he maintained that the 'Vrātya deification reached its highest point in the Ekavrātya who must have been a figure of the earliest Vedic times, or even of a still earlier period of Vedic religion, as in A.V.XV., he is already a cosmogonic power' (306). From the Jaim. and the Jaim.Up. Brahmanas, it had seemed to him that, in the Vrātya mythology, the Ekavrātya was the highest deity (hoechste Gottheit, p.306) and Jaim. Up.Br.III.21 <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ valuable as an original document of the lost Vrātya tradition. With him, again the Vrātya book presented an attempt made to regard the Vrātya as an original principle of all divine powers, manifesting itself as

Mahādeva and roving about in the world as Ekavrātya, and was connected with the Jain.Up.Br., although, while in the former the Vrātya belief is placed above the Brahmanic belief, in the latter the purpose is clear to unite the Vrātya-mysticism with Brahmanic speculation. (308-309). The identification of the Ekarsi with the Vrātya in the Prasnopanisad, and that of the Ekavrātya and the Ekarsi in the later texts led him to suppose that the Vrātyas were priestly sages whose deification was perfected in the Ekavrātya. (auch sie sind Priesterseher gewesen, deren Vergottlichung in dem Ekavrātya zur Vollendung kam. 314).

His explanation of the curious absence of any reference to the 'daiva' or the heavenly Vrātyas, in the texts of the Samaveda schools other than that of the Tālavakaras (or the Jaiminiyas), in the Brahmanas of the White and the Black Yajurveda and even in the Rgveda, in spite of the presence of an authentic tradition of the Vrātyas in Baudhāyana, who, (he thought,) could be connected with the Vrātya leader Budha, certainly deserves mention as it is a matter of remarkable importance. As far as he understood the problem, the reason seemed to lie in the fact that the two exceptional Samaveda schools, mentioned above, were closely connected with the converted 'Vrātyas,' and therefore saw that the heavenly Vrātyas were included in the

Vedic pantheon, whereas the other schools were not so related, and in the Rgvedic and Yajurvedic schools, the memory of the Vrātya tradition was deliberately effaced. That we should find even in the Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa, which, Hauer thought, probably owed its origin to the Vrātya leader Kusītaka), a complete lack of reference to this tradition, could only lead us to the inevitable conclusion, in his opinion, that the majority of the Vrātyas in Vedic times had still their own rites, and did not recognise the orthodox Soma-sacrifice as the central factor in the performance of rituals.

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Another inference of Hauer, perhaps of equal significance is that there was proof in the Jainiṇīya for considering the Vrātyas as originators of a new belief, i.e., the belief in Prajāpati, who came to be the chief deity at the end of the Rgvedic period and in the orthodox Brāhmaṇa texts.

(ii)

His rendering of the Brāhmaṇa and the Sūtra texts connected with the Vrātyastomas, forms a major part of his thesis, which we shall have occasion to refer to in the proper context. Similarly his theories regarding the connection of the Vrātyas with the Mahāvratā may be taken up in our analysis of the textual evidence.

(i) Op. cit. 335.

(ii) Ibid. 337.

Less detailed is N.N. Ghosh's treatment of the problem in his 'Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture (origins)'. In his own words this study 'was a planned endeavour to solve the inter-twisted problems of Indo-Aryan literature and culture'. Among the enigmas that appeared totally 'untractable' to other scholars, these of the 'Vrātya-stoma' ritual-literature, the 'unrestrained glorification in the Vrātya book of the A.V., of the despised heretic and unbeliever of later days, and also the Eka-vrātya of the same Veda' are of prime importance in his judgement, and hence the need was felt by him for further research. The Vrātya-stomas could be classified, according to him, thus: (1) Conversion ceremony; (2) Re-initiation of the excommunicate; (3) Initiation of young persons of Aryan lineage not initiated and (4) Initiation of the old persons continuing their life in the degenerate state, the basis of the first two being political, while that of the last two, was probably secular. Further, in his <sup>view</sup> judgement the Vrātya-stomas were for 'rather questionable gentry, gipsy-like vagrants or other similar non-descript banditti and very far from being blue-blooded Varangians' and as such "the Vrātya was Eastern and from the East, and a Non-Aryan if Aryan must mean only the Vedic Aryan, 'hailing from the West'." It was again his firm conviction, that 'the most noteworthy accession of man-power of the Vedic world came from the East, the

Anupadesa, and 'this rolling inundation' took the 'pre-  
vailing part' in a process 'which led to the crystallisation  
of the combined Aryan and Non-Aryan material in the Indo-  
Aryan Varṇa-āśramadharmā'. In the age of the Sūtras, he  
found the stomas had ceased to be a living practice and the  
motives of conversion and regeneration had completely dis-  
appeared, though in the days of the Brāhmanas they had not  
probably become obsolete. He decried the analysis of the  
Vrātya book by Bloomfield as 'a greater enigma than any to  
be met with in the book itself'. 'Sivaitic influence' used  
by the same scholar in the same context, was in his view  
exemplary of the error of "putting the 'cart before the  
horse'" and Rudra, a Non-Aryan deity was accepted into the  
Vedic pantheon from the gods worshipped in the Eastern  
Vrātya land. The Vrātya book, he suggested 'lays down the-  
osophic doctrines for the benefit of the Vedic Aryans' and  
was not mere 'political propaganda'. Further the Upani-  
sadic doctrines 'grew up in the brains of the Vrātya Rājanyas  
and <sup>the</sup> amalgamation of Brāhmana dogma and Upanisadic theosophy  
resulted in the birth of Neo-Aryanism and not Neo-Non-  
Aryanism'. He did not find the apotheosis of the Brahmacarin  
in this book, and it was at its best a "common-place glor-  
ification of brahmanas' in esse and in posse". He even  
went to the extent of saying that the Atharvāna collection  
was "the first representative of the Literature of Synthesis



and originated in the practical demand that arose in Vrātya land for a Priests' vade mecum for Aryan Brahmans officiating for pro-forma Aryanised Vrātya 'yajamānas'.

The 'riddle' of the Eka-vrātya of A.V.XV., had prepared the ground for him to deviate most from previous scholars. He actually 'tried to visualise' as he himself says, the Eka-vrātya as the 'Prince of Brahma-vids' and the Emperor of a 'far larger world' than that comprised by the Aryan settlements; his 'virāj' or empire, extending to the ocean perhaps identical with that of Pṛthu Vainya of the Puranas which according to the Harivamsa and the Vāyu Purāna was the 'very earth, well-spread, well-divided, decorated full of grains, <sup>prosperous, peopled by the four castes</sup> Beautified by towns and capital cities' (prathita pravibhaktā sōbhītā śasyākaravatī sphītā cāturvarṇya-samākīr-  
nā purapattana-śālinī vasumdhara), and he himself being the same as the Paurāṇic Pṛthu, the first ruler among men, 'the Lord of the Earth consecrated by Rājasūya' (Rājasūyābhisikṭā-  
nām ādyam sa vasudhāhipah') (1) He, however, indicated that the empire of the Eka-vrātya was better described in the Bhūmi Sūkta of A.V. which is far richer in details.

Certain emendations of textual passages, were also suggested by him, the propriety or otherwise of which, we shall discuss when we review the texts. Pauranic evidence as quoted by him in support of his arguments are outside

(1) H.V.II.24.

our query.

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 R.G. Ojha devoted an article to the study of the position of the Vrātyas under the title 'Vrātya-stoma' with the sub-heading 'Re-admission into Hinduism of the Depressed and the Fallen classes'. Examining both the Vedic and the classical sources, he inferred that the 'correct and grammatical derivation of Vrātya lies in 'vrāta' referring to the hordes of people outside, and even hostile to the Rsi society or Brahmanic circle' and that 'the Vrātya-stoma sacrifice was greatly instrumental in securing the absorption of the degraded and depressed Aryan folk of nomadic habits into the settled life of the Rsi society'. He had denied the Non-Aryan character of the Vrātyas on grounds of common language, and the possibility of their admission into the Brahmanical society and <sup>further</sup> hinted at the identity of 'vr̥ṣala' and 'vrātya', in later literature as far as connotation was concerned.

A more recent scholar, who has further investigated the Vrātya sources is A.P. Karmarkar, whose thesis entitled 'the Vratya systems of Religion' has lately appeared. Prior to mentioning the views of Karmarkar, reference should be

(i) Dayananda Com. Vol.

(i)  
 made to Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar's casual remarks on the position of the Vrātyas in Ancient India, in one of his lectures on 'Aryanisation', as they prepare the way for Karmarkar's deductions. According to Bhandarkar the Vrātya of the Atharvaveda is probably connected with a 'deity of some Non-Aryan cult' viewed differently by the converted Vrātyas, since the companions and the outfit of the Vrātya mentioned therein, e.g. the 'pumsācali', and the Māgadha and usnīsa, pravarta, and vipatha, are not found to be 'associated with any Vedic Aryan deity'. The Vratya of the Y.V. <sup>as</sup> appearing in the Purusamedha list seems to him to stand for the devotee and not the deity himself. Further the Vrātya-sūkta of A.V. is 'the mystic glorification of the Eka-vrātya, the original Śiva deity, 'by worshippers of this original Śiva, who, 'steeped in Aryan culture, sublimated the Vrātya cult, as Kṛṣṇa's dalliance with the Gopis is explained metaphorically by his modern worshippers'.

Bhandarkar was, perhaps, the first to associate the Vratya cult with some 'pre-historic form of Śiva', the earliest representation of whom, (he believed) are found in the seals and terracotta figurines found among the ruins of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, and <sup>maintained that</sup> the 'Māgadha' in the entourage of the Eka-vrātya was a priest of the Magadha tribe which

emigrated from Śakadvīpa outside India. Thus he concluded that the Vrātyas were identical with the Magas and Māgadhas of Śakadvīpa - a conjecture confirmed, in his opinion by Viṣṇu Purāṇa (II.4.69. - 70) 'magās ca māgadhās caiva mānasā mandagās tathā; magā Brāhmaṇa-bhuyiṣṭha māgadhaḥ Kṣatriyās tu te'.

Carrying on further, (as already stated above), the inferences of Bhandarkar, Karmarkar <sup>(1)</sup> postulates that 'the Vrātya institution is the earliest organisation of the Proto-Indians pervading the whole of India, and to nullify it the Aryans started the parallel institution of the Caturvarṇya and later on invented a new method of conversion by the introduction of the Vrātya-stomas (Ch.II.4)'. He is not, however, of the same opinion as Bhandarkar in maintaining that the Vrātyas were the early Magadhas of Persia, (as the 'original Kikata-pradeśa of the Rgveda derived its name Magadha from that of its king Pramaganda') and makes a sweeping statement that 'the cult of the Vrātyas was a common property of all the Dravidian nations in Ancient India, and was not confined to any one tribe or locality as the Pauranic evidence indicates'. In his view, the civilization of the Vrātyas inferrable from the A.V. and the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras

(1) Vrātya systems of religion.

agrees in detail with that found in the Mohenjodaro inscriptions and representations, as interpreted by Father Heras.

Critically going through this later phase of Vrātya research, we find primarily, that there is a wide departure from the earlier views. The subject is studied in greater detail, and while, on the one hand, the basic understanding of A.V.XV. is a matter of great importance to all scholars, the significance of the Brāhmana references gradually goes out of consideration. The Aryan or Non-Aryan character-controversy deepens and none of the views seems to be conclusive. Charpentier finds in them the Śiva worshippers of old, Keith and Macdonell follow the old school of Weber; Chattopadhyaya equates them with the Central Asian emigrants, Winternitz still thinks they are nomadic bands of robbers, and probably Non-Aryans, Mukerji sees in them, those who have added to religious disorder, Hauer is convinced that they are members of a holy group of primitive Aryans having a well established tradition, Chanda supposes them to be ancient Sadhus, Ghosh imagines them as the finest elements of the Non-Aryan East, with great imperial traditions, and Bhandarkar and Karmarkar try to confirm their Non-Aryan character with evidence from the finds of

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Mohenjodaro. Such being the diversity, need there be any more reason to re-examine the texts dealing with the

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Vrātyas?

(1) In a very recent issue of the M. in I. (July-Dec. 1951) S.K. Das derives 'Vrātya' from 'vrata' in the sense of popular rites ('such as the Kumārī-vrata' of Bengal in modern times), opposed to 'yajña' (sacrificial) rites, and concludes that the 'Vrātya's were 'un-Vedic or Non-Aryans'. For this assumption, he finds further evidence in the Non-Vedic (according to him) description of the 'Vratya' in the Brahmanas, as well as the later texts. Further, 'vrata' seems to him, to be used in the same sense in 'avrata' and 'anyavrata' in R.V. This interpretation of 'vrata' is far from being convincing, as there is no ground for thinking that it means anything more than 'observance' or 'vow', <sup>or divine ordinance</sup> in the earlier texts. The etymological connection between 'vrata' and 'vrātya', however, cannot be denied.

## 2. Etymology of 'vrātya' according to ancient sources.

Our investigation obviously begins with an attempt to find out to what extent, a purely etymological understanding of the word 'vrātya' helps us in solving this knotty problem. In this, we have to go back naturally to the Rgveda Samhitā, where, presumably, we should find its earliest occurrence. Unfortunately 'vratya' is not found in the Rgveda anywhere, but 'vrā', 'vrata', 'vratya' and 'vrāta', do occur, any of which may, from the point of view of form, be etymologically connected with 'vrātya'. 'Vratya' possibly comes closest to our 'vrātya'. It occurs once in the Rgveda (VIII.48.8) where it is used to designate the chapters for King Soma: 'soma rājan mṛlaya nah svasti tava smaśi vratyās tasya viddhi' (cf. Sayana's explanation 'vratinah' - (bound by vows), and Grassman: (i) 'dem Gesetz ergeben'; Ergebener, 'Untergebener', 'one attached to law', 'devoted', 'subordinate'). Hauer's contention that 'even in the oldest Vedic literature we find 'vratya' appearing in the sense 'bound by a vow' or 'bound to some God' or 'connected with some holy work' (ii) seems quite reasonable though its connection with 'vrātya' is not traced clearly by him. That 'vrata' clearly refers to some form of law and order, is conclusively proved by the

(i) W.2.Rv.

(ii) Op.cit.179.

epithet 'Dhṛata-vrata' (holder of law and order) occurring at many places in the Rgveda, and even the extended sense of 'vow' commonly attached to it later on, is also not unknown to the compilers of the Mantras. 'Vrāta' has been taken by most scholars, as that from which 'vrātya' is derived. It appears more than once in the Rgveda (III. 26.6., V.53.11., V.75.9., IX.14.2., X.34.12 etc.), and Sāyana interprets it at all places as 'samgha' or 'samūha' ('host' or 'multitude'). R.V. V.53.11 (i) and X.34.12 (ii), are rather interesting, as the words 'sardha' and 'gana' are also used together with 'vrāta'; (a) 'sardham sardham vā esām vrātam vrātam ganam ganam susastibhiḥ anukramena dhītibhiḥ; (b) yo vah senānīḥ mahataḥ ganasya rājā vrātasya prathamō babhūva, and Sāyana comments on the latter that there 'is little difference between 'vrāta' and 'gana'; vrāta is an unspecified gana' (gana-vrātayor alpabhedah; avivakṣita-gaṇo vrātaḥ). 'Pañca-Vrāta' in R.V.IX.14.2., is, however, differently understood by Sāyana<sup>him</sup> as the 'five peoples' (pañca-janāḥ) 'girā yadi sabandhavaḥ pañca vrātā apasyavaḥ pariskṛṇvanti dharmasim'. Grassman too understands it in the sense of 'band' deriving it from 'vrā' and thinks that the 'pañca-vrātāḥ' referring to the five peoples is an

(i) W.Z. Rv. 1364

(ii) Ibid.



extended use of the word (daher pañca-vrātā, die fünf Menschengeschlechter). Böhtlingk and Roth also give to it the interpretations: 'crowds', 'guilds', 'fellowship', 'assemblage', 'band', 'order' (sohar, Gilde, Genossenschaft, Haufe, Truppe, Abteilung.) It is, therefore, fairly certain that 'vrāta' in the Rgveda conveys the idea of 'multitude' or 'hosts'.

Vrā, occuring only six times in the Rgveda (I.124.8; 126.5; IV.1.16; VIII.2.6.; X.123.2; and I.121.2), seems to be of doubtful sense and has been construed by scholars differently. It is fairly reasonable that it is philologically connected with 'vrātya', but that there may be a possible connection between them as far as meaning is concerned remains conjectural. It is, therefore, worthwhile to re-examine these verses and consider whether an understanding of this word renders any assistance in determining the earliest conception of 'vrātya'. The meaning given to it by ancient commentators as well as modern interpreters, naturally has to be fully considered in this connection. Thus, to begin with, we shall consider the rendering of it by Böhtlingk and Roth.

They have taken 'vrāh' as the plural form of the masculine word 'vra', derived from the root 'var' and conveying the sense of 'the accompanying ones', 'the united ones'.

(begleitender oder sich zusammenschliessender.)<sup>(1)</sup> The absence of the singular form 'vrāh' in the Rgveda, has also been noticed by them and as it appears in A.V.XI.7.3., seems to be 'of doubtful meaning' and 'probably a mere play on a word that is corrupt (due to faulty redaction)', (von unbekannter Bedeutung; es scheint ein blosses Spiel mit Verstümmelten Worten zu sein.) Again it has been admitted by them that in R.V.IV.1.16., if 'jānatīh' is to be connected with 'vrāh' then the latter has to be looked upon as feminine (wenn in der Stelle R.V.IV.1.16 'jānatīh' zu 'vrāh' zu ziehen ist; wäre dieses als fem. anzusehen).

It is, on the basis of the Naighantuka IV.2., and Nirukta V.3, the other Rgvedic references cited above, and also A.V.II.1.1.,<sup>Kat</sup> they have given the meanings mentioned above, to the word 'vrā', but it is fairly clear from their attempts to explain it, that according to them the sense of 'vrā' rested on no firm basis. It is, however, true that most of the European scholars have accepted their interpretation. (Bechtel, Oldenberg., etc.). Abel Bergaigne was the first to argue against this viewpoint. Translating R.V.IV.1.16 'te manvata prathamam nāma dhenoḥ trih sapta mānuh paramāni vindan; taj jānatīr abhyanūṣata vrā āvirbhuvad arunir yasasa goh'; as 'they have understood the first name of the cow; they have found the three times seven supreme names of the mother;

(1) P. W. - under 'vrā'

knowing that the loved ones (female of the cows) have responded by bellowing, the red (dawn) has appeared in (amidst) the entire glory of the cow (the celestial cow):

("Ils ont compris le premier nom de la vache. Ils ont trouve les trois fois sept noms supremes de la mere; Connaissant cela, les amantes ont repondu par un mugissement. La rouge, est apparue dans toute la gloire de la vache"), in his Quarante Hymnes du Rigveda, <sup>(i)</sup> he felt that 'vra' possibly conveyed the <sup>Special</sup> meaning of the 'celestial female' in the Rgveda, and <sup>hence</sup> added a short note on it. Here he pointed out that the sense of 'troop' is perhaps suggested only by its plural use (as taken by Roth etc.), but the singular designation 'vrām' in I.121.2., parallely similar to 'menām asvasya' and 'mātaram goh' appears to indicate the celestial female in her incest with the father. The same is the case with R.V.X.123.2., where again 'vrah' in the plural is found as the subject of the same verb 'abhyānūsata', as Vena figures here, a fact which obviously brings to our mind the loved ones of Vena (Apsarases). R.V.I.124.8., in his opinion, could easily be compared with 'samanam na yośāh' (X.168.2), 'samaneva yośā' (VI.75.4.), 'samagravo na samanesu añjan' (VII.2.5.), where the idea of 'woman

(i)M.S.L.8.

who go to be united with their husband or lover' (l'idee de femmes, qui vont s'unir a leur epoux ou a leur amant), is conveyed. Even in VIII.2.6., the comparison is according to him, between those who sought to catch Indra with the cows, and those <sup>others</sup> who try to catch a wild animal, using the females (of these animals) for luring them. Thus he concluded that at all places 'vra' <sup>had</sup> conveyed the sense of 'the female' or 'woman' or specifically 'femme en rut' (the amorous woman) in the Rgveda, and I.126.5., was no exception, <sup>where</sup> as 'visyā vrā' probably stands for the courtezans (the later 'vesyās'), and the desire of the Pajras for glory is compared, with that, for courtezans, which is evidenced by the later comparison of fortune with the courtezan. He added, however, that there could not be any relation between 'vrā' and 'vrāta'. (le mot vra ne doit avoir aucun rapport avec le mot vrata).

