

"the obvious purport of this legend, and of some that follow, is to account for the origin of the different castes from one common ancestor."

(2.) *Karūsha*.—The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* says, iv. 1, 13:

*Karūshāḥ Kārūshā mahābālāḥ Kshattriyā bābhūvuh |*

✓ "From *Kārūsha* the *Kārūshas*, *Kshattriyas* of great power, were descended." [29]

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ix. 2, says:

*Kārūshād Mānavād āsan Kārūshāḥ Kshattrā-jātayaḥ | uttarāpatha-goptāro brahmanyā dharma-vatsalāḥ |*

"From *Karūsha*, son of *Manu*, came the *Kārūshas* of the *Kshattriya* caste, protectors of the northern region, devout, and lovers of duty."

(3.) *Nābhāga*.—The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* says:

*Nābhāgo Nedishṭa-putras tu vaiśyatām agamat |*

✓ "Nābhāga, the son of *Nedishṭa*, became a *Vaiśya*." [30] ✓

✓ The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* says he was the son of *Disṭa*, and relates how he became a *Vaiśya*, by marrying the daughter of a man of that class (section cxiii. and Wilson, p. 352, note). The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ix. 2, 23, says he became a *Vaiśya* in consequence of his works (*Nābhāgo Disṭa-putro 'nyaḥ karmabhir vaiśyatām gataḥ*). And yet a long list of his descendants is given, and among them occurs *Marutta* who was a *Chakravartin*, or universal monarch (*Vishṇu P.* iv. 1. 15-17; *Bhāg. P.* ix. 2, 23-28; *Mārka. P.* cxxviii.-cxxxii.). He had a grandson called *Dama*, of whom the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* relates that at a *Svayamvara* he was chosen by the daughter of the King of *Daśārṇa* for her husband (cxxxiv. 8), and that when the bride had been seized by three of his rejected rivals (verse 16) she was rescued by him after he had slain one of them and vanquished another (verse 53); that subsequently that same vanquished rival in revenge killed *Dama's* father, who had retired into the wilderness as an ascetic (cxxxv. 18). The *Purāṇa* in one of its recensions ends with the following curious particulars:

*Tataś chakāra tātasya rakṣeṇaivodaka-kriyām | ānṛinyam prāpya sa pituḥ punaḥ prāyāt sva-mandiram | Vapushmataś cha māmsena piṇḍa-dānaṁ chakāra ha | brāhmaṇān bhojāyāmāsa rakṣaḥ-kula-samudbhavān | evaṁvidhā hi rājāno bābhūvuh sūrya-vamśa-jāḥ | anye 'pi sudhīyaḥ śūrā yajvānaḥ sāstra-kovidāḥ | vedāntam paṭhamānāms tān na sankhyātum ihotsahe |*

"*Dama* then (after tearing out the heart of *Vapushmat*) performed





with blood the rites to the manes of his father; and having thus discharged his debt to his parent, he returned home. With the flesh of Vapushmat he formed the oblation which he offered, and fed the Brāhmanas who were of Rākshasa descent. Of such character were the kings of the Solar race. There were also others who were wise, brave, priests, and skilled in the scriptures. I am unable here to enumerate those of them who studied the Vedānta.”<sup>75</sup>

The Harivaṁśa (section xi. verse 658) tells us that “two sons of Nābhāgārishṭa, who were Vaiśyas, became Brāhmanas” (*Nābhāgārishṭa-putrau dvau vaiśyau brāhmaṇatām gatau*).

(4.) Dhṛiṣṭa.—Of him the Vishṇu Purāṇa relates, iv. 2, 2 :

*Dhṛiṣṭasyāpi Dhārṣṭakam Kshattrām samabhavat |*

“From Dhṛiṣṭa sprang the Dhārṣṭaka Kshattriyas.”

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, ix. 2, 17 :

*Dhṛiṣṭād Dhārṣṭam abhūt Kshattram brahma-bhūyam gatam kṣhitau |*

“From Dhṛiṣṭa were descended the Dhārṣṭa Kshattriyas, who obtained Brāhmaṇhood<sup>76</sup> on earth.”