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In the Vedische Studien, Pischel came to the same conclusion and brought in further evidence to disprove Roth's explanation (stated above). His main conclusions were the following: (1) 'abhrāteva pumsa eti pratīcī' provides a sounder basis, for accepting the sense of Hetaira, as conveyed by 'vrā' even in R.V.I.124.8., as the comparison

(1) Op. cit. - Vol. II.

deals with Usas; (2) In all passages 'vrā' is feminine; in I.121.2., 'menām asvasya pari mātaram goh' makes it certain that 'the wife' or the 'beloved' is meant, and in IV.1.16 and A.V.II.1.1., 'vrāh' should be treated as identical with 'kṣonīh' and 'gnāh'. (3) 'sura-vadhū', 'sura-sundarī' and 'surastrī' are identical with the Apsarasas and these are the divine Hetairai; similarly 'vrā' may have conveyed that which is usually meant by 'Frauenzimmer' or 'Weibsbild' or 'Weibstueck' in German; (4) the above meaning explains 'vrā' more clearly, when the additional adjective 'visyā' is also found, as in I.126.5., and 'visyā vrā' is the same as the later 'vesyā'; (5) Vrā in VIII.2.6., being feminine, a fact unnoticed by Sāyana, Devarājajvan, Durgā, and most European scholars have the sense of the 'female elephant' as the animal that would <sup>was</sup> be caught through (with the aid) of the female in India is the Elephant. (6) 'vrā' is similar to the later 'ganikā'.

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Bechtel, objected to this interpretation and maintained that Roth's understanding was decidedly a better one. His main objections were: (1) the deciding verse VIII.2.6., interpreted according to Fischel's way of thinking involves two assumptions e.g., (a) the designation of

(1) N.C.

the female animal, and (b) the Anacoluthon in the accusative form 'vrāh' instead of the Instrumental 'vrābhīh'; (2) Pischel's interpretation of Vrā as 'female individual' in I.121.2., has not been examined and has only a formal basis. It can also be argued that 'svaja' (mas.), is used here to describe the Maruts; the buffalo in this mantra is Indra himself, and the Maruts in his retinue, being often known as forming a 'śardha', 'vrāta' and 'gana' (all meaning 'hosts') may as well be called 'svajā vrā', though one can not be definite about it, due to the obscurity of the passage; (3) the comparison of 'visya vrā' (I.126.5) with the classic 'vesyā' is open to objection as 'vis' from which 'visya' is derived is in no way related in meaning with 'vesā' which is the intermediary form between 'visya' and 'vesya'. 'Vrā', therefore should be understood here in the sense of the warlike band and 'visyā vrā' as, 'such a band connected with a 'vis', <sup>(i)</sup> and similar in meaning is 'viso na yukta' in VII.79.2. (vy añjate divo antestv aktūn; viso na yuktā yasāsā yatante'). The translation 'the Pajras are out for gains like roving bands belonging

(i) 'Scharen, die zu einer Vis gehoeren' (395)

to a 'vis' also seems to be quite satisfactory;

(4) In both the verses IV.1.16., and X.123.2.,

which are also almost identically worded the word

'vrā' seems to indicate 'a group of male beings'

(eine Mehrheit männlicher Wesen). The former is

similar in content to IV.1.13-15), and also the

verse the follows it, which is slightly different

in form. It speaks of the myth of the liberation of

the Dawn in which Indra is helped by the 'pitarah',

and if 'vrā' is taken to mean 'hands which come to

help Indra' the meaning of the verse seems fairly

clear. The latter has the same context as IX.85.

10-12, the half-verse beginning with 'rtasya' of our

verse being comparable with IX.85.11 'nāke suparāṇ

upapativāmsam giro venānōm akṛpanta pūrvih'. The

'vipras' are mentioned in X.123.1., and X.123.4.,

and it is natural to conclude that by 'vrā' we

should here understand the band of 'vipra's. (5)

The meaning of the Pāda 'āñjyankte samanagā iva

vrā' in I.124.8., is expressed by the half-verse of

VII.79.2., (mentioned above). In the first pāda

of this half-verse 'vy-āñjate' explains specifically

'āñjyankte', while in the second one 'visō na yuktāh'

corresponds to 'samanagā iva vrā'. Therefore, 'vrāh'

with 'samanaṣā' must convey the sense of 'bands going to fight' and all the more so, since 'samana' also has the sense of 'battle' (Kampf) as is clear from the phrase 'samane parsatho nara' in X.143.4. The similarity between VII.79.2., and I.124.8., is so close that Roth's explanation alone seems to be the right one for 'vra'.

Pischel's answer to this criticism of Bechtel is found in the concluding pages of the Vedische Studien, (1) which is perhaps the most comprehensive study of the word 'vrā' as found in the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda, and as such deserves a brief mention. Firstly he pointed out that the two padas of VII.79.2., constituting the half-verse quoted by Bechtel are connected with two separate ways of reasoning, and (as Berguigne pointed out) embody two different ideas as in I.92.1., e.g., 'the woman who adorn themselves' and 'the warriors who brandish their shining weapons'. These two cannot, therefore, be brought together and be considered analogous to the 'rising of the dawn'. Secondly, in each of the verses; IV.58.8., VI.75.4., VII.2.5., X.86.10., X.168.2, merely the picture of the woman going to the

(1) Vol.II.



'samana' or adorning themselves for the 'samana' is presented, and it would be highly unreasonable to argue only on the basis of X.143.4., that in I.124.3., 'samana' refers to 'war' and 'vrā' going to the 'samana' are warrior-bands. 'Samana' everywhere in the R.V. <sup>means</sup> the festive meeting place or the festival, comparable to the later 'yātrā's and 'utsava's, where young and old women hoped to find husbands, and courtesans flourished. There is, therefore, no reason to disapprove of the interpretation of 'samana vrā' as 'women who go adorned, to the festive meetings' <sup>place</sup>. Thirdly the meaning of the word is quite clear in I.121.2., though the verse is not easy to explain. Sāyana's etymological attempts at understanding this significant word bear testimony to his ignorance of the traditional interpretation, and has resulted in gross mis-interpretation, though, however, the historical introduction to his commentary on I.121.2., referring to a mantra in which Indra speaks, is significant, and unless this mantra is traced, nothing definite can be said regarding the interpretation of the verse. Still it is almost certain that 'vrā' here like 'menā' (mare) and 'Goh' (cow) should refer to a female animal. Herein we have the oft-discussed co-ordination - 'after Indra had begotten a cow with the mare, he looked around for the cow' (das schon oft besprochene Verhaeltnis

der Co-ordination vor; Nachdem Indra mit der Stute eine Kuh erzeugt hatte, blickte er sich nach der Kuh um), probably also found <sup>a/so</sup> in X.111.3. Fourthly, all words for women and wife can be used for female animals, though they are <sup>in fact</sup> used seldom, as the latter have their own names, and the use of 'vrā' in VIII.2.6., is in no way different from the usual form of address. The Anacoluthon pointed out by Bechtel, is a true Vedic way of expression, and one may even suppose that 'vrā' appearing at the end of the pāda is an abbreviated form of 'vrābhih'. Even with Roth's interpretation the sense of the verse is not clear. Grassman's translation of it as 'Treiber' (game-boater) is also contradicted by the expression 'abhitsaranti dhenubhih'. The same applies to Sayana's rendering 'vyādha' (hunter). 'Perhaps one hunted the elephant in groups or bands when one wanted to kill him, but when one wanted to catch him, one needed the female of this species, as has often been mentioned and proved in the writings of the Greeks'. (Mann jagte den Elephanten vielleicht truppweise wenn man ihn totten wollte zum Fange aber wurden nur die Weibchen verwendet, was oft gewohnt wird und der Darstellung der Griechen bestätigt). Lastly, he pointed out that 'visya' was not brought together, etymologically with 'vesya', by him, but, on the other hand the connection was suggested on a contextual basis.

Mukerjee's suggestions may also be mentioned as they present a totally different picture. <sup>(1)</sup> In his opinion too, Sāyana, being unable to interpret it, laid emphasis on its derivation and 'assumed the meaning of another word (vrāta) the <sup>sense</sup> meaning of which was equally uncertain'. He, however, thought that Sāyana rightly interpreted 'vrā' as 'hunter' in VIII.2.6. The views of Bergaigne and Fischel, according to him had 'no authority to support them' and Oldenberg's surmise that in IV.1.16., it refers to the 'hosts of priests' could be accepted, if only it could be proved that 'no yajñas could be performed except by a large number of persons and further, that the address to Uśas early in the morning must be recited by many persons together'. Thus he concluded that the best explanation of it was given by Yāska: 'mrgam na vrā mrgayante mrgamiva vrātyāḥ praiṣāḥ' (V.1.3.) which Durga elucidates as referring to the 'hunters' (lubdhakādayaḥ), and accepting this in all the verses 'vrā' could be better explained.

These attempts of exegetes to find out what is exactly meant by 'vrā' in the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda raise three important issues. Is 'vrā' masculine or feminine, or feminine at some places, and masculine elsewhere?

(1) Vrā in the Rgveda - See above.

Further, has the interpretation 'hosts' of 'vra' made it identical with 'vrāta'? Finally, how far can the explanation 'woman' or 'Hetarā<sup>ī</sup>' or 'female elephant' be justified on contextual grounds? To add yet another query: 'What is the interpretation of Yaska'?

Regarding the first question, it need hardly be mentioned that undoubtedly 'vrāh' in IV.1.16, and 'vrām' in I.121.2., stand for the 'female' and in the R.V. at least there is no instance where the masculine singular form 'vrā' is found. The second question is difficult to answer, but as the meaning of 'vrāta' in the R.V. is accepted by all scholars to be 'groups' or 'hosts' the difference of context as far as 'vra' is concerned, leads us to think that the two cannot be identical. As to the question whether 'vrā' in the R.V. designates the female either of the animal or of the Deminonde, or the 'femme en rut' it is necessary to re-examine the verses mentioned above.

R.V.I.121.2., in which we find the first occurrence of 'vrā' is difficult to explain, but the meaning of the feminine accusative 'vrām' in 'anu svajām mahisā' cakṣata vrām' seems to be quite clear if we accept the supposition of some scholars that the mythical story of Indra's connection with Menā the daughter of Vrsanāsya, familiar to the Vedic seers is faintly echoed in the last pāda here:

'menām asvasya pari mātaram goh'. The legend is mentioned by Śāyana, commenting on the second half-verse of I.51.13: 'the Brahmana passage explaining a part of the 'subrahmanyā' (formula) is thus quoted by the Śātyāyenins: 'the Menā of Vrsanasva'; 'Maghavan (Indra) becoming Menā (the daughter or wife) of Vrsanasva resided in (his) house; Indra himself desired (to possess) her (Menā) who had attained youth (some of age)'; (tathā ca śātyāyanibhiḥ subrahmanyā-mantraikadeśa-vyākhyāna-rūpaṁ brahmanam evam anayate; vrsanasva mena iti, vrsanasvasya menā bhūtvā maghavā kula uvāseti tām cāprāptayauvanām svayamevendras cakamo); according to the Tāndins it reads: 'there was a daughter of Vrsanasva, Menā by name, ' Indra desired (to have) her. (tathā ca tāndibhir ānātam, vrsanasvasya menā nāma duhitā āsā tām indras cakara iti). These two references agree almost verbatim with that in the Jaiminiya (II.78), and Śadvimsā respectively, as pointed out by Hanns Oertel. (1) The same story is hinted at in K.S. (III.5.5.) 'indro vrsanasvasya menā esīt' and a parallel example is quoted in the K.S. (XIII.5) 'indro vai vilistengām dānavīm akāmayata; so.....stry eva strīsv abhavat'. Again in the Śatapatha Indra is addressed as the 'wife' of Vrsanasva (III.3.4.18).

(1) J.A.O.S. XXVI.

(1) which Certel contrary to Eggeling's suggestion rightly points out, is an allusion to the Rgvedic Vrsanasva - menā legend. Thus 'mena' in our verse is the same as the daughter or wife of Vrsanasva, and consequently 'asva' may be identical with 'Vrsanasva'.<sup>(ii)</sup> It may be pointed out, however, that in the last Pāda there seems to be a play on the words 'mēna' and 'asva' meaning both 'Vrsanasva' and his daughter' and 'the <sup>female</sup> wife of the Horse' (mare). The legend clearly shows that Indra as Bull or Buffalo, manifested himself as one belonging to the women-folk, and 'svajā' therefore should be understood as 'begotten or generated by himself', and 'vrā' as one of his female forms. Geldner's inference may be correct that probably 'svaja vra' is the same as 'mena' but that 'vrā' has the special meaning of 'the enticing woman' (Lockweibe) merely on the basis of this verse cannot be accepted. Bechtel's supposition that 'svajā vrā' here is an epithet of the Maruts, though not impossible, seems to be a bit far-fetched, as this, in that case would be the only instance where they are spoken of in this manner. It is interesting to note that Skandasvāmin, a pre-Sāyana commentator

(1) S.B.E. Vol. XXVI, p.81 note 2.

(ii) cf. Geldner - Der R.V. - 'asvasya' ist wohl-vrsanasva (149).

on the Rgveda, <sup>(1)</sup> (probably deviating from the traditional interpretation), suggests as an alternative, that 'vrā' should be connected with 'menā', the phrase 'vrām menām' meaning 'the courted woman', i.e., the 'wife', and 'asva' and 'go' refer to 'Prajāpati' (the pervader) and Indra respectively. (vrām varāṇīyām menām striyam; bhāryām ityarthah; asvasya asū vyāptau; vyāptuh prajāpateh:..... indro' atra gauṅaucyate). This interpretation, however, does not carry us any further in understanding the hymn, though it provides evidence for the fact that even among the earliest Veda commentators the association of 'vrā' with womanhood was not unknown. There is hardly any justification for Mukerjee's rendering as 'the hunter witnessing the disappearance and reappearance of light and dawn' cannot be certainly portrayed by a verse which clearly refers to Indra's glory and power. The meanings given to it by Sāyana in this context, e.g., (a) the night-that which envelops everything with darkness, or (b) the dawn-that which spreads light everywhere (vr̥noti tamasā sarvam āchādayatīti vrā rātriḥ; yadvā prakāśena vr̥notīti vrā usāḥ) are undoubtedly proofs of his complete ignorance of the traditional meaning, leading him to rely merely on etymology.

(1) R.V. (Bhasya) - See under I.181.2.

and as such are of little significance. Similarly one cannot attach any importance to those given by Mādhava (i) and Venkata Mādhava (ii) as they are almost the same as the two explanations mentioned above. The modern translators have mostly followed Sāyana and thus misinterpreted the hymn.

With I.124.8., it is not clear from the context whether 'vrāh' (vyucchantī rasūmibhih sūryasy anjyankte samanagā iva vrā) is the plural form of the feminine 'vrā' or of the masculine 'vra', but, as we know that the masculine form is not familiar to the Rgveda compilers (see above), and there is at least one instance where the feminine singular form cannot be doubted (cf. IV.1.16), it would be fairly reasonable to take it here as feminine plural. It is impossible to understand what is meant by 'vrāh' in this verse without a definite conception of that which is implied by the adjective 'samanagā', which qualifies it. Samana as was correctly pointed out by the authors of the Vedic Index (iii) is a word of doubtful meaning, and in all probability is used in more than one sense. Among the verses in which 'samana' appears, there is one other instance besides the above-mentioned one, where the form

(i) Rgveda-vyākhyā  
(ii) Rgarthadīpikā  
(iii) Vol. II.



'samanagā' re-appears. Thus in VII.9.4., 'samanaga' is connected with 'jātavedas' (Agni): 'idenyo vo manuso yugesu samanagā asucaj jātavedah', which Sāyana explains as 'accompanying (the people) in battles' (yuddhesu sangatā āsan), taking 'samana' as a synonym for 'saṅgrāma' (war).<sup>(i)</sup> Hillebrandt,<sup>(i)</sup> however, translates differently; 'a visitor to their (men) assembly' - (ein Besucher ihrer Versammlungen) obviously taking 'samana' as meaning 'assembly' and especially 'of men' as 'manuso yugesu' appears in the first Pāda. Sāyana probably bases his interpretation on the mention of 'samana' as one of the synonyms of 'saṅgrāma' in the Naighantuka, but as the conception of Jātavedas has no intermittent link with 'bands of men going to fight', his view can hardly be accepted. That, perhaps a sort of meeting may be the best explanation of the Rgvedic 'samana' is also deducible from two other verses in which the 'woman is actually stated to be going to the 'samana': 'samhotram sma pura nāri samanam vava gacchati' (X.86.10) and 'sam prerate anu vātasya vīstha ainam gacchati samanam na yosāh' (X.168.2). It is true as Oldenberg<sup>(ii)</sup> points out

(i) L. der R.V.

(ii) R.V. Noten - Vol.I.

that 'añjyankte' occurs in the R̥gveda, also in the context of 'men' as in VII.53.3., and VIII.29.1 (dass 'añjyankte' von Männern stehen kann, wurde, bedurfte es dessen bewiesen, durch VII.53.3., VIII.29.1.), but that certainly does not lead us to the conclusion arrived at by him, that 'Vrā' means 'probably not hands of warriors but bands; (maybe) of men only' (An Manner liesse sich nicht denken?). Moreover, he himself thinks that Pischel translates it rightly here as 'the adorning women' though on other grounds the interpretation of the latter at other places seems unjustifiable. Again we find the lack of textual support for Bechtel's suggestions mentioned above. It is quite plausible to argue that the simile of the rays of the dawn with the flashing of weapons by warriors is not unknown to the R̥gvedic seers (cf. I.92.1: *niskṛvānā āyudhanīva dhṛṣṇavaḥ*), yet it is difficult to deny the validity of the suggestion of Bergaigne and the inference of Pischel that the idea of the adorning female cannot be dissociated from 'vy añjate divo antasy aktun' (cf. *Rel. Ved. L'Aurore*, p.246) and hence, the two Padas of this Half-verse (I.92.1) must be separated if we have to appreciate the suggested sense of the verse. The conception of 'L'element femelle du ciel' <sup>(1)</sup> occurs

(1) cf. Bergaigne - *Rel. Ved. Vol. II.241.*

consistently in the Hymns to Usas and it is unreasonable to imagine that after having thought of the simultaneous appearance of dawn with the completion of night, as similar to that of the younger sister (night) departing, making place for her elder sister (dawn), the poet should at once be reminded of the similitude between the flickering brilliance of the rays of the sun and the occasional flash of the weapons of bands of warriors going out to fight. The other proposition of Oldenberg that 'samanagā iva vrā' may refer to bands of men going to a meeting place, seems to be out of place in this context, and the idea of the adorned women proceeding to a meeting place seems natural.

In I.126.5, we have the additional term 'visyā' (subandhave ye visyā iva vrā), which, if it is understood correctly should lead us to a clearer conception of 'vrā' which is qualified by it. According to Bergaigne, <sup>(1)</sup> the idea of a courtesan seems easily deducible, whether we consider 'visyā vrā' as Nominative or Accusative plural. In the former case, the sense seems to be 'the Pajras, in their desire for glory', i.e., wealth, are compared to the courtesans, while in the latter, the comparison is between the wish of the Pajras for glory and one's desire for courtesans.

(1) Quarante Hymns du R.V. - See above.

This way of reasoning, however, seems to be based on pure conjecture. According to Zimmer, <sup>(1)</sup> on the other hand, the special meaning of 'warrior bands of a village' could be easily given to 'vrā' in this context, and 'subandhavo ye viśyā iva vrā' means 'related bands who constitute a vis' (verwandten scharen, die eine Vis bilden). Further, in his opinion, 'vrā' refers to a group constituting a 'vis', the members of which were related to each other, as is the case with the warrior bands of a village; ~~and~~ the army of a tribe was <sup>thus</sup> first grouped into 'vis', and then into 'vāja' or 'vrā' the latter being composed of the able-bodied members of a 'kula'. He took 'anasvantah' here, as qualifying 'vrāh', apparently thinking the latter to be masculine plural. Hillebrandt, arguing slightly differently, translated the second half-verse thus: 'The Pajras are grand companions, who go out to obtain glory like bands of a tribe, with loaded wagons'. He added that the comparison could not refer to courtezans, as the mention of 'the Pajras going out with loaded wagons reminds us of the nomadic tribes like the Bhats, Carans, Banjaras, and the connections they have with the Pajriya sāmans' confirm the supposition'. <sup>(11)</sup> Bechtel, as we have already seen above,

(1) Alt. Leben.

(11) Lieder der R.V.

interpreted it as 'roving bands belonging to a 'vis' and compared it with 'viso na yuktāh' (VII.79.2.). Pischel, translated it, in agreement with Bergaigne, as 'The Pajras as good friends, went out to win fame, with their loaded wagons, like Hetairai. Goldner <sup>(i)</sup> also <sup>(ii)</sup> ~~abided~~ <sup>proposed a similar</sup> by Pischel's interpretation. Sāyana's explanation does not help us much, as it is based on the supposed equation <sup>of</sup> 'vrā' <sup>with</sup> = 'vrāta', and the inference that he draws from 'subandhavo', is far <sup>(iii)</sup> from being convincing.

The Pajras, in the Rgveda, are certainly one of the families of priests, as Bergaigne pointed out, and Kaksīvat, for some reason or other, which is not very clear to us from the references is called 'pajriya' (connected with Pajra). <sup>(iv)</sup> It is also clear from the preceding verse that the descendants of Kaksīvat are called Pajras. (madacyutāh kṛṣṇavato atyān kaksīvanto ud amṛksanta pajrāh). It may be inferred therefore, that Kaksīvat and his descendants were closely connected with the Pajras, and Kaksīvat being the Rsi of the verse, they would naturally be referred to as 'good-kinsmen' (subandhavo). Consequently for 'vrā'

(i) Op. cit. - 121.

(ii) Der R.V. - 149. He renders 'vrā' as 'Dirne'

(iii) 'visām vrābā yathā paraspāram anurāgavantas tathaito 'pityārthah' (as groups of 'vis's are attached to each other so also these Pajras!).

(iv) I. 126.4.

connected with the 'vis' here, we <sup>can, at the most,</sup> have to presume that the poet has a similar idea of kinship in mind. It is suggested by Kosambi that the reference here is probably to the 'nomadic common clan-wives by group-marriage, riding bullock-carts'.<sup>(1)</sup> This interpretation is ~~not impossible though~~ rather far-fetched. We have, therefore, to admit uncertainty as far as the meaning of 'visyā iva vrā' is concerned.

In IV.1.16., the epithet 'janātih', (as indicated above), definitely proves that, at least, in this context, 'vrāh' is feminine plural. Secondly, as has been already mentioned by Pischel,<sup>(1)</sup> the root 'nu' with 'abhi', from which 'abhyanu-sata' here is derived, is nearly always used with the feminine substantive in the Rgveda, excepting IX.717., and generally associated with songs, prayers, and cows. It is rather difficult to understand what is meant to be conveyed by 'the first name of 'dhenu' and 'the three times seven names of the mother', in this verse. Nevertheless, to suppose that the usual sense of the 'milk-cow' does not fit in with this 'dhenu', as Mukerjee has done, merely on the ground that 'vrsabhapatnī', Visva-

(1) J.B. Br. R.A.S. (1951). 22.

(ii) Ved. St. II.320.

rūpa' occur in the 'gavām vrātam' tune in which this Rk is to be sung, is to strain facts. Surely, these rules set down for the chanting of Rks, being mainly concerned with the technicalities of chant, have nothing to do with the meaning of the verses. An analysis, therefore, on this basis alone, is far from being satisfactory. Similarly Oldenberg's translation too, is not feasible, as it as above does not suit the context. It is clear from IV.1.15., that the reference here is to the Usijs (vrajam gomantam usijo vi vavruh), who, to quote Bergaigne again, are the male ancestors (pitarah) appearing under the name Angiras and Angirasa in the myth depicting the deliverance of the cows from the cattle-shed and the liberation of the Dawn from the rock-barrier. (cf. IV.3.11; VI.65.5; VII.76.7., 79.4., etc.), and that the epithet 'manusyah' applied to the ancestors in IV.1.13., suggests naturally the idea that 'here at last the sacrifice to which the mantras are related is terrestrial'.<sup>(1)</sup> If we do accept a sacrificial context for IV.1.13-20, for which there is sufficient evidence, we have to think of some possible connection between the Usijs and the 'vrā's.<sup>(ii)</sup> In that case Oldenberg's interpretation e.g., 'host of Rsis' could be accepted, only if it is further

(1) Rel. Ved. 133.

(ii) Vedic Hymns. Ph. II. S.B.E.

specified. It cannot, however, be maintained that 'te' in the first half-verse refers <sup>only</sup> to the celestial priests, the Usijs, (as in VII.10.5., and I.60.2), <sup>(1)</sup> and that 'vrā' in the second half-verse designates the actual sacrificers, since 'pitaraḥ manusyāḥ' in IV.1.13., clearly goes against this assumption. Consequently, by inference, 'tat jānatīḥ' seems to indicate the continuity of the secret wisdom pertaining to the first name of the milch-cow and the three times seven names of the mother, amidst the 'vrā's who obviously would be the descendants of the Usijs. In other words the meaning of 'vrā' would be the same as that of 'prajāḥ', (cf. Sayana on A.V.II.1.1.7). The motive behind the naming of the descendants of Usijs as 'vrā' is not very clear from the context but, if another title of Kaksivat e.g., Auśija found elsewhere in R.V., is kept in mind, their identity could be maintained with the Pajras who, as has been already indicated, are compared with 'Visyāḥ vrāḥ'. The plurality of men (Mehrheit), suggested by Bechtel in this connection is impossible, as 'vrā' here seems to have a much more specific significance. The attribute 'svarvidah' in IX.97.39., does not limit the sense of 'vrā' here, as 'svarvido vrā' in A.V.II.1.1., is used in quite a different

(1) cf. Bergaigne - Op. Cit. 58.



context. Again the mythical conception of the bands of 'pitarah' coming to help Indra in the act of the deliverance of the cows, is definitely ruled out by the significant mention of 'manusyāh'. Mukerjee's assumption that a metaphor is borrowed here from the attitude of hunters about to find their prey to 'describe the joyous shout of the Rsis' before the performance of sacrifices' is rather fantastic.

Regarding the meaning of 'vrā' in VIII.2.6., we have seen above that there is very little uniformity of opinion amongst scholars. According to some this verse is the deciding one. (cf. Bechtel). The sense of the 'female bait' (des femelles pour appât) given to it by Bergaigne, involves, (as has been indicated above), the Anacoluthon: 'vrāh' for 'vrāhhih' and certainly neither the argument of 'free construction', which he puts forth, nor that of 'abbreviation' hinted by Pischel can account for it in a convincing manner. Roth's rendering e.g., 'bands of hunters', on the other hand, though found to be convincing enough, by Bechtel, Oldenberg, Keith and Macdonnel, seems to miss the significance of the metaphor here. Now, from the context it is here clear that some sort of contempt is meant to be expressed for those who seek to win the favour of Indra in an unorthodox manner. Sāyana goes to the extent of saying

that 'they are not authorized to seek Indra, and try to do so, only by force'. (anadhikārina eva balād indrasya ānvesane vartanta ityarthah). Thus, if any phenomenon analogous to the attempt of those unauthorized ones to win Indra to their side in a manner which is considered to be unfair by the privileged ones, is suggested in the phrase 'mṛgam na vrā', one has to side with Bergaigne and Fischel as the mere fact of bands of hunters chasing a deer can hardly be considered to be contemptuous. The Anacoluthon in that case cannot be explained, but it may be argued that possibly 'vrā' is in the Nominative, and refers to the female species of wild animals actually finding out the males and not hunting them, and the comparison is intended only to emphasise the actual act of 'seeking' in this manner, which in itself, may not have been considered to be laudable in this way as far as the hunter was concerned. There is, however, little justification for Fischel's equation of 'mṛga' with elephant and Oldenberg is right in pointing out that the use of the female bait is not of much importance as 'the same could be said of the Gazelle, which one usually thinks of when 'mṛga is mentioned'. (Dass dasselbe von den Gazellen gilt, andie man bei mṛga doch eher denken wird-).<sup>(1)</sup> There could be yet another interpretation of 'vrā' in this verse. 'Anye'

(1) R.V. Noten. Vol.II. p.75.

may be taken in apposition with 'vrāh' and the prose-order would be thus: 'asmad anye vrā gobhih mrgam no īma mrgayante; dhenubhih abhīsaranti' - 'the 'vrā's different from us seek him (Indra) with offerings, as (they find out) the wild animal (with the aid of the female), and entrap him with prayers'. It is needless to mention that 'abhīsaranti' can only be understood in the sense of 'entrapping'. In this verse, therefore, 'vrā' is <sup>to some extent</sup> correctly interpreted by 'Sayana' as referring to 'anādhikariṇah, and in this sense may be compared with the unorthodox Vrātya. Could this be the reason for Yaska's peculiar explanation of the word especially in this context?

Lastly 'samānam yonim abhyanūṣatā vrāh' in X.123.2., reminds us of 'taj jānatīh abhyanūṣata vrā' in the verse discussed above and 'svarvīdō bhyanusata vrāh' in (A.V.II.1.1.), and it seems most likely that 'vrāh' conveys the same sense in all these three verses. Probably A.V.II.1.1., has even a similar context as our verse, since Vena figures in both. It is certainly not possible to ascertain precisely the position of Vena among the Vedic gods, as the verses in which the word Vena occurs do not describe the deity in the same manner. It is however, difficult to dispute Bergaigne's well-known equation of Vena with Soma-Gandharva, with special reference to our verse, his deduction being

based on the close similarity between X.123.1-4 and IX.85.10-12. Bechtel, <sup>also</sup> (as has been noted above, had indicated that X.123.4., and IX.85.11., were almost identically worded. The Vena of A.V.II.1., may also be the same deity, as the picture here presented <sup>herein</sup> is almost similar to that in our verse. 'Vrā', in this verse, identical with 'viprā' <sup>(On X.123.1)</sup> had previously suggested to Bergaigne <sup>(1)</sup> the idea of 'the mythical sacrificers as guardians of 'ṛta' (law)'. Later on, however, he had to change his opinion and think of the 'mistresses of Vena'. This rendering, together with that of 'divine Hetairai' proposed by Pischel is, nevertheless, not easily deducible from the context, as in all the three verses 'vrāh' remains unspecified. On the other hand, it does not seem improbable that 'vrāh' in A.V.II.1.1., R.V.X.123.2., 'venā' in IX.85.10 (divo nāke madhujihvā asascato venā duhanty ukṣānam giristham) and (viprā' in X.123.1 & 4 are used in the same sense. That the word here would then refer to the descendants of the Bhārgava Rsi Vena, is obvious. (cf. Sāyaṇa: 'venā etan-nāmakā maharsayah'). It must, at the same time, be pointed out that 'vrā' here, as in VIII.2.6. cannot be translated as 'groups or hosts', since the emphasis <sup>possibly</sup> lies

(1) Rel. Ved.

on 'tribal continuity' and not on 'multitude'.

(1)  
Yāska's comment on 'mrgam na vrā mrgayante' is interpreted by Durga as 'those others, i.e., the hunters, the Vrātyas, who are engaged in praising you, and are directed towards you, seek for you; hence come (O Indra) towards us, for a special reason, i.e., excess of devotion' (praisā yusmat-samstava-samyuktās tvām prati prahitāh, itare lubdhakāh vrātyāh mrgayante nārgayante tvām, tasmād bhakty atirekāt visēsa-hetor asman eva pratyehi evam etasmin mantrē). He adds that the word 'vrā', being connected here with the 'mrga', means 'hunters' (mrgasambandhād vrā iti śabdēna lubdhakā ucyante.) The sense of the hunter, however, is not given to 'Vrātya' even in later literature and could not possibly be thought of by Yaska in the context of 'vrā', just because 'mrga' also appears in the text. His interpretation of 'praisāh' as the panegyrics of Indra (ii) is more reasonable, as the Praisika hymns are not unknown to the Niruktakāra. Its connection with Vrātya, however, is not very clear. It is interesting to observe that 'vrā' occurs in the Nighantū in a section which deals with words of pure Vedic origin, divided into three categories, e.g., those of (a) unknown derivation (anavagata-sanskāra); (b) unknown meaning (anavagatārthe); and (c) having many meanings (anekārthe). It is reasonable to conclude from

(1) 'mrgam iva vrātyāh praisāh' (Nir. 7.1.3.)

(ii) cf. Lakṣmana Svarūpa. Nigh. Nir.

this, that in the days of the compiler of the Nighantu, this Vedic word could not be easily derived, had no specific meaning and was used in more than one sense. Hence Yaska's rendering of it as 'vr̄ātya', Śakapūni's reading of it among the names of Usas, can only be considered as indicative of an attempt to give a precise meaning to the word in the context of the Samhitās, the traditional sense of which was <sup>not</sup> certain.

It is evident, from this analysis of 'vr̄ā', that no specific significance can be attached to the word as it appears in the Samhitās, and hence no possible link can be established between 'vr̄ā' and 'vr̄ātya', unless further evidence is forthcoming.

### 3. "The Vr̄ātya book of the Atharvaveda (XV.)"

Coming to the Vr̄ātya book of the Atharvaveda, one notices primarily the peculiarity of style, in which the hymns appear. The book is divided into eighteen sections (paryayas), which resemble the Brāhmanas in diction. It cannot be denied that this division itself proves that chronologically the book cannot be far separated from the earliest Brahmanas in time. How then, can we account for the discrepancy that arises from a conception of the Vr̄ātya here, which is so dissimilar to that found in the Vājasaneyi Samhitā (XXX) and the Tandya and Jaimi<sup>nī</sup>ya Brahmanas? Śāyana did not fail to notice it and accounted for it in his own way.

In his estimation this 'Kānda' was not "intended to be a description of all Vrātyas, but was specifically related to a single Vrātya, who was well-versed, highly priveleged, meritorious, respected by all, and envied by the Brahmans devoted to rituals": ('na punar etat sarva-vrātya-param pratipūdanam, api tu kañcid vidvattamaṁ mahādhikāram punya-śīlam viśva-saṁmānyam karmaparair brāhmanair vidvistem vrātyam anulakṣya vacanam iti mantavyam'). In other words, Sāyana implies that the Vrātya mentioned here is different from the other Vrātyas, inasmuch as he is converted through the Vrātya-stoma, though the absence of his commentary on this Kānda makes it impossible for us to be certain about his view-point. Scholars of the west have mostly adhered to this view, with the exception of Roth, Charpentier and Hauer, as noted above. Those who are reminded of the converted Vrātya in this context, however, fail to explain the total omission of references to the Vrātyastomas, prior to the period of the Brahmanas. Even if we accept the possibility of the Vratya-stoma conversion coming into being long before it was recorded, the question/ remain to be answered: 'Why in the Atharvaveda alone, among the earliest Vedic sources, is the Vrātya glorified and deified?' Roth's idea of the wandering mendicant does not fit in with the mention of the 'pumsācālī' and the 'māgacha'. Charpentier's

impression that they were the ancestors of the Śaiva ascetics, does not take into account all the details mentioned in this book, characterising the Vrātya. Hauer's later proposition that A.V. XV., is a valuable remnant of that vast literature of the Vrātyas, which is almost lost, and glorifies the Eternal Vrātya, who appears in the forms of Rudra-Isana-Mahadeva and Eka-vrātya, the eternal proto-type of the earthly Vrātya<sup>(1)</sup> is of course a reasonable one, but when he says that 'the first Sūktas of this Kānda, the latest portion of the Vrātya book, represents the firm stand of the 'converted' Vrātyas against those who had revolted against their ancestral deities', he evidently contradicts his own former statements. That A.V.XV., is a fragment of the traditional literary output of the Vrātyas is also hinted at, in the version of the Anukramanī: 'adhyātmakam mantroktā-devatāyā utya vrātyā-daivatam' emphasising the mystic aspect of the deified Vrātya. The simple reason that this deification is mentioned only in the Atharvaveda and some of the Atharvana Upanisads (Prasna and Svetāśvatara), is that fact that these presumably belonged to the Vrātyas,<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) Ojha Com. Vol. 13 (Trans. mine.)

(ii) 'Early History of the Gotras' - Op.cit. 90.



and hence in their own text alone their ancient tradition was preserved. It is quite possible that other portions of this tradition are also present in the extant Atharvaveda (cf. Hauer's refs. to X.8.43; IX.6 etc.),<sup>(1)</sup> but as the word 'vrātya' is not to be met with elsewhere in the A.V., we are not in a position to build up 'this glorious Vratya tradition' on the basis of these passages of questionable authenticity.

A.V.XV., is undoubtedly a highly mystical description of the Vrātya, and almost unintelligible at places, yet one cannot overlook certain characteristic phenomena mentioned therein, which throw considerable light on the Vrātya problem as a whole. Even to the cursory reader, it is clear at the first instance, that there is nothing in this book which can in any way be characterized as Non-Aryan, or contrary to the Aryan ideals and practices. It is true that Prajāpati the 'dieu Suprême' of the Brāhmanas is here subordinated to ~~the~~<sup>the</sup> Vrātya of 'primeval' Vrātya (Adi-vratya), but it is needless to argue as Hauer has done, that 'it could be inferred from this that the Supreme deity of the Brāhmanas - Prajāpati and the primeval deity of the Vrātyas were vying with each other to attain

(1) Op. cit. 19.

pre-eminence'. (Ibid). It is obvious that the main purpose of the redactor is to present the Vratya as identical to Prajāpati, and not superior to him, though with a view to glorify<sup>ication</sup> the Vratya he is mentioned as 'one who inspired Prajāpati' (sa prajāpatim samairayat). Secondly it is almost an inevitable inference from the mention here of the forms of Rudra-Siva, manifest in the archers, 'Śarva', 'Bhava', 'Paśupati', 'Ugra', 'Rudra', 'Mahādeva', 'Īśāna', that a full-fledged form of Siva worship was familiar to the Vratyas. This instance does not alter our position, in any way, as the usual theory of the Non-Aryan character of Rudra in the original stages, is proved to be unsound as early as the period of the Yajurveda, where in the 'Sata-pudriya', he is already brought into the Aryan fold. Thus the Aryan character of the Vratya in the Atharvaveda cannot be questioned. His non-Brahmanical nature is, however, clearly indicated in this book. It must be borne in mind, that in calling the Vratya, 'non-Brahmanical' by nature, we are only referring to those characteristics of his, which make him a follower of some form of Dharma, which is specifically different from the orthodox Brāhmaṇa Dharma. Primarily the retinue of the Vratya, comprising here, the 'puroḥita', (Metaira), the 'māgadhā', (bard), 'pariskanda', (attendant), 'vipatha-vāha'

(chariot horses), 'vipatha' (chariot), with the 'sārathī' (charioteer) and the 'puraḥsara' (fore-runner), cannot by any stretch of imagination be associated with the Brahman; secondly the peculiar outfit, consisting of the 'pravartan' (two round ornaments), the 'maṇi' (jewel), the 'uṣṇīṣa' (turban) can hardly be considered to be fit for a Brahman. Lastly the 'āsandī' is usually meant for a Rājanya and not a Brahman, as is clearly seen from the Rājasūya description in the Brāhmana texts. It is rather difficult to agree with Hauer in thinking that the peregrinations mentioned here can be connected with the Mahavrata. At the utmost, it can be maintained that the ritual which may have been at the back of the redactor's mind of this book, has a close parallel in the orthodox Rājasūya. The setting out of the Vratya to all directions, can only remind us of the 'symbolic conquest in all directions' mentioned in the context of the Rājasūya. Similar is the case with the reception of the Vratya as an honoured guest, referred to, towards the end of this book, who is none other than the king or warrior-noble as guest. These characteristics of the Ātharvana Vratya, link up his followers, the earthly Vratyas with the original Rājanyas, who remained independent and had a glorious tradition, and were disliked by the Brahmans, the pre-eminence of whom, in those days was an established fact.