(5.) The last-named Purāṇa enumerates in verses 19 ff. of the same section the descendants of Narishyanta, among whom was Agniveśya, verse 21 :

*Tato 'gniveśyo bhagavān Agniḥ svayam abhūt sutaḥ | Kānina iti vikhyaṭo Jātukarṇyo mahān rishiḥ | tato brahma-kulaṁ jātam Āgniveśyāyanam nṛpa | Narishyantānvayaḥ proktaḥ |*

“From him (Devadatta) sprang a son Agniveśya, who was the lord Agni himself, and who was also called Kānina and Jātukarṇya the great rishi. From him was descended the Agniveśyāyana race of

<sup>75</sup> This quotation, which will be partly found in Prof. Wilson's note 22, p. 353, is taken from the section given separately by Prof. Banerjea at the end of his edition of this Purāṇa from a Maithila MS. which differs from that followed in his text (see his Preface, p. 30). In verses 6 f. of section cxxxvi. however, of Prof. Banerjea's text, Dama threatens to do something of the same sort as in the other recension he is described to have actually done : 6. *Yad aham tasya raktena dehotthena Vapushmataḥ | na karomi guros triptim tat pravekshye hutāsānam |* 7. *Tachchhonitenodaka-karma tasya tātasya sankhye vinipātītasya | māmsena samyag devja-bhojanam cha na chet pravekshyāmi hutāsānam tat |* “6. If I do not satiate my father with the blood from Vapushmat's body, then I shall enter the fire. 7. If I do not celebrate with his blood the obsequial rites of my father prostrated in the fray, and feed the Brāhmanas with (his) flesh, I shall enter the fire.”

<sup>76</sup> The Commentator explains *brahma-bhūyam* by *brāhmaṇatvam*, “the state of Brāhmanas.”



Brāhmans. The offspring of Narishyanta has been declared." That of Dishṭa is next taken up.

Some of the names of Manu's sons are repeated in the subsequent narrative. Thus we find a second Prāṇśu named among the descendants of Nābhāga (Wilson, 352). And in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 2, 2, a second Nābhāga is mentioned as follows:

*Nābhāgasyātmaḥ Nābhāgas tasya Ambarīśaḥ | Ambarīśasyāpi Virūpo 'bhavat Virūpāt Prishadaśvo jāyate tataś cha Rathītaraḥ | tatrāyaṁ ślokaḥ | "ete kshattri-prasūtā vai punas chāngirasaḥ smṛitāḥ | Rathitārānām pravarāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ" |*

"The son of Nābhāga was Nābhāga; his son was Ambarīśa. From him sprang Virūpa; from him Prishadaśva; and from him Rathītara; regarding whom this verse is current: 'These persons sprung from a Kshattriya, and afterwards called Angirases, were the chief of the Rathītaras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya race.'"<sup>77</sup>

The Bhāgavata thus explains the circumstance, ix. 6, 2:

*Rathitarasyāprajasya bhāryāyām tantave 'rthitāḥ | Angirā janayā-māsa brahmavarchasinaḥ sūtān | ete kshetre prasūtā vai punas tv Angirasaḥ smṛitāḥ | Rathitārānām pravarāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ |*

"Angiras being solicited for progeny, begot sons possessing Brahmanical glory on the wife of Rathītara who was childless. These persons being born of a (Kshattriya's) wife, but afterwards called descendants of Angiras, were the chief of the Rathītaras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya lineage."

It will be observed that in this last verse the Bhāgavata reads *kshetre prasūtāḥ* "born of the wife (of a Kshattriya)," instead of *kshattri-prasūtāḥ*, "sprung from a Kshattriya," and thus brings this verse into a closer conformity with the one preceding it. Professor Wilson (p. 359, note) considers that the form given to the legend in the Bhāgavata "is an afterthought, not warranted by the memorial verse cited in our text." It is difficult to determine whether or not this may be the case without knowing which of the two readings in that verse is the original one.

(6.) The Vishṇu Purāṇa next proceeds to enumerate the descendants of Ikshvāku son of Manu. The representative of his line in the twenty-first generation was Harita, of whom it is said, iv. 3, 5:

<sup>77</sup> See Prof. Wilson's note in p. 359 on this passage.





*Ambarishasya Māndhātus tanayasya Yuvanāśvaḥ putro 'bhūt | tasmād Harito yato 'ngiraso Hārītāḥ |*

"The son of Ambarisha<sup>78</sup> son of Māndhātṛi was Yuvanāśva. From him sprang Harita, from whom the Hārita Angirases were descended."

These words are thus paraphrased by the Commentator: "from him sprang the Hārita Angirases, Brāhmins, chief of the family of Harita" (*tasmād Hārītā Angiraso dvijāḥ Harita-gotra-pravarāḥ*).