It is rather strange that verses 10-13 of this book are almost verbally similar to passages 12-17 in the second book of the Āpastambīya Dharma Sūtra. It has been noticed by writers on the subject, and the usual interpretation given to the 'vrātya' mentioned in the Dharma Sūtra is that of 'the religious student (śrotriya), who has learnt one recension of the Veda, and is a faithful fulfiller of his vows'.<sup>(1)</sup> This rendering, however, based wholly on the explanation of the commentator Haradatta, e.g., 'vrātya an honorific, same as 'vrātya' meaning one efficient in the fulfilment of vows' (vrāte sādhuḥ vrātyah, sa eva vrātya iti puṣābhidhānam), though appropriate to some extent in the context of the Dharma Sūtra cannot possibly fit in with the Atharvāna verses mentioned above, as there is nothing in the fifteenth book, to prove that the 'vrātya' 'who knows thus' (ya evaṃ vidvān) is a śrotriya. It is fairly clear that this Vrātya is in fact the sole representative of the Divine Vrātya, on earth. One may even maintain, that in the Āpastambīya too, the honorific designates an ordinary guest, (unspecified by the Sūtrakāra), and as such corresponds to a common form of address as 'O traveller'. This could be accepted if the express mention of 'brāhmanam' in

(1) cf. Whitney A.V., Buehler S.B.E. II (Introduction)

II.3.7.15, and 'iti vijñayate' in II.3.7.16, was of no significance. These two expressions undoubtedly imply that these sentences mentioning the 'vrātya' are direct quotations from a Brāhmana text, and Āpastamba surely means to use the term in a sense which must be closely similar to that in which it had been used in this Brāhmana. The question naturally arises: 'Which Brāhmana is Āpastamba referring to?' Haradatta replies: 'tad idam sarvaṃ ātharvane pathitam pratyetaṅgam', implying thereby an Atharvan Brāhmana or as Buehler takes it, 'a Brāhmana of the Atharvaveda'. This Brāhmana text is totally lost to us today. Buehler says in the introductory chapter to his translation of the Ap.Dh.S., that 'by the expression Brāhmana, the Brāhmana-like fifteenth book of the A.V., is meant' and Haradatta also 'expresses the same opinion'. The Brāhmana-like character and content of A.V.XV., has already been seen <sup>noted</sup> above, and 'ātharvane' of Haradatta may plausibly refer to this book of A.V., but if Āpastamba really had in his mind the A.V. Saṃhitā, it seems most unlikely that he would refer to it as a Brāhmana, when we do not find any traditional division of A.V., into its Mantra and Brāhmana portions. Would it not be, therefore, more reasonable to think that this portion of A.V.XV., at least existed in the days of Āpastamba, as occurring in a

Brahmana text quite apart from the extant A.V. Samhita? 'Vrātya' may have been used in that Brahmana in some special sense, which obviously could be applied to it, wherever it occurred in this text specially dedicated to the Vrātyas. In that case, it is not difficult to assume that at one time, all these Vrātya descriptions were found together, possibly in the form of a separate Brāhmana which was closely connected with the Vrātyas. In other words the existence of a distinct Brāhmana <sup>possibly</sup> named 'Vrātya-brāhmana' cannot be totally denied. (1) The only difficulty in accepting this hypothesis, lies in finding out the specific ritual or rituals, which the Vrātya book of the Atharvaveda, especially in this section, might be taken to explain in the usual style of the Brāhmanas, since the unorthodox nature of this book as a whole presumes a context totally different from that of the Āpastambīya. This can only be explained if we can conceive of this book as a whole, being incorporated into the A.V. Samhitā from a separate Brāhmana dealing with various rituals peculiar to the Vrātyas. It may even be argued that A.V.XV., originally a Brāhmana portion may have some distant connection with some of the orthodox rituals, which may have been borrowed from the ritualistic tradition of the Vrātyas. In this connection, the highly mystical nature of the hymns of this book makes it impossible

for us to find any positive clues. Hauer's contention that the 'theistic mysticism of the Vrātyas recorded in this book, is similar to the Indra-mysticism connected with the Mahāvratā ceremony' and that the journey of the Vrātya into regions in all quarters is comparable with the perambulations round the Marjāliya fire in the Mahāvratā, is based on flimsy evidence, and unsupported by facts. It is absurd to think, that the conceptual peregrinations of the Vrātya in several directions is similar to the dancing of the maidens with pitchers on their heads round the Mārjāliya fire. Moreover the 'mystic conception of Indra as the Omnipresent Purusa, who united himself with his singers has little connection with the Mahāvratā, which primarily is a 'Sonnwenderfest' emphasizing the equation of Indra with the Sun.

One might, however, with a reasonable amount of conjecture, find scanty evidence here for a remote connection with the orthodox Rājasūya, (as noticed above). The Rājanya-like character of the divine Vrātya as well as his earthly prototypes presupposes that the supposed ritual or rituals should be meant specially for the Rājanya sacrificer. Now, the Rājasūya, according to the Brāhmanas and the Sūtras is to be performed only by the Rājanya or Kṣatra, and not by the Brahman, who is given the option of

performing the Vājapeya. Secondly the mention of the 'sāmāns' in the context of the 'Abhiṣecanīya' (sprinkling ceremony in the Rājasūya) while the king is made to ascend the regions, and the bringing forth of the throne-seat (asandi) made of 'khadira',<sup>(1)</sup> clinch the suggested connection still further. Again the supreme position of the Vrātya among the immortals as well as the mortal beings, reminds us of the Absolute sovereignty of the consecrated monarch (rājasūyābhiṣikta), and the Ātharvāna Eka - vrātya seems more akin to the Eka-vrāt of the Brāhmanas, than to the Ekarsi of the Upaniṣads as suggested by Hauer.<sup>(11)</sup>

Even accepting this conjectural application of A.V.XV., to the Rājasūya we are still faced with the difficulty of connecting all the 'paryāyas' of this book with this ritual alone. Hauer is certainly justified in making three distinct divisions under which these Paryāyas are to be placed, as all of them are by no means related to any common context. Thus we have to assume that the book is very likely a collection of fragments from here and there, of a Brahmana-like text, and only some portions of it are connected with a primitive form of the later Rājasūya.

A few words must be said regarding the position of the 'Pumsall' and the 'Māgadha' appearing as the companions of the Eka-vrātya. It is not easy to ascertain the meaning of these two words in the Samhitāe, as they occur very rarely

(1) cf. Sat. V.4.1; V.4.6.

(11) Op. Cit. 306-315.



in the early texts. They do not appear in the Rgveda. In the Vājasaneyī only in the context of the Purusamedha they are used together, twice. In the Atharvaveda they are to be met with exclusively in the above context. In the Kāthaka and the Maitrāyaṇī they are mentioned only in the description of the Mahāvratā. From these references the only conclusion that can be drawn is that there was some similarity between the individual statuses of the 'pumsācālī' and the 'māgadhā', which was probably the reason for their being linked together. It is interesting to note that in the second instance in the Vājasaneyī (XXX.22) both the Māgadhā and the Pumsācālī, together with the Kitavaḥ (gambler), and the Klībāḥ (cannib) are expressly stated to be 'non-Śūdras and non-Brahmans and dedicated to Prajāpati' (māgadhāḥ pumsācālīḥ kitavaḥ klībāḥ śūdrāḥ brāhmanās te prajāpatyāḥ) which naturally implies that they were connected with the Rājanya and the Viś. A.V.XV., too, we have seen, presents the Vratya in close connection with the Rājanya and the Viś. Thus the companionship of the Vratya with the Māgadhā and Pumsācālī seems fairly intelligible. As far as the latter is concerned, there can hardly be any

(1) 'so' rajyata tato rajanya' jayata, sa viśāḥ sambandhūn amnam annādyam abhy udatisthat - 3.1.2.\*

objection to find in it the designation for the Hetaira on the basis of etymology. It must, however, be stated that in spite of the various references even in the *Rgveda* to the general laxity of morals among the common folk in those days, <sup>(1)</sup> there is no conclusive evidence for maintaining that the 'pumscañī' was used in the early days in its later depraved sense. The very mention of the Pumscañī<sup>as</sup> accompanying the Vratya, in his sojourn proves that she played an important part among those who constituted the royal entourage.

Opinions differ, however, with reference to the interpretation of 'Māgadha'. Even to Mahīdhara, the commentator of the White Yajurveda, it appears that the Māgadha may refer either to the 'person born in the Māgadha country', or the 'offspring of the union between a Kṣatriya woman and a Vaiśya' (magadha-śeśajam kṣatriyāyām vaiśyapuṃso jātam vā). Most scholars consider the second interpretation to be a later one, and find a justification for the first, in the well-known contempt expressed for the Gandhāria, the Mūjavants, the Āṅgas and the Māgadhas in A.V.V.22.14, where fever is 'bequeathed to them as one leaves money with one who is sent abroad' (gandhāribhyo mūjavadbhyo 'ngobhyo māgadhebhyeh praisyam janam iva śevadhīm takmānam paridadamasi). It is quite logical to

equate these 'māgadha's with the Atharvāna 'Māgadha', the companion

of the Vratya

both standing for the 'citizen of Magadha' (magadhajana),

but that is not of much significance, as there is hardly

any reason to believe that a similar contempt for the

Māgadha is also expressed in the Vratya context. The

association of the Pumsācalī, alone, does not presuppose

that the redactor intended to emphasize the degraded pos-

ition of one coming from Magadha as all the personifications

of the Pumsācalī in various directions, e.g., 'śradhā'

(devotion) 'Uṣah' (dawn), 'Iṣā' (cheer), 'vidyut' (lightning),

compared with those of the Māgadha, e.g., 'Mitra', 'mantra'

(verse), 'hāsa' (laughter), 'etanayitnu' (thunder), clearly

indicate that, <sup>merely</sup> a close affinity between the two is the

main point of emphasis. The authors of the Vedic Index, (1)

rightly maintain, that the later conception of the Māgadha

as a 'minstrel' is a natural derivation from the original

sense of a 'native of Magadha' as Magadha was probably

the land of 'minstrelsy', but there is no evidence in the

early texts to show that it was limited only to a Magadha-

desīya, and the idea of the 'minstrel' was unknown to the

compilers. It is also impossible to state definitely the

period in which this transition in meaning took place.

(1) Vol. II.

Further the statements of the Sutrakāras do not confirm this conjecture, as they clearly mention 'Māgadha-deśīya' and not 'magadha-deśīya', the significance of which we shall indicate when we refer to the Sūtra evidence. Thus accepting the usual sense of the 'minstrel', 'bard' or 'singer' even in our context, the connection with the Pumsācalī is simple and similar to that between the later 'gāyana' and 'ganikā'. That, even in those days, both the Māgadha and the Pumsācalī accompanied the Rājanya chief, who is the Supreme Vrātya here, does not seem impossible. Further, no justification can be found for Ghosh's inference that 'these descriptions prove that the Great Vrātya's seat was unequivocally fixed in Magadha', though the Māgadha may have originally come from Magadha. Nor can one agree with Bloomfield, in construing the Māgadha as the 'outcaste associate' of the Vrātya, and on that basis find the picture of the converted Vrātya here. It is impossible that the Pumsācalī and the Māgadha, however much their status is changed, should be deemed companions of the 'converted Vrātya' who undoubtedly becomes a Brahman through conversion.

It must also be pointed out that <sup>(see</sup> additional evidence that Hauer finds in the ritualistic reference to the Māgadha and Pumsācalī (or Pumsācalu) in some Brāhmanas and

Sūtras, for the connection of A.V.IV. with the Mahavrata rite is without any basis. The Jainīya depicting the Mahavrata certainly refers to the union of the Māgadha and Pumsācalī at the southern end of the altar, as a part of the ceremony (māgadham ca pumsācalum ca daksina vedyante mithunī-kārayanti, mithunatvāya), but the context is totally different in the A.V. The presence of these two in the royal retinue of the Eka-vrātya, is not the same as their ritualistic union, which probably is a foreign element borrowed from the fertility rites of the old days. Furthermore, in other texts, also dealing with the Mahāvṛata, such as Kāty. Śr.S., Śākh.Śr.S., Pañcaviṃśa, etc., the Māgadha is not mentioned, and the pumsācalī is stated to be arguing or conversing with the Brahmācārī (brahmācārī-pumsācalyo sampravāda), which leads us to presume that not much importance was attached to this part of the ritual in later times.

Lastly Paryāyas XIV.-XVIII, are highly mystical, and almost unintelligible, in spite of the attempts of Hauer and Mukerjee, to find out their true implication. It is, of course, wrong to maintain with Ghosh that 'these tail off into downright incantation and nonsensicality'. One cannot deny that in content, they embody the philosophical speculations apparently of the Vrātyas, closely similar to

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those present in the Upanisads, and appearing in an allegorical form, cannot be interpreted without a proper understanding of their inner sequence in a certain specified context. Can it be supposed that these are collated from the Upanisad portion added to their Brāhmaṇa, (the Vratya Brāhmaṇa), similar to the Brhadāraṇyaka forming a part of the Satapatha?

To sum up, therefore, our findings in A.V.XV., we may state that being composed entirely in the prose of the Brāhmaṇas, with what Whitney calls 'casual lapse into metre', (1) it gives us the impression that originally it may have existed in fragments in some Brāhmaṇa text, for which we have the testimony of Āpastamba, and which may have been known as the Vratya-brāhmaṇa being specially connected with the Vratya. The theme is evidently the glorification of the Ekavrātya, the Highest Vratya, who is identified with Rudra-Mahādeva-Īśāna, and brought into close connection with the earthly Vratyas, who seem to have been similar to the Rājanyas by their peculiar outfit and host of companions. The ritual with which these Brāhmaṇa-like passages were linked up, was probably an older form of the later Rājasūya, the ceremony of royal consecration.

(1) A.V. - Introduction - Book XV.

The Eka-vrātya and the earthly 'knowing' (ya evam vidvān) vrātya' are certainly the precursors of the 'daiiva vrātyā' and 'vrātyā' respectively of the Brāhmanas and the Sūtras, but it is not possible to find a picture of the converted Vratya in this book. It represents an independent tradition of certain tribes who may have had some affinity with the <sup>accepted Vedic practices only at a</sup> ~~later stage~~ <sup>like</sup> ~~the~~ ~~Angirases~~. They were formerly, <sup>like</sup> Rājanyas, with caeteris beliefs, and ritual practices, which were recorded in a Brāhmana completely lost to us. Later they were converted into Brahmins through the Vrātya-stomas.

#### 4. References to the Vrātyas outside The Atharvaveda.

The earliest reference to the Vrātya, in texts apart from the Atharvaveda, is in the Vājasaneyī Samhitā. In the context of the Puruṣamedha (human sacrifice), in XXX.8, it is laid down that the 'vrātya' is to be consecrated by the sacrificer for the Gandharvas and Apsarasas; 'gandharvāpsarobhya vrātyam'. Mahīdhara explains 'vrātya' as 'one excluded from initiation with the Sāvitrī' (sāvitrī-patitam), obviously following the later tradition, <sup>(1)</sup> and hence, cannot be accepted to have rightly interpreted it here. This incidental reference to the Vrātya amidst the

(1) of. Manu. II.39.40; Ya. I.37; etc.

hosts of victims to be sacrificed in the Purusamedha, does not in any way throw light on our problem. Being considered, however, as a victim here, it seems fairly clear that it stands for the Vrātya who has not been converted, and this may have been the reason for the above mentioned interpretation of Mahīdhara, which, as we know, is the designation for the later un-converted Vrātya. Hauer, <sup>(1)</sup> tries to find a certain relation between the Vrātya, and the Gandharvas and the Apsarasas to whom he is dedicated. Accepting the demonic character of these two groups of deities, he argues that their capacity for 'driving one mad' best expressed in the term 'gandharvaghāta' (literally 'caught by the Gandharva' - obsessed), leads us to conclude that the Vrātya was one obsessed, and thus connected with wild ecstatic experiences. This argument, however, does not seem convincing, as the Gandharvas and the Apsarasas, do not appear in the Samhitās, merely as causing obsession among mortals, and there is no mention of the 'obsessed' one in R.V.X.136.6., <sup>(2)</sup> 'the keśī walking on the path of the Gandharvas and the Apsarasas, and the wild animals, the knower, the friend of the knowable, the agreeable one, the

(1) Op. cit.

(ii) 'apsarasām gandharvānām mrgānām cārana caran; keśī ketasya vidvān sakhā svādūr madintamah',



exhilarating one'. Hauer thinks 'keśū' (the long-haired one), occurring here, stands for the Vrātya. Even if 'keśin' were taken to mean 'the long-haired attendant of Rudra' in this context, which is doubtful <sup>(1)</sup> there is positively no reference in the related texts to the long hair of the Vrātya. The Vrātya, surely, is not the attendant of Rudra, as in the Atharvaveda, itself, he is mentioned as identical with him (sa īāno'bhavat). It seems that Hauer is too eager to find additional evidence for establishing the identity of the primitive Yogin, with the Vrātya also in the non-Atharvan texts, and consequently his interpretation is rather adventurous. Equally unconvincing is his statement that the 'the mention of 'durmada' (the fierce one) before the 'vrātya' and 'umatta' (the intoxicated one) after it, provides contextually a sounder basis for his rendering', as it is almost impossible to imagine, that the Duramedha list is a really systematic one. Moreover, nothing is associated with the Vrātya, either in the earlier evidence of the A.V., or in the later testimony of the Brāhmanas and the Sūtras, which would in any manner characterize him as being violent in his behaviour, or showing signs of intoxication. The connection, therefore, of the Gandharvas and

(1) cf. Sayana: 'keśū agnir vāyuh sūryo vā' and also 'keśidam jyotir ucyate' on R.V.X.136.1.

Apsarasas with the Vrātya, which perhaps needed to be emphasized in this list, should be traced in some other sphere. We know for certain that 'the Gandharva par excellence' had been deified in the R̥gveda, and the Gandharvas were related to him in the same manner in which the Rudras or Maruts were to Rudra, as was rightly pointed out by Bergaigne. (i) These mythical beings have the same characteristics as the divine Gandharva, who is a celestial being, protecting Soma, regulating the course of the Sun's horses, bringing into being the first pair of human beings, Yama and Yamī, wielding a certain mystical power over women, and possessing a right to own them. He is also supposed to be a good physician. The Apsarasas, on the other hand, are not only the loved ones of the Gandharvas, but also together with the latter, are supposed in the Atharvaveda to be evil beings like the Raksasas, Pisācas Kimidins, etc., from whom protection is sought. Both of these are also considered to be 'divine libertines'. (ii) The Gandharvas are especially ill-disposed towards women. In the Vājasaneyī, though they are mentioned as 'physicians' and 'the heavenly guardians of divine truths' in some places, yet in this context, the conception hinted at in A.V., seems

(i) Rel. Ved. - III.64.

(ii) cf. Bloomfield: H.A.V.

to be at the back of the redactor's mind. In other words, among the deified beings, they are looked upon as the degenerate and corrupt ones. Accepting the essentially licentious character of these, can we in any way link up the Vrātya with them? There is only one piece of evidence for this, and that is in the verdict of the Brāhmanas: 'na hi brahmacaryam caranti', which we shall analyse presently. This relationship brings the Vrātya of the Vājasaneyī closer to the non-converted Vrātyas of the Brāhmana texts. It must, however, be noted that the mention of the 'pumscaḷu' and the 'māgadha' also among the Purusamedha victims, as noticed above, does not establish any close link of this 'vrātya' with the deified Vrātya, in whose company the latter is mentioned in A.V., though the fact that he is specially dedicated to the Gandharvas and the Apsarasas, reminds one of the <sup>(i)</sup>Ātharvanic tradition.

Now to pass on to the Brāhmanas, where for the first time, the special sacrifices known as the Vrātya-stomas, come to be recorded, we must bear in mind that the casual remarks found in these texts regarding the character and outfit of the Vrātyas in general, do not form a part of the original Vrātya tradition, which is only represented by

(i) See above.

the Vrātya book and the Ātharvana Upanisads, and possibly the Jāiminiya Upanisad Brāhmaṇa, which certainly belongs to a period much later than that of the main Brāhmaṇas.

Among the Brāhmaṇas, only the Tāndya and the Jaiminiya deal with the Vrātya-stomas. The Tāndya furnishes a more detailed analysis than the Jaiminiya. Both these Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Sāmaveda, deal with these sacrifices in an almost similar manner, but the latter, while referring to many Vrātya-stomas 'athaite vrātyastomā' (now these Vrātya-stomas) in II.222, explains only one of them 'tam aharams tenāyajanta-' (that they brought, with that they sacrificed<sup>(1)</sup>) which was to be performed by the Vrātyas in general. The question, as to which of these two texts, represents the older tradition is not easy to answer. Still, as Hauer, <sup>(1)</sup> correctly infers that the description in the Jaiminiya being slightly different from those found in the same context in the other Brāhmaṇa, probably records a distinct tradition, which comes closer to that recorded in the Vrātya book, due to the mention of Īśāna and Prajāpati as Vrātya deities, and as such may be considered an earlier one. It is, therefore, appropriate to take up the Jaiminiya passage first for examination.

(1) Op.cit. 117ff.

Caland translates the opening sentence of J.B.II.222 (divyā viā vrātyā vrātyām adhāvayan budhena sthapatinā) as 'the heavenly Vrātyas led a Vrātya life with Budha as their chief' (Die goettlichen Vrātyas fuehrten ein Vr-leben mit Budha als ihrem Oberhaupt), while Hauer renders it as 'the divine Vr. were once on their Vrātya wanderings, under Budha their chief' (Die göttlichen Vr. waren einst auf Vr-Wanderschaft unter Budha als ihrem Oberhaupt).

'Sthapati' undoubtedly stands for 'chief', but probably refers in particular to 'the chief sacrificer' as is made clear by Baudhayana when he says 'sa esām vratāni carati' (he fulfils the vows of these) or 'etena kuru-brahmanā<sup>nā</sup> putrā ījire' (with him the sons of the Kuru Brahmins performed their sacrifice). It is easily noticeable that 'vrātyānām pravāse' of Āpastamba, <sup>(i)</sup> 'vrātyām caranti' <sup>(ii)</sup> of Baudhāyana and also 'vrātyām pravāsanti' of the <sup>(iii)</sup> Tandyā, have the same implication as the above phrase in the Jaiminiya, as has also been indicated both by Caland and Hauer. Baudhayana's 'vrātyām caranti' and <sup>(iv-)</sup> 'vratāni' carati leads us to presume that 'vrātyām dhāvayan' conveys more specifically the sense of

(i) Ap. S.S.-XXII.5.4.

(ii) B.S.S. XVIII.25

(iii) XVII.1.2.

(iv) 'carati' in the sense of 'performing' is usual.

the 'performance of the 'vrātya' ceremonies. Caland's rendering 'vrātya-life' is, however, preferable to Hauer's interpretation, as 'vrātyā' could best be translated as 'the Vrātya way of life'. What 'pravasanti' implies will be clear when we review the later passages in the Tāṇḍya and Āp.Ś.S.

Next, Caland's emendation of 'eka-vrātyām' as found in the Jaiminiya manuscript with him, into 'ete-vrātyā' in the next sentence, is denied by Hauer, <sup>(i)</sup> who thinks the former is the correct form, conveying the idea of the dignified position of the Eka-vrātya (mentioned in A.V.KV.) Ibid.56). This argument of Hauer seems to be based on pure surmise, as the reason suggested by him for the Eka-vrātya feeling offended, is not supported by textual evidence. It is impossible to imagine that formerly the heavenly Vratyas recognized the Eka-vrātya as their chief, and then aspired to deprive him of his dignified status, since he is presented in A.V. as the 'eternal Vrātya', and not as any individual in particular. It cannot be denied that this passage in the Jaiminiya points out how the divine Vrātyas came to recognize the superiority of Prajāpati, the 'centre-

(i) Op. cit.

god' (acc. to Hauer) of the Brāhmanas, over Īśāna and possibly Vāyu, to whom they were devoted formerly. Still, to consider the event as representative of schisms in the religio-historic sphere in Ancient India, as Hauer does, is to strain the facts. It is apparent from the form in which this mythical description (of the heavenly Vrātyas offending one of their deities, due to some error in sacrifice), appears in both the Brāhmanas, that it is a traditional version of the origin of sacrifices. The ritual-experts who recorded it were Brahmins not inclined towards the Vrātyas in any way, and had to convince the performers of the Vrātya-stomas, of the excellence of Brahmin rituals and the greatness of Prajāpati. It need, therefore, have no historic basis, and points out only the ingenuity of the Brāhmana-kāras, in creating myths to explain the validity of such injunctions. Thus *eka-vrātyām* is not acceptable in this context, and '*ete vrātya*' is certainly a better reading.

Describing the earthly Vrātyas, the Jaiminiya says that 'those who lead the Vrātya way of life, are as if deluded' (*muhyantīva vā ete ye vrātyām dhāvayanti*) which implies that according to the followers of the Jaiminiya school, the ceremonies of the Vrātyas are wholly erroneous. The error probably lies in their speech as they are further

(Holy)

stated to 'be excluded or separated from speech, and speak that which is against religious observances, and ritual practices' (vāco vā ete byrdhante, ye vrātyām dhavayanti; vaca hy avratam amedhyam vadanti). This is remedied (according to the text), by the use of the 32 'pavamāna' stotras, having the introductory verse in Anuṣṭubh (tad yad dvātrīṃśāḥ pavamānā bhavanti, vācitat samr̥dhyante; anuṣṭup pratipad bhavati; ... tad yad anuṣṭup pratipad bhavati; abhipūrvam eva tad vaca samr̥dhyante). By speech here, probably the ritual formulae, which were composed in verse, and presumably sung by the Vrātyas, during their ritual performances, is meant. The equation of Vāk (speech) with 'Anuṣṭup' is, as Hauer has stated, very common in Vedic tradition and the identity of speech with sacrifice also is not infrequent in the Brāhmaṇas. (1)

From this statement, it is clear that the Brāhmaṇa-kāra is mainly concerned with pointing out certain defects in the performance of the Vrātya rites. It may even be inferred that the Jaiminīya, hints at something which in the Vrātya rituals is strikingly anti-Brahmanical. Further, it is laid down that such Vrātyas, so to say 'die as a result of these operations, or speak like (through the

(1) cf. S.B.III.1.4.2.



mouth of) one very old' (mriyanta iva vā ete ye vrātyāṃ dhāvayanti, uta hi sthaviratarasy āsyam vadanti). This refers again to the inefficacy of their ritual practices, through which they are unable to attain the goal, i.e., heaven (svarga), and are almost dead, or lose their power of speech. 'Sthaviratarasy asyena' (through the mouth of one much old), suggested by Caland, is perhaps, a better reading and Hauer's interpretation of 'asya' as 'something belonging to or derived from the mouth' i.e., 'speech', is not justified. There may also be a faint suggestion in this word, that in the opinion of the Brāhmanakāra, there were faults in their manner of chanting and reciting the songs and verses, which gradually led to their speech, becoming inaudible and unintelligible. Finally, the passage mentions that by the power of the verses of Arbuda, which have the introductory verse in Anuṣṭubh, the Vrātya casts off the old skin, as the serpent (arbuda) had discarded its dead skin, <sup>(1)</sup> which implies that the conversion (through Vrātya-stoma) is complete and the old practices are no more adhered to. In this way we see that the Jaiminiya presents a picture of the Vrātyas, who are

(1) 'so vā arbudasy arksu bhavaty; arbudo vai sarpa etābhih mrtām tvacam apāghnata...., arksu tvacam apahata,..... mrtām evaitābhis tvacam apaghnate'.

different from the Brahman<sup>4</sup>, only as far as their adherence to a different form of ritual is concerned.

There is one other passage in the Jaiminiya, which mentions Prthu Vainya as questioning the heavenly Vrātyas, on the order of the chanting of the Pavamāna stotras (prthur ha vainyo divyān vrātyān papraccha). (1)

This connection of Prthu Vainya with the 'divya vrātya's is also found in the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, but in both instances the reference to this discussion is rather abrupt and no clue is found as to how Prthu came to be linked up with the divine Vrātyas. Prthu Vainya, who apparently is identical with Prthivī or Prthī of the earlier Saṃhitās and later Brāhmaṇas, though claimed to be the 'first consecrated among men' (cf. Śat.) in the later texts, remains more as a 'culture hero rather than as a real man'. (ii) The epithet 'vainya', however, clearly indicates that he is to be associated with the 'Vainyas', one of the groups among the Kevala Bhrgus. In the Sūtra texts 'Pārtha' appears as one of the pravara-Rsis of the Vainyas, and hence Prthu Vainya must be considered as one of their eponymous ancestors. That the 'Śatapatha' (iii)

(1) I.276-77.

(ii) cf. V.1.II.

(iii) V.3.5.4.

and the Taittirīya ~~(=)~~ should mention Prthin or Prthi Vainya as the first consecrated Ksatriya, is quite understandable, if we believe in the traditional Ksatriya origin of the 'Kevala ganas'. The only reason then for 'Prthu' being placed in juxtaposition to Vrātyas seems to be that in all probability the Vainyas were looked upon as Vrātyas. Such a possibility cannot be denied as they certainly came to be established as important clans only in the post-  
(11)  
Vedic times. The Paurāṇic account of Prthu clearly has nothing to do with this Vrātya chief.

The Tāṇḍya Mahā-brāhmaṇa refers to the Vrātyas in two different contexts. In the seventeenth chapter, they are described in connection with the Vrātya-stomas, while in XXIV.18., they are said to have performed the 61 day sacrifice. Further, the former concerns itself mainly with the existing Vrātyas on earth, whereas the latter is only the story of the divine Vrātyas. It is needless to mention that the Vrātyas in the earlier passage are not yet brought within the Brahmanical pale. The latter account being shorter than the former one, deserves consideration first.

It is interesting to note, that the Tāṇḍya alone, ~~clearly~~ relates the actual sacrificial performances of the 'daivā' 'bratyaḥ' ('br.' instead of 'vr.' - in the edition surely seems to be a modern editor's idiosyncrasy) who are the

~~(=)~~  
(17) cf. 'Early History of the Gotras'. Op. cit. 88.

divine

same as the Vratyas mentioned in the Jaiminiya. The 61 day sacrifice is definitely a form of the Soma sacrifice. The Ati-ratra, (a) Prāyanīya, Abhiplava, Pr̥stha, Abhijit, Viśvajit, Abhiplava, Āyu, Gauḥ, Dvādaśāha, Mahāvratā, Ati-ratra, (b) mentioned here, are all sacrifices or component parts of sacrifices classed under the great Soma - yagas mentioned in the Brahmanas and also in later literature. The association of the Sthapati Budha with the Daivā-Vratyas, reminds us of the Jaiminiya passage though the reading is slightly different here: "Daiva vai Vratyāḥ sattram āsata budhena sthapatinā" (the divine Vratyas performed a Sattra with Budha as their 'sthapati'). It must be pointed out in this connection that Caland's supposition that 'Daiva' is probably formed from 'deva' (a certain deity, who must be identical with him who is the lord of animals in the Śat., 'yo' yaṁ devaḥ paśūnām iṣṭe'; Īśāna of the Jaiminiya, and Rudra of the Aitareya III.34.3., and Kāth.X.6; XXII.12; XXV.10),<sup>(i)</sup> leading him to translate it as 'adherents of a God' is baseless. The opening sentence of the seventeenth chapter 'devā vai svargam lokam āyams tesāṁ daivā ahiyanta' (the gods went to heaven, their divine followers were

(i) Pv. Br. - (Trans).

left behind) proves that these are divine beings having relationship with gods in general, and not adherents of a single 'God'. The similarity of the above passage with the Jaiminiya version follows in the next sentence: 'they performed the consecration (ceremony) without having asked King Varuna for the place of worship; the King Varuna cursed them (saying) "I separate you from the fruits of sacrifice, you shall not know the path that leads to the gods"<sup>(1)</sup>. The incidental reference to Varuna here is interesting. The deity who feels offended, and pierces the divine Vratyas, with injury in sacrifice in the Jaiminiya (yajñasy artyā<sup>1</sup>vidhyat) is either Īsāna or Vāyu, but here Varuna takes their place. The royal title of Varuna appearing in this context, presupposes that the deity who is often associated with Soma, and has the characteristic designation of the Adityas is meant.<sup>(ii)</sup> It is apparent that he <sup>is here</sup> ~~is~~ the deity presiding over sacrifices and hence punishes those who transgress the rules of offering. Īsāna the same as Rudra, and Vāyu, cannot be considered to be identical with Varuna, as their connection with the Brahmanical sacrifices is not referred

(i) 'te ha vā-eniryacya varuṇam rājanam devaya-janam didiksus tān ha varuṇo rāja-nuvyājahar antaremi vo yajñiyād bhāgadheyān na devayānam panthanam pra jñāsyatheti'.

(ii) Bergaigne - Rel. Ved. III.131.

(in J.B.)

to in any of the texts. Neither can 'Īśāna deva' be considered as referring to Varuna, as Mukerjee surmises, <sup>since</sup> as Varuna is nowhere described as the 'great god'. The only reason for this change of deities is perhaps this, that the Jaiminiya version being the older one refers to the traditional deities of the Vrātyas, whereas the latter brings in the Brahmanical deity Varuna implying that most of the Vrātyas had been converted by this time, though their complete assimilation had not yet been achieved. The offence committed, also <sup>attains</sup> ~~assumes~~ a specific form in the Tāndya. The grave omission of the recitation of the mantra: 'deva varuna devayajanan vdehi' (Ap. S. S. X. 2. 9. 10) is not directly referred to in the Jaiminiya, and consequently seems to be added <sup>here</sup> as an after thought to lay blame deliberately on the ritual practices of the Vrātyas. Here again, there is no incident stated or implied, which could lead one to agree with Hauer, in maintaining, that a struggle of different forms of religion is intended to be conveyed. At the utmost it is only a struggle between two different forms of ritual, the one adhered to by the Brahman, the other by the Vrātya. The reconciliation is effected in the actual initiation of the Sthapati Budha, who is characteristically named by the Brāhmanakāra as the 'son of Soma'. Further, this great initiation was

(i)  
the cause of happiness to all.

The seventeenth chapter, also opens with a reference to the Vrātyas among gods. 'Vrātyām pravasantah' at the end of the sentence is explained by Sāyana as "being away from (their companions-other gods), after having attained <sup>and residing abroad</sup> 'vratyata', (i.e., fallen from the customs) <sup>(ii)</sup>. This interpretation is undoubtedly based on the later conception of the Vrātya as an outcaste. It is clear, however, that 'pravasantah' stands merely for 'pravāsam kurvantah' (living outside). Hauer's rendering 'Vrātyāwandering' cannot be justified even in this context. Galand's suggestion that it is an 'elliptic form of 'vrātyām vasatim pravasantī' is very reasonable. The translation <sup>(iii)</sup> that he proposes connecting 'vrātya' with 'vrāta', (joined group according to him) <sup>however,</sup> does not make much sense in the present context. If, <sup>on the other hand</sup> however, 'vrātyā' as in 'vrātyām adhāvayan', implies here also 'the special ceremonies of the Vrātyas, the reason for their staying outside the Brahman territory can be easily understood. In other words, their unorthodox practices compelled them to stay outside the field of Brahman

(i) 'mahīm dīksām saumāyano budho yad udayacchad anandat sarvām. XXIV.18.6.

(ii) 'vrātyātām ācāra-hīnatām prāpya pravasantah'.

(iii) 'leading the life of a 'joined group'!

influence.

The phrase 'vrātyām pravāsanti' is repeated in XV.1.2., in the context of the Vrātyas among mortals. 'Those (among men), the deprived ones, who reside abroad leading the Vrātya way of life, are (further) deprived' (hina va ete hiyante ye vrātyām pravāsanti). The repetition of the root 'hā' meaning 'to be left behind or deprived of' in 'hiyante' is probably to emphasize the fact, that whereas the heavenly Vrātyas were separated from the gods, the mortal Vrātyas were segregated both from the Brahmanical gods, and the Brahmans. Then follows the statement: 'na hi brahmacāryam caranti na kṛsīm na vanijyam (neither do they perform the duties of the Brahman, nor do they practise agriculture or trade). The censure, significantly points to the fact that they were neither Brahmans nor Vaiśyas, or rather, that they did not give themselves up to the vocation of either the Brahman or the Vaiśya. Keith, <sup>(i)</sup> in agreement with Weber, finds here a reference to their nomadic life.

It has been suggested by Mukerjee, in this connection that 'na hi brahmacāryam caranti' implies the non-adherence <sup>(ii)</sup> (of the Vrātyas) to the Vedic rules pertaining to 'brahmacārya' (studentship). It is not possible, according to him to infer from this, that the Vrātyaḥ was not a student.

(i) See above.

(ii) He refers in particular to those appearing in the Dharma-Sūtras of Gautama and Apastamba.



of the Vedas' as *lātyāyana* clearly refers to scholars among them. Further, in his opinion, the simultaneous occurrence here of 'brahmacarya', 'kṛṣā' (agriculture) and 'vāṇijya' (trade), recalls to our mind Gautama's statement that the Brahman may add 'kṛṣi' and 'vāṇijya' to his principal duty of 'adhyayana' (study), employing someone else, however, for the performance of these secondary duties; and consequently leads us to conclude that in this passage, reference is made to Brahmans who do not perform their studies in the manner prescribed by the Vedas. (i)

That 'brahmacaryam' in the Brāhmanas usually has the sense of religious (theological) studentship cannot be denied. Again, accompanied by the root 'car', it mostly implies the idea of, a 'brahmacarin' (student) or performing studentship', and there is no reason why it should not have the same significance here. The statement of *lātyāyana* presents no contradiction, as the only inference that can be drawn from it is that there were some among the *vṛātyas* who studied the Veda or Vedas, and not that the (ii)

- (i) *lāt.* S.S. VIII.6.3. 'ya esāṃ adhyayane 'bhikrāntitamaḥ' who, amidst them (the *vṛātyas*) is the foremost scholar' (literally 'most conversant with the study of the Vedas')
- (ii) *Op. cit.* 184.
- (iii) *cf.* Eggerling. S.B.R. XLIV.86.
- (iv) *cf.* Sāyana: 'brahmacāriṇo bhāvo brahmacaryam'.
- (v) The Atharva-veda only.

study of the Veda had become their principle occupation, as it was in the case of the Brahman. Moreover, there is no evidence for the existence of a distinct form of Vratya studentship opposed to that of Brahman studentship. Neither is there any ground for connecting the statements of so late an authority as Gantama in a totally different context, with these phrases in the Brāhmanas. It is, however, better to render 'brahmacaryam' in the sense of the duties to be performed by the Brahman, since there is possibly a hint here, to the misconduct <sup>(1)</sup> too of the Vratya. It is not impossible <sup>Kat</sup> even in those days the sense of 'brahmacarya' was not strictly limited to the study of the Vedas, and involved the idea of the 'general conduct' of the Brahmans. 'Kṛṣi' and 'vanijya' are undoubtedly the traditional profession of the Vaiśya, and there is hardly any ground to think of these as referring in this passage to the subsidiary occupations of the Brahman.

The next interesting passage in the Tāndya, throwing light on our problem is XVII.1.9., the explanation of which has been a matter of controversy amongst those interested in the subject, as is evident from the review in the opening pages of this chapter. The passage states: 'Swallowers of

(1) cf. Vājasaneyī. XXX, where he is dedicated to 'the Gandharvas and Apsarasas'.

poison are these (Vrātyas), who (a) eat sacrificial food, which is worthy of being consumed (only) by Brahmans, (and as such) foreign to them; (b) say sentences that are not wrongly uttered, being as if wrongly uttered, (c) are engaged in beating with a stick, that which is not to be beaten (by a stick) and (d) though not initiated, yet utter the speech of the initiated' (garagira vā ete ye brahmādyam janyam annam adanti; adurukta-vākyaṃ duruktam āhur; adandyaṃ dandena ghnantaś carenti; adīksitā dīksita-vācam vadanti).

The four sins (pāmano) of the Vrātyas mentioned here, from which they are released by the magic power of the 16th stoma (tena papmano'dhi nirmucyante), leads us to infer that they <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ people whose actions were directly opposed to those of the orthodox Brahmans. It is difficult to determine the sphere of spheres with which these non-Brahmanical acts of the Vrātyas are connected. They may be, in fact, their common practices or may have some special connection with their ritual performances. It seems, however, from the context that at least 'annam adanti', 'duruktam āhur', and 'dīksita-vācam vadanti' can be considered as sins, only if they indicate the mistakes committed by the Vrātyas during their observance of certain rites. In other words it is only in the background of rituals that these can be looked upon as

sinful by the Brahmans, whose authority in such matters was unchallenged by others. Consequently we have to give to 'dandena ghnanta<sup>ā</sup>' too, an interpretation which would fit in with the above context.

As different translations have been proposed by scholars with reference to this passage, a consideration of each of them may be useful, but since Hauer has already referred to them in a separate section of one of the sub-chapters of his book, under the heading 'The explanation of T.M. Br. XVII.1.9.'<sup>(1)</sup> there is no need for mere repetition. The inferences of Ghosh and Mukerjee, however, which have not found place in this section, and Hauer's own conclusions, which have not been taken up for discussion by any scholar upto now, may, therefore, be duly considered here.

Ghosh suggests an emendation in the text: 'carantah' for 'caranti' and 'dikṣitā' for 'adikṣitā', and thinks that 'ye brahmādyam janyam annam adanti' is 'mutilated', the addition of a 'na' either between 'ye' and 'brahmādyam' or between 'janyam' and 'annam' being necessary for a clear understanding. His acceptance of 'dikṣitā' instead of 'adikṣitā' is based on 'the reading according to a copy

(1) Op. cit. - 155-179.

of the commentary on Lāt. Sr.Ś., in the Dacca University Library', and thus the passage sentence (dīksita adīksita vācam vadanti), according to him should mean 'ability to pick up Aryan speech after conversion'. For the other suggestions, he adduces no proper evidence. These corrections are not necessary in any way as even in its extant form, the passage makes sense, and the above manuscript either has a wrong reading or the corruption of the text is exemplary of the carelessness of a modern editor. 'Dīksita-vācam' cannot mean 'Aryan speech' by any stretch of imagination.