The Linga Purāṇa, quoted by Prof. Wilson, states the same thing:

*Harito Yuvanāśvasya Hārītā yato ātmajāḥ | ete hy Angirasaḥ pakṣhe kṣhattropetā dvijātayaḥ |*

"The son of Yuvanāśva was Harita, of whom the Hāritas were sons. They were on the side of Angiras, twice-born men (Brāhmins) of Kshattriya lineage."

And the Vāyu Purāṇa tells us with some variation:

*Harito Yuvanāśvasya Hārītā bhūrayaḥ smritāḥ | ete hy Angirasaḥ putrāḥ kṣhattropetā dvijātayaḥ |*

"Harita was the son of Yuvanāśva: (after whom) many persons were called Hārītās. These were the sons of Angiras, twice-born men (Brāhmins) of Kshattriya race."

This may mean that they were begotten by Angiras, as is said by the Bhāgavata (see above) to have been the case with Rathītara's sons. In that case, however, as Nābhāga and Ikshvāku were brothers and Rathītara was only the fifth in descent from Nābhāga, whilst Harita was the twenty-first after Ikshvāku,—Angiras (if we suppose one and the same person be meant in both cases) must have lived for sixteen generations!

Such are the remarkable notices given in the Purāṇas of the rise of different castes among the descendants of some of the sons of Manu Vaivasvata the legendary head of the solar line of kings. I shall now add some similar particulars connected with the lunar dynasty.

[According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa (iv. 6, 2 ff.) Atri was the son of Brahmā, and the father of Soma (the moon), whom Brahmā installed as the sovereign of plants, Brāhmins and stars<sup>79</sup> (*aśeṣhaushadhi-dvijanakṣatrāṇām ādhipatyē 'bhyasechayat*). After celebrating the rājasūya sacrifice, Soma became intoxicated with pride, and carried off Tārā

<sup>78</sup> We have already had a person of this name the son of Nābhāga. See above.

<sup>79</sup> See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1865, p. 135 ff.



(Star), the wife of Brihaspati the preceptor of the gods, whom, although admonished and entreated by Brahmā, the gods, and rishis, he refused to restore. Soma's part was taken by Uśanas; and Rudra, who had studied under Angiras, aided Brihaspati (*Angirasaścha sakāśopalābha-vidyo bhagavān Rudro Brihaspateḥ sākāśyam akarot*).<sup>60</sup> A fierce conflict ensued between the two sides, supported respectively by the gods and the Daityas, etc. Brahmā interposed, and compelled Soma to restore Tāra to her husband. She had, however, in the mean time become pregnant, and bore a son Budha (the planet Mercury), of whom, when strongly urged, she acknowledged Soma to be the father. Purūravas, as has been already mentioned, was the son of this Budha by Ilā, the daughter of Manu. The loves of Purūravas and the Apsaras Urvaśī are related in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 1;<sup>61</sup> in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, iv. 6, 19 ff.; in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 14;<sup>62</sup> and in the Harivaṃśa, section 26. The Mahābhārata, Ādip. sect. 75, alludes to Purūravas as having been engaged in a contest with the Brāhmins. This passage will be quoted hereafter. According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, iv. 7, 1, Purūravas had six sons, of whom the eldest was Āyus. Āyus had five sons: Nahusha, Kṣhatravṛddha, Rambha, Rājī, and Anenas. The narrative proceeds (iv. 8, 1):

*Kṣhatravṛddhāt Sunahotraḥ<sup>63</sup> putro 'bhavat | Kāśa-Leśa-Gṛtsama-dās trayo 'syābhavan | Gṛtsamadāsya Saunakaś cāturvārṇya-pravarṭtayitā 'bhāt | Kāśasya Kāśirājas tato Dīrghatamāḥ putro 'bhavat | Dhanvantariḥ Dīrghatamaso 'bhāt |*

"Kṣhatravṛddha had a son Sunahotra, who had three sons, Kāśa, Leśa, and Gṛtsamada. From the last sprang Saunaka, who originated the system of four castes.<sup>64</sup> Kāśa had a son Kāśirāja, of whom again Dīrghatamas was the son, as Dhanvantari was of Dīrghatamas."

<sup>60</sup> This is the only mention I have ever happened to encounter of the great Mahadeva having been at school!

<sup>61</sup> This passage is translated by Professor Müller in the Oxford Essays for 1856, pp. 62 f.; and the legend has been formed on the basis of the obscure hymn in the R.V. x. 95, in which the two names of Purūravas and Urvaśī occur as those of the interlocutors in a dialogue.