Mukerjee, on the other hand suggests in this connection: (a) 'garagiro va etc' should be taken separately, conveying the idea that the Vrātyas were 'drinkers of Surā', as Surā, in spite of being unusually considered impure and like poison in contrast to Soma, which is pure and <sup>like</sup> 'amṛta' (nectar), was declared to be food capable of being offered to the 'pitṛ's (manes) and as such could be consumed only if it was purified. The Vrātyas obviously did not attach importance to this act of purification. Thus they were eaters of poison: (b) 'brahm-ādyaṃ janyam annam' is food, proper for the Brahmans after purification, and cooked in the market place, as can be inferred from Baudhāyana's statements: (the gods created

for the Brahmans three means of purification, e.g., ignorance of defilement, sprinkling with water, and commending by word of mouth, <sup>(1)</sup> and 'food which is cooked out of sight must be illuminated (with fire) and be sprinkled with water; likewise eatables brought in the market', <sup>(1)</sup>

The Vrātyas took such food without going through this process and thus defied the rule; (c) 'adurukta-vākyaṃ duruktam āhuh' refers to expressions 'which to Vaidik people, were according to Vaidik directions, not obscure or indecent,' being declared to be so by the Vrātyas. Such an obscene verse, recitable according to the Śrauta injunctions appears in Lāt. 4.3; <sup>Sr. S. (d)</sup> the fourth characteristic points to 'striking of Brahmans, who are 'adāndya' (unpunishable) by Vaidik ordination'; (e) the last phrase 'adīkṣitā dīkṣita-vācāṃ vadanti' conveys the idea of the restraining of speech by the Vrātyas in spite of the fact they were not initiated, as according to the Śat-Br. <sup>(1)</sup> the 'dīkṣita' restrains speech and speaks falteringly (parih-vālam vācāṃ vadati). These suggestions would have been useful, if they had been based on citations from contemporary texts and not on the later Dharma Sūtras. Thus it may be indicated that (a) 'garagiro' etc., cannot be taken

(1) Ban. Dh. S.

(1) III. 2. 2. 27.

separately, as it is more or less a figurative expression and <sup>as such</sup> cannot be interpreted too literally; (b) 'janyam annam' has a certain technical sense, which shall be discussed later on, and there is no evidence in the Brāhmanas, for any such restriction regarding food cooked outside or bought in the market place; (c) 'aduruktavakyam' does not necessarily mean a sentence, which, in spite of having obscene words is declared to be recitable, and contrarily, there are no phrases to be found in the early Vedic literature, which were specifically given the <sup>Common</sup> designation 'durukta-vākya'; (d) the 'adandya' state of the Brahman is easily inferrable from the highest ascendancy of this class in those days, but certainly there is no reference in any of the texts to the Vrātya beating a Brahman, and hence 'adandyaṃ daṇḍena ghnantas caranti' must convey a totally different sense; (e) 'parihvālam vācam' in the Satapatha is not the same as 'dikṣita-vācam', since it is merely an explanation of 'vācam sa yacchanti' (restrain speech), which appears also in the same context.

The conclusions of Hauer, apparently imply that he has in mind the connection of these acts with the primitive rites of heretics. He himself says: 'we have here, therefore, the entire range of primitive rites, for we may presume that in this single connection only catch-words are given, so to

say a ritual-abbreviation of all forms of heretic priest-  
 hood and magic-work, which has given to the Vratyas the  
 appellation 'garagir', as in the case of one of the Asura  
 priests Usāna and the two heretic Rsis Gausūkti and  
 Asvasūkti. <sup>(1)</sup> According to him: (1) the 'garagir' is the  
 poison-eater, the heretic who 'suffers from his former  
 heresy' (seiner einstigen Ketzerel leidet), <sup>as can be deduced from</sup> (a) the  
 mention of poison-eaters among gods in Tai.Ār.I.9.3.,  
 (raśmayas' ca devā garagiraḥ - 'the resplendent gods,  
 the takers of poison'), (b) the name of one of the Rsis  
 in the Kāt.S.XI.8., appearing as 'Gara-gīrniḥ' (the  
 swallower of poison), (c) the story of Usānas Kāvya, who  
 had partaken of poison - food in the company of the Asuras,  
 and had to perform the Punah-stoma (the repeated sacrifice)  
 coming to be narrated in the Jaiminiya (I.126;II.83.84.),  
 the Tāndya (XVII.46-47) and B.S.9.; and finally (d) the  
 reference to the two seers Gausūkti and Asvasūkti, as 'two  
 poison-swallowers' (garagirau) again in the Tāndya (XIX.4.10);  
 (2) 'janam annam' was originally a technical term for the  
 food for relatives, or the family-food, at the sacrifice  
 to the Manes (urspruenglich terminus technicus fuer das  
 Sippen oder Geschlechtermahl beim Manen opfer gewesen ist),  
 and legally was not to be taken by the participants in the

(1) Op. Cit. 179 (Trans. mine)



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sacrifice (rechtmaessig von den Opferteilnehmern nicht gegessen werden), as can be inferred from the Paittiriya (I.3.10.6.) <sup>(i)</sup> and the Sadvimen (I.7.3.) <sup>(ii)</sup>. Further, there are four possible inferences from 'brahmādyam janyam annam adanti', e.g. (a) without observing the orthodox Ceremonies, they eat 'brahmadya', which was as holy as the orthodox 'brahmaudana', to the heretics, and identical with the 'odana' boiled without fire by the two heretic magicians Kilāta and Ānuli; <sup>(i)</sup> (b) they eat 'janya' food, i.e., family food (the predicative attribute 'brahmādyā' being added as a substantive); (c) they eat the 'atithi' (guest) meal, (for which the name 'janya-anna' and the substantive predicate 'brahmādyā' are used); (d) they eat 'janya' food (the adjectival predicate 'brahmādyā' qualifying it); <sup>(ii)</sup> (3) 'durukta' in the Rgveda, means curse (cf. I.49.3.9; 147.4), and 'adurukta-vākyaṃ duruktaṃ āhuḥ' implies 'they declare a curse, an abusive word, as not for a curse, or reversely, they declare a word not for curse, as for a curse' (die einen Fluch, ein Schimpfwort nicht für einen Fluch erklären, oder umgekehrt, die ein Nicht-fluchwort fuer einen Fluch erklären). <sup>(iii)</sup> This 'unholy speech' is itself, in fact brought into the sphere of orthodoxy in

(i) J.B.III.168.  
(ii) Op. Cit. 157-168  
(iii) Ibid. 169.

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connection with a ceremony, well-known as the 'mahāvratā' known to have been performed by the Vratyas with their 'grhapati' Kusātaka, in which 'ill-utterance', 'abusing' etc., formed an important part of the ceremonial and were magically effective as is clear from the following:

(a) 'anyah krosati prānyah śamsati; ya ākrosati punāty eva enan; so yat prasamsati pūsoṣv-eva ānnādyam dadhāti' (1)

('One abuses, the other praises; he who abuses purifies these, that he praises, he places food among the purified),

(b) the phallic dialogue between a Brahmacharin and Pumscahu mentioned in Kāt. Śr. 9.XIII.3.4; (11)

(4) 'adandiyam dandena ghnantas caranti' as translated by others represents three different views (a) unjust judges; (b) 'beat those who are sacred' and (c) 'run about and beat innocent people', none of which is justifiable on grounds of philology and factual evidence. It may describe merely a certain holy action of the unconverted Vratya, e.g., the use of sticks for the expulsion of demons and spirits who are invisible enemies, and moving about in processional bands, which is regarded by the orthodox Brahmans as heretical, and instrumental in bringing misfortune to the executors. Further, it is comparable with 'dhanuskene āniscunā vratyāḥ praschedamānā

(1) cf. Āp. S. S. XXI.17.19; Lat. S. S. IV.3.9.

(11) Lat. S. S. VIII.6.9.

yanti sa jyāhnodah' : (i) ('the Vrātyas move about driving others, with the bow, without the arrow - that is jyāhnode');  
 (5) 'adīksita dīksita-vācam vadanti' refers to the heretic initiation ceremony of the Vrātyas in which they had some form of expression analogous to the orthodox 'dīksita-vada', mentioned in the Śatapatha - 'dīksito' yam brāhmaṇah' - ('this one, consecrated is a Brahman'), (ii) and explained by Baudhāyana as 'yad vrātya-vācam vadati dīksita-vādasya tad rūpam' ('<sup>in</sup>that he utters the speech of the 'vrātya' he uses the form of the speech of the initiated'), (iii) It has connection with the pronunciation of the Aryan language.

Summing up, Hauer states that in his opinion, this passage describes four Vrātya-ceremonies; (a) sacred meal (sakrale Mahlzeiten); (b) curse and fertility rite, in which the 'durukta' was used (Fluch und Fruchtbarkeitszauber, bei denen 'durukta' gebraucht wurde); (c) expulsion of the demons and spirits with the help of the magical bow (Dämonen-und Geisteraustreibungen mit Hilfe des magischen Bogenstockes) and (d) initiation (Weihezereemonien). (iv)

These deductions of Hauer seem to over-emphasize the ceremonial implications of this passage. He unnecessarily tries to find similarity, between presumable Vrātya observances and definite orthodox Brahmanic rites, for which the evidence he cites is insufficient. With reference to 'garagir' as has been

(i) Lāt. 8.3.VIII.6.9.

(ii) III.2.1.39.

(iii) B.S.S.

(iv) Op. Cit. 179.

already stated, it can hardly be denied that the expression is used metaphorically and cannot be interpreted literally, yet the inference he draws from it, that it refers to the heretic who is troubled by his former heresy, is not possible. It is true that 'garagiri' has a special sense in the Brahmanas and the Sūtras, being especially used for expressing contempt, both for 'one who has accepted gifts not to be accepted', and 'one who has partaken of the food belonging to him whose food is non-consumable';  
 (apratigṛhyasya pratigṛhya; anānyānasy annam aśitvā).<sup>(i)</sup>

This, however, does not suggest the idea of 'former heresy'. Moreover, there is no evidence in the related texts to prove that Gara-gīrinī, Usānas, Gausūkti and Asvasūkti, were all heretic Rsis. Nothing is known of Gara-gīrinī. Usānas is represented mythically as the Purohita of the Asuras, and Gausūkti and Asvasūkti are both called 'Aisās' (the descendants of Īśā). Further, in the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brahmana,<sup>(i) a</sup> 'Gausūkti' is mentioned after 'Īśā Śyāvāśvi' in the Vamśa list.

Next, 'brahmadya', which also appears in the Tāndya

(i) cf. HAUER, Op. cit. 158

(i) a IV. 16.

(ii) X. 4. 5. 'ajarasam brahmādyam annam' - Hauer interprets 'ajarasam annam' as 'eternal food' (die ewige Speise), and imagines 'brahmādyā' to be a divine elixir of life, (ein himmlisches Lebenselixier), the 'immortal food' (Unsterblichkeitsspeise) comparable with Amṛta (nectar). Caland, on the other hand, probably has the reading 'ajarasam' and translates 'he eats resplendent until old age, food suitable for Brahmins'. (R. D. Tr. 234).

in the context of the 'Atirātra', and in the Aitareya in that of the Vaṣat call, connected with the Āśvina Śastra, <sup>(i)</sup> means nothing more than 'sacrificial food', specially worthy of being consumed by the Brahman. It may be identical with 'brahmaudana' (rice-gruel), [though it is rather difficult to attach such a specific significance to 'brahmāḍya']. It is natural that such food should be considered to be holy in the ritualistic context of the Brāhmanas. It is, however, inconceivable that a specially sacred meal of the Vrātyas, cooked in a different manner <sup>(ii)</sup> for ceremonial purposes, would be referred to by orthodox Brahmans, as 'brahmāḍya'. Similar is the case with 'janyam annam', which, as we have pointed out above, probably emphasises the foreignness and impropriety of food in the context of the Śaśvinaśa and the Taittiriya references to ancestral sacrifices. There is hardly any reason to believe that the original Vrātya cult was specially connected with ancestral sacrifices, and funeral offerings (Nanenopfer, Totenopfern).

- (i) IV.11. Hauer construes 'brahmāḍya' here as 'celestial magic-food (uberirdische Wunderspeise), illuminated and produced by Brahman' (brahman-Glanz und brahman-Macht). Keith renders it as 'food made edible by the holy power' (R.B.206).
- (ii) The comparison of the 'odana' cooked without fire by the two enchanters Kilāta and Ākuli, (mentioned in the Jaiminiya) with the special 'brahmāḍya' of the Vrātyas, is far from possible, as the only thing said about these two magicians is that they were dependents of the Asuras (Asura-māyāvinau), which does not presuppose that they were Vrātyas.

Neither can the atithi-Mahl be supposed to have the name of 'janya' food, as the more or less mystic description of the common reception of the guest in A.V.XV., who is a Vrātya, <sup>as</sup> 'bhaksayati visvarupam' (feeds the guest on every form there is on earth) does not literally refer to any specific 'atithi'-Meal or 'family-meal'. Moreover, the oneness of the mystic<sup>a</sup> atithi with the Vrātya, found only in the A.V., and Apas. Dh-S.II.3.7., presumes a ritual, which could not be in any way different from the orthodox ceremony of 'guest reception'. The interpretation of 'brahmādyā', therefore, as 'the celestial food of the highest rank of the mystical atithi, i.e., the Vrātya' (von den Vratyas als überirdische Speise als brahmādyā betrachtet wird), is not based on any textual evidence. Finally, none of the modes suggested by Hauer with regard to the explanation of the sentence

'brahmādyam janyam annam adanti' seem feasible, and it may be suggested that both 'brahmādyā' and 'janya' here should be taken as adjectives qualifying 'anna'. The sense then would be that the Vratyas ate food which, being suitable only for the Brahmins, was foreign to them, and as such not fit to be consumed by them.

There is some justification for taking 'durukta' as 'curse' in R.V.I.49.8.9., since it comes together with 'sap' (to curse) and 'prati-vaṣ', but in the Brāhmanas it never

(i)

has the sense of 'curse'. Neither can there be any ground for Hauer's rendering 'unholy speech', as it is based on a wrong understanding of Sayana's comment 'adurukta-vākyam śobhanārthapratipādakam vākyam, duruktam duṣṭam āhuḥ' (they declare a sentence conveying the correct meaning, as being inappropriate). 'Śobhanā', in the sense of 'welfare' or luck (Heil) may be possible, but combined with 'artha' (meaning) it certainly has a different meaning. 'Kāśyapasya śobhanam' referring to a Sāman, again, has no affinity with Sāyana's 'śobhanārthapratipādakam vākyam'. The phrase 'avrataṁ amedhyam vadanti' in the Jaiminīya, may be compared with 'adurukta-vākyam duruktam āhuḥ', but while the former refers to utterance of that which is considered improper for religious observances and sacrifices, the latter implies that the Vrātyas, in their ceremonies, spoke wrongly a sentence which was rightly uttered in the context of the orthodox rites. Thus both these phrases are not completely identical. In the Jaiminīya stress is laid on the use of prayers and formulae considered to be improper in the opinion of the orthodox ritualists, whereas in the Tāndya, presumably the incorrect form of recitation of verses ritually prescribed, is hinted at. Further, the connection that Hauer

(i) cf. 'duruktokta' in A.B.

(ii) 'Sthaviratarasy asyena' in the Jaiminīya, as suggested above, leads us to a similar assumption.

supposes this statement has with the above-mentioned 'Arya-Sūdra' dispute and the phallic dialogue between the religious student and the Hetaira or the Magadha presumes two primary conditions, e.g., the association of the Vrātya with the Mahāvratā, and the labelling of this dispute and dialogue as 'unholy speech' by the Brāhmanakāras, both of which are not evidenced by the texts. There is no proof for the performance of the Mahāvratā by the unconverted Vrātya, and though these peculiar rites associated with the Mahāvratā, may have been borrowed from some primitive forms of ritual, yet are not necessarily of Vrātya origin. Similarly, nowhere in the extant Brāhmanas, are the dispute and the dialogue forming a part of 'the Mahāvratā' considered to be unholy.

Regarding the phrase 'adandyam dandena ghnantas caranti', it is apparent that it does not refer to any of the judicial practices of the Vrātyas, since a ritualistic context of the whole passage, as suggested above, presupposes that a detail of the ritual is also implied here. Hauer is fully justified in maintaining that 'adandyam' cannot refer to Brahmans or women-folk, as the beating of these with a stick, is nowhere mentioned in the early texts, and such a practice surely could not be referred to, especially by the Brahman compilers, in such an unusual manner. Moreover,



'danda' is mostly used in the Brāhmanas, in the sense of the 'staff of the initiated' (cf. dandopānaha), or the implement used for the churning of the Soma liquor in sacrifice. Carried again, however, by his eagerness for connecting the Vrātya with the primitive tribes, Hauer fails to provide any evidence from related texts for his deduction that the above sentence conveys the idea of the Vrātyas moving in processional bands, like aboriginal tribes, and trying to scare away the demons and spirits who were literally unpunishable, being wholly invisible. Even if these characteristics could be linked up with the Vrātyas, such 'demons' and 'spirits' could not possibly be mentioned by the Brāhmanakāra as 'adandya', especially in connection with some ritual. The parallelism between this and the explanation of 'jyāhṇoda' in the Lāt. S.S. (dhanuṣkena āniṣunā vrātyāḥ prasēdhamānā yanti, sa jyāhṇodah) is certainly far from being possible, as the notion of 'adandya' is nowhere suggested or implied in the Sūtra reference. Further, 'danda' in our context cannot stand for 'dhanurdanda', even if we accept Kātyāyana's explanation of 'jyāhṇoda' (as understood by the commentator)<sup>as</sup> 'kevalo dhanur-dandah', as being the correct one, since we do not find this abbreviated form being used in the Brāhmanas, to convey the idea of 'the rod of the bow'.

Finally, it cannot be denied that 'adīkṣitā dīkṣita-  
vācam vadanti' has to be understood, in conjunction with  
'yad-vrātyavādam vadanti dīkṣita-vādasya tad rūpam (that  
he utters the speech of the Vrātya, that is the form of  
the speech of the initiated) of Baudhayana, <sup>(i)</sup> as was also  
pointed out by Galand. Here too, 'speaking the language  
of the initiated' cannot refer to the common language of  
the Vrātyas, as it has to be linked with the ritual.

'The speech of the initiated' (dīkṣita-vāda) cannot be  
identical with 'dīkṣito' yam brāhmaṇaḥ' of the Śatapatha,  
as the latter is uttered by the priests other than the  
Adhvaryu and not by the sacrificer, and as such the infer-  
ence is not possible that the Vrātyas had some form of  
expression analogous to this, which they uttered during  
their initiation ceremony. On the other hand, the uttering  
either of a Ṛk, a Yajus or Sāman by the consecrated after  
restraining his speech, <sup>(ii)</sup> may be implied in 'dīkṣitavāda'.  
Hauer is, however, right in understanding 'parihvālam vacam'  
as an explanation of 'restrains speech' (vacam eā yacchanti),  
but one certainly cannot, 'with good reason', name this  
speech as 'dīkṣita-vāc'. (Diese Rede konnte man mit gutem  
Recht 'dīkṣitavāc' nennen). Nor does Śaṅkara's explanation,

(i) B. S. S. XVIII. 24.

(ii) cf. Śat. III. 2. 1. 37.

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'dīksitaih prayojyām vācam vadanti' (they utter the speech that was to be used by the initiated ones), lead to a similar conclusion, as 'restraining speech' is <sup>obviously</sup> not the same as 'uttering speech'. It is again most unlikely that while the Tāndya refers to 'stammering speech', the Śrauta Sūtra of Baudhayāna concerns itself more with the 'declaration of this initiation', as such an argument is based merely on the slight difference in form between 'dīksitevās' (Tāndya), and 'dīksita-vāda' (Baudhāyana), and a strained grammatical derivation of the latter, which yields the meaning, 'a form of speech in which the initiated is spoken to by the priests'<sup>(1)</sup>. Still further, the hypothesis, that the orthodox initiation ceremony may have been borrowed from an analogous heretical ceremony, which existed previously, is not very convincing, in spite of the comparatively recent character of the initiation ceremony described in the Śatapatha, since little is known about the so-called primitive rites.

From the above examination, it is clear that Hauer's deductions in this context are not justifiable. An apparent similarity between the performance of Vratya-rites and that of the Brahmanical rites, seems undeniable, but one cannot be specific upon this point. It may, however, be suggested that the practice of the Vratyas of

'beating him with a stick, who is unpunishable' has a close parallel in the 'symbolic beating of the king with sticks by the Adhvaryu and other priests, in order to carry him over judicial punishment' ('athainam prsthatas tushnim eva dandair ghnanti tam dandyaair ghnanto danda-  
vadham atinayanti'), <sup>(1)</sup> in the context of the Rājasūya. It is possible that this is a remnant of an older form of the Rājasūya ~~the~~ sacrifice.

Of some interest again, is the description of the outfit associated with the Grhapati, or the chief of the Vrātyas, and also that of the Vrātyas in general. Thus, 'a turban, a goad, a 'jyāhnodā', a 'vipatha' covered with boards, a black garment, two skins, black and white, a silver 'niska' are of the Grhapati' (uṣṇīsam ca pratodas' ca jyāhnodas' ca vipathas' ca phalakāstīrṇaḥ, kṛṣṇasam vāsah kṛṣṇa-valakṣo ajine, rājato nīskah tad grhapateḥ. <sup>(ii)</sup> Before we ascertain the meaning of certain peculiar words used here, it is necessary to determine whether all the items stated here belong to the 'grhapati', or are merely received by him as sacrificial gift (daksīnā). Sāyana, in his comment on this passage, significantly mentions that all these forms of equipment are 'the personal belong-

(1) Sat. V.4.4.7.

(ii) XVII.1.

ings of the 'grhapati', and are to be brought by the 'grhapati' for the purpose of (making) sacrificial gifts' (grhapateh svabhūtāni sampēdyāni, dakṣiṇārtham grhapatinā anetavyani' tyarthah) "for which there is the evidence of the Sūtrakāra (Lāṭyāyana<sup>S. S. VIII. 6. 10</sup>), who says: 'All these the grhapati should bring' (tad uktam sūtrakārena etat sarvam āhared) and hence 'the genitive form 'grhapateh' should not be mistaken for the dative, as (in the context) of the garland of the Udgāta" (atah srag udgātur iva tad grhapateh saṣṭhyā nirdīstasya sampradāna-sānkā na kārye-tyarthah). That Śāyana is right in construing the passage in this manner is confirmed by the statement of the Brāhmaṇa: (1) 'this is the wealth of the Vrātyas; they go wiping off (their sins) on him to whom they give this' (etat vai vrātya-dhanam yasmā etad dadāti tasminneva mṛjānā yanti). The recipients are, according to the Sūtrakāras, 'those who have not discontinued their Vrātya practices, or are Brahma-bandhus and Māgadhadeśīyas'. (vrātyebhyo vrātya-dhanāni, ye vrātya-caryāyā aviratā syur brahmabandhave vā māgadhadeśīyāya). (ii) Apastamba too, says: 'that which is dear to them should be given to them, that is the wealth of the Vrātyas'. (athe khalv ahur yadev aiṣām sōtam syāt tad dadyus

(1) T. B. XV. II. 1. 16

(ii) For 'brahmabandhu' and 'māgadhadeśīya' see the concluding pages of this chapter.

(i)  
 tad dhi vrātya-dhanam iti). Baudhāyana goes to the extent  
 of presenting the Sthapati as equipped with this outfit.

(ii)  
 (kṛṣṇa-tūṣaṃ paridhatte: kṛṣṇam uṣṇīsaṃ dhārayati).

Thus Hauer is justified in taking the 'grhapati' here as  
 the 'giver' and not the 'recipient' of the sacrificial  
 (iii)  
 gifts.

The terms not easily explicable in this context are  
 'jyāhṇoda', 'vipatha' and 'niṣka'. Excepting 'niṣka',  
 these words do not occur anywhere else in the Brāhmanas.  
 It is, therefore, essential to take into consideration the  
 views of the Śrauta-sūtra-kāras, who, fortunately, have  
 something to say in this connection. With reference to  
 'jyāhṇoda' there is hardly any unanimity in the inter-  
 pretations given to it by them. Lātyāyana thinks it to  
 be 'bow without arrow' (dhanuṣkena aniṣunā), while  
 Baudhayana refers to it as 'tisṛ-dhanvam', which he  
 himself specifies as 'a bow with leathern quivers' (carma-  
 mayair bānavadbhiḥ). Kātyāyana, on the other hand, believes  
 it to be 'ayogyam dhanuh', which the commentator explains  
 as 'the rod of the bow without the string' (jyā-rahitaḥ  
 kevalo dhanur-dandaḥ). The only inference that can possibly  
 be drawn from these renderings is that it was a kind of bow,  
 or at least, was thought to be so, by the Sūtra-kāras.

(1) XXII.13. 'Vrātya-dhanam' clearly refers to the possessions  
 of the unconverted Vrātya.

(ii) XVIII.24.

(iii) Op. cit. 74.

With 'vipatha', however, the Sūtra-kāras are in agreement in maintaining it to be a 'ratha' (chariot) driven by two animals, though difference of opinion is expressed in naming and specifying their stepping. ~~and~~ An attempt is made to impart authority to their <sup>own</sup> interpretations, by quoting traditional views associated with Sāṅdilya and Dhānañjaya. Lātyāyana calls it the 'chariot of the east (prācya-ratha), which is driven by a horse and a mule with varied stepping, (according to Sāṅdilya), and by two horses and two mules with unspecified stepping, (according to Dhānañjaya). Kātyāyana quotes Lātyāyana almost verbatim, differing only in mentioning 'equal stepping' of the two animals. Āpastamba does not refer to their stepping and maintains that the horse and the mule are to be yoked to the chariot. Baudhāyana construes it merely as 'a delapidated, worn-out carriage' (jarat-kad-rathah). Sāṅkhāyana has 'vipr̥thu' instead of 'vipatha', which the commentator explains as a carriage with 'an elongated frame, a fearful-looking noose, and axis and wheels in tact' (vilamba-yantra ugra-dām ājarnāksacakrah). Here also, the deduction is simple, that a peculiar carriage, with which the Brāhmaṇa-kāra was not familiar is meant. 'Niska' is not commented upon by any of the Sūtra-kāras. The commentator to Lāt. Śr.S.,

refers to it as 'the well-known ornament, which is made of silver' (prajñātaḥ niṣko nāmālaṅkāra itī; sa rājato bhavati). Hauer compares it with the 'nussa' (in High German) and concludes that it is a sacrificial ornament possibly worn around the neck, on the basis of the references to 'niṣka-grīva', 'niṣka-kanṭha' in R.V.V.19.3., A.V.V.17.4. and the Aitareya (VIII.22.), and the mention of 'the Adhvaryu putting it around the sacrificer's neck, and the sacrificer consequently returning it to him', in the Śatapatha in the context of the Asvamedha. This deduction seems logical, but his other contention that it (niṣka) is identical with the double-ornament of the unconverted Vrātya (dieser Doppelschmuck der unbekehrten Vrātya mit dem Niṣka der Vrātya-stoma ist identisch), mentioned by Baudhayana as 'two Rukmas (made) of gold and silver' (suvarṇa-rajatau rukmau) (XVIII.24), is purely conjectural as 'rukma' is an ornament not usually associated with 'grīva' (neck) but with 'vaksas' (chest). Similarly, the association of 'niṣkam viśva-rūpaṁ' with Rudra (R.V.II.33.10), and the identity of the two 'rukmas' (mentioned above) with 'parigharmyau' (two sacrificial vessels of valuable material) used at the Pravargya ceremony, combined together cannot lead us to the conclusion that the Vrātya, Rudra

(i) XIII.4.1.

(ii) cf. 'rukma-vaksas' in R.V.



and 'pravargya' are closely connected, as 'rukma' and 'niṣka' are not the same, and 'niṣka' in the context of Rudra is difficult to interpret since the meaning of the epithet 'viśva-rūpaṃ' is not clear. Further the connection of 'niṣka' with 'parigharmya', inferrable from the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka IV.5.7., is symbolio. The argument (of Hauer) again, that both 'rukma' and 'niṣka', being mentioned together with the two 'parigharmya's should be identical to ~~them~~ <sup>the latter</sup>, is not tenable, as such statements in these texts cannot be taken too literally. Separated from the ritual, these equations and connections have little meaning. It must also be pointed out that the 'niṣka' mentioned in the Śatapatha is probably a gold ornament, as the parallelism that follows in the statement regarding the significance of the above practice, is between 'gold' (hiraṇya) and 'age' (āyu). Here, however, as seen above, it is said to be of silver, which leads one to presume that the ornament was probably made of gold as well as silver.

From such an outfit it is obvious that the 'grhapati' was like a 'warrior-chief' who, apart from his other duties, had also to participate in and supervise over ritual performances. In this manner he could be compared with the Brahman Purohita who, in those days was not only concerned

with the performance of royal sacrifices, but was also the leader of armies in battles.

Next, with reference to the outfit of the other Vrātyas apart from that of the 'gṛhapati', it is stated that 'valūkānta's with two ribbons on each, two sandals each and two deer-skins joined together are for others'

(valūkāntāni dāma-tūṣāni itareṣūm dve dve dāmanī, dve dve upānahau dvi-samhitāny ajināni). Here again, the articles mentioned are not the sacrificial gifts received by the Vrātyas, but their personal effects. As in the context of the Gṛhapati, so also in this passage the opinion of the Sūtrakāras has to be considered as the meanings of 'valūkānta' and 'dāma-tūṣa' are not clear. Lātyayana and Kātyāyana help us in understanding these two words. According to the former, (a) 'valūkāntāni' with 'dāma-tūṣāni', combined with (b) 'dve dve dāmanī' describes the form of their garments (vasanāni). Thus 'valūkāntāni' stands for 'āvīkāni lohita-pravaṇāni vasanāni' and 'dāma-tūṣāni' means 'dāma dasāni; (dasākhyā tūṣamiti)'. The first specification, in the words of the commentator refers to 'garments made of sheep-wool, interwoven with white woollen threads and sewn lengthwise with red ones', while the next one amounts to 'those (garments) with a knot on one side, and a fringe on the other'. (āvīkāni ūrnāni;

lohita-pravaṇāni, āvikena sūklena sūtrenotāni syuh,

lohitena protāni; yathā govandhāni dāmāni tatprākārāni

syuh, tesū vāsasām ekaikasmin pārśve granthih; anyā-

pārśve tūsam iti dasākhyā-tūsam iti). <sup>According to the latter,</sup> ~~Kātyāyana~~

it is to be

understands it slightly differently, e.g., 'woolen gar-

ments having two protuberances, with red or black seams'

(dvicūḍāny āvikāni vāsāmsi lohitāntāni kṛṣṇāntāni vā).

Regarding 'dve dve dāmāni' Kātyāyana says 'garments with

two fringes each (dve dve ekaikasya vasanasya dāse syātām)

while Kātyāyana does not comment on it. It is rather inter-

esting to note that describing the sandals worn by the

Vrātyas, Kātyāyana states that according to Śāṅḍilya they

are 'black and have protruded tips' (kṛṣṇaḥ karnīnyaḥ),

whereas in the opinion of Dhānañjaya they may be of any

description (yāḥ kāśceti upānahau iti dhānañjayaḥ).

Kātyāyana too quotes Śāṅḍilya's opinion, though referring

to him as 'eke' (some). Significantly Baudhāyana remarks:

"in that he wears hoof-shaped sandals, (he thinks), 'Being

consecrated I may not stand on that which is not proper for

sacrifice" (yat khuryau upānahau dhārayati neḍ dīksitaḥ sann

amedhyam adhiṭiṣṭhānīti). Hauer's translation of the last

part of this sentence is incorrect, and there is no need

for changing 'khuryau' into 'khuryāntau', as only the shape

of the sandals is described here and not the material from

which they are made. It corresponds to 'karninyau' mentioned by the other Sūtrakāras.

These descriptions of the outfit of the Grhapati and the Vrātyas in general, Hauer imagines, give us the picture of the band of Vrātyas moving about in fantastically ceremonious garments, swaying the 'minds of a believing crowd'. (einer glaubigen Menge). This assumption, again is characteristic of his eagerness to attribute a magical aspect to all articles belonging to the Vrātyas. The 'mystical meaning' (mystische Bedeutung), that he traces in these phrases describing the equipment of the Vrātyas, is based on an erroneous conception of the so-called sanctity attached to all that concerns ritual in the Brāhmanas. There is nothing mentioned in the context of the Vrātya 'Ausrüstung', which imparts to it a 'sakralen Charakter'. On the other hand, it is more reasonable to conclude, on the basis of these descriptions, that these Vrātyas were possibly Northerners, covering themselves up with woollen garments and carrying such things with them, which are usually associated with the Kṣatriya class. It may also be argued that the mention of the sandals of the Vrātyas is of some significance. In the context of the Rājasūya, with special reference to the Kosa-vapanīya (hair-cutting) ceremony, the Śatapatha states that the Kṣatriya sacrificer should put on

shoes made of bear-skin, and never set his bare feet on earth. <sup>(1)</sup> This injunction appearing only in the context of the Kṣatriya performing the Rājasūya, lends confirmation to our inferences above that the sacrifice with which the Vrātya seems to be specially connected may have been similar to the orthodox Rājasūya, and that he resembles the Kṣatriya in many ways.

The sections II-IV of the above chapter (in the Tāndya) are also worthy of consideration as they deal with the Vrātya-stomas to be performed specially by those among the Vrātyas who are (a) the 'nṛsamsa-nindita's, (b) the eldest members (jyestha) and (c) the youngest ones (kanistha). This division of the Vrātyas into groups is purely imaginary, and is used by the Brāhmanakāra to bring out more clearly the contemptible traits of the Vrātyas. With reference to the first group, it must be maintained with Hauer that it comprises of the 'nṛsamsas', who are also calumniated (nindita), and not of the 'nṛsamsas' and the 'nindita's as is clear from the text itself; 'ye nṛsamsā ninditāḥ santo vrātyām pravāsanti' [<sup>Vrātya way of life</sup> (carry out their Vrātya performances) outside the sphere of Brahman influence']. Āpastamba's reference to this class

(1) V. 5. 3. 7.

of Vrātyas being represented by the 'nindita's instead of the 'nindita' (censured), 'nr̥śamsa's involves no difference of opinion. The implication is clear that he uses here the short form 'ninditānām' for 'ninditānām' nr̥śamsānām'. (i)

The meaning of the 'the magically potent invokers of curses' (die zauberkraeftigen Verflucher par excellence), (ii) that Hauer gives to 'nr̥śamsa', however, cannot be deemed to be correct. It cannot be denied that 'śamsa' in the R̥gveda has both the senses of 'blessing' and 'curse', but never that of the 'pronouncer of the curse or blessing', (iii) which we have to give to it if we accept Hauer's rendering of 'nr̥śamsa' as 'Menschen verflucher' to be correct. The occurrence of 'nr̥śamsa' in place of 'śamsa', as attached to the name Bhaga in R.V.IX.81.5., which Bergaigne points out is equivalent to 'narām śamsah' (the praised among men) or to the irregular form 'narāśamsa' (eulogy of men) is of little significance, since the context widely differs from that of our passage. It may, however, be inferred from this that provided the sense of curse is applicable to 'śamsa',

(i) Kātyāyana, however, refers to them as 'ninditā nr̥śamsānām'. It is not impossible that 'nr̥śamsānām' has been omitted by the editor of the Apastamba text.

(ii) Op. cit. 155.

(iii) An exception is found only in R.V.II.26.1., where undoubtedly 'samsa' stands for the 'singer' - (cf. Sayana 'brahmanaspateh stotā and Grassman: Lobsaenger).

the meaning 'cursed among men' would be more feasible than the 'curser among men' with regard to 'nr̥ṣamsa'. It is fairly logical, therefore, to give to it the usual sense of 'those who do harm to men', as has been done by most scholars. In this connection Hauer's query as to how, in this sense, the Nr̥ṣamsas can be looked upon as constituting a class different from those with which the other Vr̥atyas are associated, <sup>(1)</sup> is baseless. In this passage it is obvious that the emphasis lies on exposing the debase characteristics of the Vr̥atyas, and not on classifying them into definite groups. The explanation of Śāyana, 'nr̥ṣamsa-ninditāḥ manusyair abhisamsena pāpādhyāropena garhitāḥ santo' ('they are considered to be sinful, with sins being super-imposed on them by people'), is <sup>possibly,</sup> perhaps based on a wrong reading of the text (nr̥ṣamsa-ninditā, instead of nr̥ṣamsā ninditā), and as such not much importance can be attached to it. Kātyāyana's statement, however, with regard to the initiation as Gṛhapati of one who is either 'nr̥ṣamsa-tama', or the richest or the most learned among the Vr̥atyas, <sup>(ii)</sup> is rather difficult to understand. It is apparent that 'nr̥ṣamsa-tama' in this context refers to the 'chief of the nr̥ṣamsas' and cannot be interpreted as 'one who harms most' among them.

(1) Op. cit. 149 n. 274.

(ii) 'yo nr̥ṣamsa-tamaḥ syāt dravyavattamo vā' nūcānatamo vā tasya gṛhapatyē dikseran'. XXII.4.7.

It seems, <sup>however</sup> more likely, as it is certainly a careless copy of Lātyāyana's version which has the three pre-requisites of the Grhapati as 'ādhyayana' (study), 'abhijana' (pedigree) and 'bhoga-lābha' (acquisition of wealth), that the increased contempt for the Vrātyas in later times, may have been responsible for the appearance of 'nrsamsa-tama' in the context of the Vrātya-grhapati.

Next come the youngest members (kanisṭha), who probably had newly accepted the Vrātya way of life. They may not necessarily be younger in age, but their belief in the efficacy of the Vrātya performances was newly established. Whether this class was represented by those who were formerly Brahmans, but later gave up their orthodox beliefs and engaged themselves in Vratya practices, or not, is a question difficult to answer. They are again, in the view of the Brāhmanakāra, the objects of bitter calumny (hinā va eto hiyante), presumably because their entry into the Vrātya-fold was comparatively more recent than that of others, and as such the need for their conversion was keenly felt.

Lastly, the eldest members, who obviously were those who had conformed to the unorthodox practices since long, and were considered as 'elders' in their community, are enjoined to perform with the stoma of the Śama-nīca-medhras. The meaning of this word, is not explained in the Tāndya, and to understand its implications we have to rely on



Lātyāyana's interpretation, as he alone among the Sūtra-kāras analyses it. According to him it stands for those 'who, through old age, are incapable of procreation' (i) (sthavirād apeta-prajanānā ye te sāma-nīca-medhrāḥ).

The particular 'stoma' which is referred to as that connected with this class is not described, but the schema of the verses to be chanted during the performance is indicated - 'agrād agram rohanty ūrdhvāḥ stomāḥ yanty anapabhramsāya' (higher and higher they ascend; the 'stomas' go upwards, (increase in number of verses) in order that they may not fall down), (ii) which Sāyana thinks

agrees with Māsaka III.11 - ('etaḥ cordhva-stomatvam kalpakāreṇa darsitam). Caland too, accepts the identity of this rite with that in the Māsaka. Hauer, however, imagines it to be a form of some old 'primitive Vrātya sacrifice' (ein altes, primitives Vrātya-Opfer) different from the Vrātya-stomas. He argues that it is no 'soḍasīn', since according to the schema presented in the Ārṣeyakalpa (i.e. Māsaka) the sixteenth-versed stotra is not mentioned in connection with this type of Vrātya-stoma, and, as such, it is in no way a 'conversion sacrifice', (iii) Further, the fact that it is recorded in the Tāndya as one of the Vrātyastomas, despite its unusual form, could be accounted for by supposing that the Jyesthas were not

(i) VIII.6.4.

(ii) Tāndya: XVII.4.2.

(iii) The importance of the Soḍasā-stoma for conversion is clearly stated by the Tāndya - See above.

allowed to keep this heretic sacrifice and with the help of a curious Sāman it was changed after the form of an Agnistoma and thus was designated as a Vrātya-stoma<sup>(1)</sup>. This is certainly ~~mere~~<sup>two</sup> conjectural<sup>and</sup> unsupported by textual evidence. The reason for the absence of the Sodasa-stoma in this sacrifice (Vrātya-stoma), therefore, has to be explained in some other manner. It seems that XVII.4.3., throws some light on this unusual form of the Sāma-nīca-medhṛa-stoma. In this it is mentioned<sup>that</sup> "the Sāmanīcamedhṛas sacrificed with this stoma; Kuṣītaka Samaśravas was their 'grhapati'; Luśākapi Khārgali (son of Khargala) cursed them saying: "they have fallen off, (avākīrṣata) they have used the two lesser Stomas", therefore no one among the Kauṣītakins distinguishes himself, fallen from sacrifice, (yajñāvakīrṇa) forsooth are they". From this Hauer concludes: "(a) the founder of the famous school of the Kauṣītakins was a chief of the Vratyas; (b) the eldest among the Vrātyas sacrificed under his leadership and this primitive form of sacrifice is specially connected with him; (c) the sacrifice mentioned here is not the same as that in Māsaka III.11., as the curse of Luśākapi who probably represents the Orthodox outlook, presumes a religious strife between the Vrātya and

(1) Op. cit. 119.

the orthodox cults. Prior to our consideration of the validity of these deductions, reference may be made to passages in the Jaiminiya (II.226) and ~~in~~ the Nidāna-sūtra (VI.11.12), which are of some interest in this connection. Of the Jaiminiya passage, only a sentence quoted by Caland in his index to the 'Das, J.B. in Auswahl' is known to us. (1) It appears in the context of the Vrātya-stomas, and reads: 'the Śoḍaśa Pavamāna, is to be applied for the Aiṣika-pāvas who had Kuṣītaka as their 'grhapati' (Kuṣītaka-grhapatīnām aiṣika-pāvānām śoḍaśapavamānah). The excerpt from the Nidāna states that 'there are two classes of Vrātyas, the Śīrsādis and the Aiṣika-yāvis, of whom the former are known to be the older ones' (dvaye vai vrātyā bhavanti, śīrsādayas caisīkayāvayas ca; jyāyāmsah khalu śīrsādayo brūyate). That the Aiṣika-pāvas are identical with the Aiṣika-yāvis, (as suggested by Caland and Hauer), seems fairly plausible as none of these two designations are to be met with anywhere else either in the Brāhmaṇas or the Sūtras. The Śīrsādis may have been mentioned in the Jaiminiya, too, but no reference to them is found in its extant portions. There is no reason, however, to <sup>attach much importance to the deduction of</sup> ~~imagine~~ with Hauer that 'Aiṣika-yāvi', formed from 'aiṣikā' (reed) and 'yu' (to hang) con-

(1) The text of the Jaiminiya is not yet fully edited.

veys a meaning similar to that of 'Sama-nīca-medhra', as it is purely a matter of coincidence, and merely indicates that both represent the same class of Vrātyas. The reason why they are designated as 'Aisīka-yāvi' or (Aisīka-pāvas) in some texts and 'Sama-nīca-medhra' here is not known, but it may be suggested, that probably the compiler of the Tāṇḍya intended to express contempt for this class in a more direct manner, and hence used the latter expression. Thus the sacrifice performed under Kusītaka, the 'grhapati' of the Aisīka-pāvas (or the Sama-nīcamedhras), who, together with the Śīrṣādīs form the oldest class of Vrātyas, may have been a type of Vrātya-stoma prescribed for the comparatively more ancient Vrātyas, in which some mistake was obviously committed. It is interesting to note that while the Jaiminiya prescribes the use of the 32 pavamānas for the Vrātyas in general, it enjoins the use of the 'śodasa pavamāna' for the Aisīka-pāvas, which implies that the latter were distinct from the former. It is possible that the conversion of such Vrātyas was not an easy one and hence special injunctions had to be laid down for them. In the Tāṇḍya, again the schema of the verses to be chanted by them had to be changed, the reason for which may have been that they still represented the most disagreeable element among the Vrātyas. Thus, it cannot be maintained that the sacrifice mentioned here is a form of primitive Vrātya sacrifice, merely on the

basis of the contempt expressed in designating them as 'Śasmanīcamedhras'. It is more reasonable to infer from this that the 'magic effect' of the comparatively late 'sodasa-stoma' was not <sup>suitable</sup> enough for the conversion of the Aishika-pāvas, and hence the 'Ūrdhva-stoma' had to be prescribed for them, which again has the 32nd. stoma (according to Māsaka III.11). The second passage in the Nidāna states that 'according to Dhānañjaya the Kausītakins were not well-cursed' (akusalānuvyāhrtān Kausītakīn manya iti Dhānañjayaḥ), from which Caland infers that 'Dhānañjaya seems to defend the name of the Kausītakin's. Keith, however, reads 'akusalān' (unskilful), 'vyāhatān' (deprived) instead of 'akusalānuvyāhrtān', which confirms (in his opinion) the fact that disrespect was shown to this school. In the Tāndya, these Kausītakins are apparently connected with Kusītaka Sāmasravas. The epithet Sāma-sravas, added to the name of the 'gṛhapati' of the Vratyas in this context, is rather interesting as it presupposes that the chief of the Vratyas was a Brahman, <sup>(i.e. as a converted Vratya)</sup> since only the members of this class had such titles in those days. ~~Again~~ It is, however, significant that the epithet is missing in the Jaiminiya version, which leads us to presume that it was possibly superimposed later on due to some special reason. Can it be that the Tāndya-brāhmaṇa-kāra was eager to connect the

leader  
 chief of the Vrātyas with the ancestor of the Kauṣītakins  
 or the founder of their school, in order to account for  
 the well-known stigma on the Kauṣītakins, for which the  
 reason was apparently unknown? The addition of the  
 epithet, therefore, <sup>may have been</sup> ~~was~~ deliberate. Thus Hauer's inference  
 that Kuṣītakā was an ancestor of Sāṅkhāyana with whom  
 a Brāhmaṇa text better known as the 'Kauṣītakī' <sup>(1)</sup> came to  
 be associated, and that the Kauṣītakins were probably  
 converted Vrātyas, does not seem <sup>very</sup> logical. Similarly  
 Luśākapi Khārgali, who in the Jaiminīya (II, 122) is  
 referred to as one of the Brahmans in the court of Keśin  
 Dālbhya, a king of the Pañcalas, together with Ahīna  
 Āsvatthi, Keśi Sātyakāmī and Gāṅgīna Rāhaksita is not  
 necessarily a representative of the orthodox ritualists,  
 as according to Baudhāyana the Pāñcalas in general were  
 well-known as 'invokers of curses' especially with reference  
 to Kuru-Vrātyas. This bitter contempt may have been due  
 to political reasons as the Kuru-Pāñcala rivalry may have  
 originated as early as the age of the Tāṇḍya, though it is  
 not specifically mentioned therein. The mention of Keśin  
 Dālbhya again, in the Śrauta Sūtra of Baudhāyana is of  
 little significance as there is no evidence in the Brāhmaṇas

(1) The other name of the Brāhmaṇa is ~~the~~ 'Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa'.

of his being an 'opponent of the orthodox rites' (as Hauer thinks), and even if there is some textual evidence for his being a contemporary of Kausītaki, (which is far from possible as it is merely a traditional view of the ancient school of the Kausītakins that the Brāhmanakāra quotes) Luśākapi, a Brahman of his court, obviously cannot be contemporaneous with Kusītaka, and as such the three references quoted above (Tān: XVII.4.3., Baudh. Śr. Ś: XVIII.26., Kaus: VII.4) cannot have any intermittent connection, as implied by Hauer in his conclusions mentioned above. Thus both Kusītaka and Luśākapi have been purposely brought together here to account for a fact, which, as we have seen above, was almost inexplicable.

Regarding the Vrātīnas, among whom, according to Lātyāyana the 'well-versed sons of the warriors are to be chosen as priests for the Śyena' (vrātīnānām yaudhānām putrān anūcānān rtvijo vṛṇīta śyenasya), it is difficult to say whether they have any connection whatsoever with the Vrātīyas. In the Sadvimsa it is only stated that 'one wishing to do harm to his rival or enemy' <sup>(i)</sup> should perform the Śyena ceremony, (abhicāran yajeta) <sup>(ii)</sup>, and the 'priests' are mentioned as 'having or wearing red turbans, and red garments,

(i) of. Sayana 'bhrātrīya-himsām bhāvayed ity arthah  
(ii) III.8.2.

and also putting on the sacrificial thread round their necks' (lohitoṅṅīṣa lohita-vāsaso nivīta r̥tvijaḥ).<sup>(1)</sup> That 'abhisaran' refers to one wishing to destroy his enemy is clear from the injunctions laid down in the same context referring to the purpose with which the sacrificer undertakes to perform. (yam kāmayeta jīyēteti- 'him whom one wishes to deprive of his cattle etc.)- Sāyana: 'paśyādibhir hīyēteti'). Śāṅḍilya's reference to the Arhats from whom the priests are chosen for the Śyena ceremony does not necessarily imply that they represented the highest class of the Vrātīna, as Haier thinks,<sup>(1)</sup> since it is unreasonable to think that 'arhat', which appears in the Brāhmaṇas,<sup>(11)</sup> only as an honorific, signifying 'the worthy one', is used by the Sūtra-kāra in this context, specially for designating a certain class of Vrātīnas. Lātyāyana's statement referring to the Rtviks in this sacrifice being chosen from the warrior-clan, is, however, of some importance, as it imparts a non-Brahmanical character to this special performance of the Vrātīnas. It is an accepted fact that in all Brahmanical sacrifices, the Rtviks<sup>(111)</sup> are always Brahmans.

(1) 'sind die Arhat als der höchste Stand der 'Vrātīna' anzusehen (203)

(11) cf. Ait. Br.-I.16; Sat. Br.-III.4.1.1.

(111) cf. SVI. I.112.



Summing up our conclusions derived from the references to the Vrātyas in the Brāhmanas, it may be stated primarily that the Jaiminīya version is decidedly older than that of the Tāndya. The Vrātyas are non-Brahmans performing rituals, which seem to be similar to some of the orthodox Brahmanic rites, but differ in details. From the description of their outfit it seems they are Northerners, though it is impossible to locate their actual habitat from these references alone. They have much in common with the members of the warrior-class. They are considered to be sinful, inasmuch as they do not abide by the rules of Brahmanic performance. They could be incorporated within the Brahman folk only through the performance of the Vrātyastomas, which are all conversion ceremonies, and have the form of the Ekāhas. The names of their chiefs, divine (sthapati) or otherwise (grhapati), e.g., 'Budha Saumya', 'Dyutana Māruta', 'Kusītaka Sāmasravas' are partly real, as the Brahman epithets attached to them are undoubtedly superimposed. There is no trace of either the 'characteristic traits of the Non-Aryan' or peculiarities associated with the primitive 'magician' or 'Yogi' in these Brāhmaṇa passages and the need for their conversion seems to have

- (i) The testimony of Patañjali has not been taken into consideration here, as it certainly represents a later view-point.

arisen from the conflict between the two forms of ritual; the Brahmanical and the Vratya, which impeded the progress of the former and led to a strong opposition against the establishment of the orthodox tradition. The semi-mythical Prthu Vainya alone appears together with the Divine Vrātyas, an incident which <sup>only</sup> indicates that the Vainyas were looked upon as Vrātyas by the orthodox ritualists.

Concluding this chapter, the description of the Vrātyastomas in the Śrauta Sūtras may be briefly reviewed. Lātyāyana, Kātyāyana and Āpastamba, as indicated above, render valuable assistance to the understanding of some of the difficult words appearing in the traditional account of the Vrātyas in the Tāndya. Of these three versions, that of Āpastamba is of little interest as it is only a statement in outline of the four Vrātyastomas. 'Vrātyānām pravase' in the opening sentence (XKII.5.4.) however, has been wrongly interpreted both by Ghosh and Hauer. It refers simply to 'the Vrātyas who lived and performed their sacrifices outside the sphere of Brahman influence', and implies as suggested above that in the days of Āpastamba who certainly belongs to an earlier period than that of the other two Sutrakaras, the number of unconverted Vrātyas, living outside the Brahmanical pale, was considerable, though conversions were not infrequent. Lātyāyana, though

far separated from the age of the Tāndya, is certainly more lucid in his treatment of the Vrātya-stomas. He introduces for the first time, however, the 'Māgadha-desīya Brahma-bandhu' as one of the recipients of the sacrificial gifts during the performance of the Vrātya-stomas. He may have borrowed the phrase from Baudhāyana, who refers more explicitly to the non-Māgadha, nominal Brahman, bearing the title Māgadha, (amāgadho māgadha-vākya brahmabandhu) (i) among the Vrātyas. It is not very clear what he implies by this, and the only inference that can be drawn from these two references is that the basis of the association of the Māgadha with the Eka-vrātya in the Atharvaveda was presumably unknown to the Sūtra-karas, and thus, while Baudhāyana thought that the Māgadha was impersonated as such by the Vrātyas who were nominal Brahmans, Lātyāyana imagined him (ii) to be the Brahma-bandhu coming from the land of the Māgadhas. In other words, the absence of any connection of the non-Brahman Vrātyas, with the later much-despised Māgadha led these Sūtra-kāras to propose various interpretations. It is also possible that Baudhāyana at least, conceives of a ritualistic background for the description of the Vrātya-retinue in A.V.XV., as he mentions the 'impersonated hetaira' (pumsçalū-vākya) too, in this context. Lātyāyana's closing

(i) XVIII.25.

(ii) The commentator suggests 'asamyag gāyanaḥ' (unskilful vocalist).

sentence 'vrātya-stomair istvā traividya-vṛttim samtiṣṭheyuh' (after having performed with the Vrātya-stomas, they should live the life of those well-versed in triple knowledge) shows a later development, inasmuch as the converted Vrātyas had not only to give up their former sinful practices, but also to engage themselves in orthodox performances.

Kātyāyana repeats almost ~~verbatim~~ the remarks of Lātyāyana, except that he uses the term 'vrātya-gaṇa' (band of Vrātyas) to designate the Vrātyas in general which may indicate that by his time, the rapid process of assimilation may have left only a few of the Vrātyas unconverted. Much significance, however, cannot be attached to this expression as 'gaṇa' here may have no special sense, and there is hardly any textual evidence to support the commentator's view. The expression 'vyavahāryyā bhavanti' (worthy of being used for ritual purposes) here, with reference to the converted Vrātyas also presupposes that the influence of the Brahmans was being gradually recognised by the Vrātyas, and their conversion was tantamount to complete subordination.

Baudhāyana's statements are rather of a curious nature. In XVIII.24., he speaks of a ceremony which is probably the same as the initiation rite (dīkṣa) described elsewhere in the Brāhmanas and the other Sūtras, in the context of the

Vrātyas. It is most unlikely that this should be a special ceremony performed by the Vrātyas similar to the orthodox initiation rite, as Hauer thinks since it is clear from the text that the acts mentioned here are indirectly connected only with the Sthapati, who is either a 'Kṣatriya' or 'Brāhman' as it is to them alone that the Vrātyas wish to present sacrificial gifts. (te rājani vā brāhmane vā pratigraham icchante, . . . . te yam abhisamjānante tam sthapatim kurvanti sa eṣam vrataṇi carati). These preparatory acts are as if meant to be performed by the Sthapati, with a view to the observance of the vow of the initiated (dikṣita-vrata). The ceremony is symbolic, as the Vrātyas, for whom the sacrifice is executed by the Sthapati 'having approached the sacrifice in a hidden manner do not actually perform it' (te ya evam etam yajña-kṛatam parokṣam upetya pratyakṣam nopēyuh). Such statements are common to the Brāhmanas and indicate only an apparent form of sacrifice without its actual performance. Thus there can be no hidden reference here to some primitive form of Vrātya ritual. Again XVIII.25\*, <sup>the description in</sup> must be considered along with this as <sup>referring to</sup> the preparatory ceremony <sup>which</sup> immediately precedes the performance of the Vrātya-stomas with which Baudhāyana is primarily concerned. What Baudhāyana has in his mind is perhaps the initiation of the

Sthapati, in the usual manner of the Brahmans, as he has to perform for those who are 'fallen from the initiated ones' (dikṣitāvakīrṇin). It is clear, therefore, that Baudhāyana, probably the oldest among the Sūtra-kāras, was much more conversant with the actual performance of the Vrātya-stomas than the others. Eventually he records a tradition which is obviously lost to the later Sūtra-kāras. Precisely the Brāhmaṇa-like form of these passages leads us to the conclusion that they may have formed an appendix to some descriptive chapter on the Vrātya-stomas of some text other than the Tāndya (which follows a different tradition). Still further, XVIII.26., as shown above, has some political significance and the mention of Gaupālāyana Vaiyāghra-padya, in all possibility a Brahman, as the Sthapati of the Vrātyas among the Kurus is indicative of the fact that in the opinion of Baudhayana the Sthapati of the Vrātyas was in most cases a Brahman (possibly a converted Vrātya).

Finally Śāṅkhāyana's account of the Vrātya-stomas hints at a still later stage, when they ceased to be conversion ceremonies and became expiatory rites (prāyaścitta). It has been pointed out above, fairly clearly, that there is no evidence to prove that the ancestor of Saṅkhayana was

a Vrātya, and even if we accept a comparatively earlier date for the Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, it does not necessarily follow that the above description too, is to be connected with an earlier period.

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Appendix to Chapter II.

The evidence for clan-exogamy, which is identical with the later 'gotra-exogamy' has already been investigated. It may now prove profitable to refer to the well-known passage in the Śatapatha, <sup>(1)</sup> from which the inference of the Sapinda restrictions <sup>is</sup> may be drawn.

The context in question is that of the separation of the sacrificial spoons (the 'juhū' and the 'upabhr̥t') by the Adhvaryu during the performance of the Sūktavāka; the reading in the Mādyaṃdina recension is slightly different from that in the Kāva recension. In the former we have: 'tadvā etat samāna eva karmen vyākriyate tasmādu samānādeva puruṣād attā eādyasea jāyete, idam hī caturthe puruṣe tṛitiye samgacchānaha iti videvaṃ vidīvyamānā jātyā āsate; etasmādu tat', which has been translated by Eggeling as follows: 'thus the separation (of the eater and the eaten) is effected in one and the same act, and hence from one and the same man spring both the enjoyer (the husband) and the one to be enjoyed (the wife); for now kinsfolk live sporting and rejoicing together, saying: In the fourth (or) third man (i.e. generation) we unite. And this is so in accordance with that (separation of the

(1) I.8.3.6.



(i) spoons). In the latter after 'jāyete' we have 'uta hi tṛtīye puruṣe saṅgacchāmahe, caturthe saṅgacchāmahe iti videvaṃ vidīvyamānā āsate jātiya asya sma iti', which may be rendered thus; "Thinking we unite either in the third man or in the fourth (man)", they indulge in amorous sports (ii) (saying) 'we are (both) related to this one', (the founder of the family).

It is generally accepted that this passage has a direct bearing upon the Sapinda restrictions, but it may be noted that <sup>while</sup> (iii) scholars in agreement with the commentators have apparently taken this ending (etasma<sub>du</sub>/at) <sup>(iv)</sup> as expressing a certain approval of these degrees of intermarriage, a different construction is permissible in as much as it is an ending typical of the style of the Brāhmanas, and of itself expressive of neither approval nor disapproval: on the other hand, an inference can be drawn that separation (of the spoons) and union (of the relatives) are difficult

(i) S.B.E. XII, 230. (i)<sup>a</sup> II 8.1.5

(ii) It may be suggested that 'videvaṃ dīvyamānā' and 'videvaṃ vidīvyamānā', the meaning of which is not very clear, can be taken as a euphemism for 'contracting marriage', in consideration of the context.

(iii) Eggeling, in agreement with Weber and others, construes this passage as meaning that the prohibition of intermarriage between near-blood relations was not yet fully established. Among the commentators we hear of the practice of marriage in the third generation with reference to the 'Kānvas', the fourth to the Saurastras and the third alone to the Dakṣiṇātyas. Karandikar and Kapadia hold such marriage as permissible only to cognates in this context (H.E.19; H.K.63).

(iv) I prefer to translate it as: 'and hence it is that (the spoons are separated).'

to correlate. Why should a metaphor of separation be introduced into a text dealing with marriage, unless to express disagreement with such marriage? Therefore, is one not at liberty to disagree with the authors of the Vedic Index who state that 'the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa expressly recognises marriage within the third, <sup>or fourth</sup> degree on either side' <sup>(i)</sup> as drawing an unjustified inference, despite the fact that later Smṛtikaras <sup>(ii)</sup> construe this passage as a definite injunction in favour of such marriage? Lastly, it is significant that the scholiast on Vajrasūci contends that 'the Vājasāneyins forbade marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother.' <sup>(iii)</sup>

(i) V.I.1.236.

(ii) cf. S.C.1.72.

(iii) V.I. Ibid.

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