<sup>62</sup> A short quotation has been already made from this narrative. See above, p. 158.

<sup>63</sup> Both my MSS. read *Sunahotra*. Professor Wilson has *Suhotra*.

<sup>64</sup> The Commentator explains the words *cāturvārṇya-pravarṭtayitā* by saying that the four castes were produced among his descendants (*tad-vamśe cātvaro varṇā abhavan*). This explanation agrees with the statement of the Vāyu Purāṇa given in the text.



The Vayu Purāṇa, as quoted by Professor Wilson (V. P. 4to. ed. p. 406), expresses the matter differently, thus :

*Putro Gṛitsamadasya cha Sunako yasya Saunakāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshat-  
triyās chaiva vaiśyāḥ sūdrās tathaiva cha | etasya vaṁśe samudbhūtā  
vichitraiḥ karmabhir dvijāḥ |*

“The son of Gṛitsamada was Sunaka, from whom sprang Saunaka. In his family were born Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, twice-born men with various functions.”<sup>85</sup>

In like manner the Harivaṁśa states in section 29, verse 1520 :

*Putro Gṛitsamadasyāpi Sunako yasya Saunakāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshat-  
triyās chaiva vaiśyāḥ sūdrās tathaiva cha |*

“The son of Gṛitsamada was Sunaka, from whom sprang the Saunakas, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras.”

Something similar is said of Gṛitsamati (who was the son of a Suhotra, although not the grandson of Kshattravṛiddha) in a following section, the 32nd of the same work, verse 1732 :

*Sa chāpi Vitathāḥ putrān janayāmāsa pancha vai | Suhotraṁ cha Su-  
hotāram Gayāṁ Gargāṁ tathaiva cha | Kapilāṁ cha mahātmānam Suho-  
trasya suta-drayam | Kāsakaś cha mahāsattvas tathā Gṛitsamatir nripaḥ |  
tathā Gṛitsamateḥ putrā brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ viśaḥ |*

“Vitatha was the father of five sons, Suhotra, Suhotrī, Gaya, Garga, and the great Kapila. Suhotra had two sons, the exalted Kāsaka, and King Gṛitsamati. The sons of the latter were Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas.”

The Bhagavata Purāṇa, ix. 17, 2 f., has the following notice of Kshattravṛiddha's descendants :

*Kshattravṛiddha-sutasyāsan Suhotrasyāmajās trayāḥ | Kāśyaḥ Kuśo  
Gṛitsamadāḥ iti Gṛitsamadād abhūt | S'unako S'aunako yasya bahvri-  
chaḥ pravaro munīḥ |*

“Suhotra, son of Kshattravṛiddha, had three sons, Kāśya, Kuśa, and Gṛitsamada. From the last sprang Sunaka, and from him Saunaka, the eminent Muni, versed in the Rig-veda.”

<sup>85</sup> On this Professor Wilson remarks, note, p. 406 : “The existence of but one caste in the age of purity, however incompatible with the legend which ascribes the origin of the four tribes to Brahmā, is everywhere admitted. Their separation is assigned to different individuals, whether accurately to any one may be doubted ; but the notion indicates that the distinction was of a social or political character.”



It is to be observed that this Gṛitsamada, who is here described as belonging to the regal lineage of Purūravas, is the reputed rishi of many hymns in the second Maṇḍala of the Rīg-veda. Regarding him the Commentator Sāyana has the following remarks in his introduction to that Maṇḍala :

*Maṇḍala-draśtā Gṛitsamadāḥ rishih | sa cha pūrvam Āngirasa-kule Sunahotrasya putrah san yajña-kāle 'surair grīhātāḥ Indrena mochitāḥ | paśchāt tad-vachanenaiva Bhṛigu-kule Sunaka-putro Gṛitsamada-nāmā 'bhūt | tathā chānukramanikā "Yāḥ Āngirasaḥ Saunahotro bhūtṛvā Bhārgavaḥ Saunako 'bhavat sa Gṛitsamado dvitīyam maṇḍalam apaśyad" iti | tathā tasyaiva Saunakasya vachanam rishy-anukramāṇe "tvam Agne" iti | "Gṛitsamadāḥ Saunako Bhṛigutām gataḥ | Saunahotro prakṛityā tu yāḥ Āngirasa uchyate" iti | tasmād maṇḍala-draśtā Saunako Gṛitsamadāḥ rishih |*

"The seer (*i.e.* he who received the revelation) of this Maṇḍala was the rishi Gṛitsamada. He, being formerly the son of Sunahotra in the family of the Āngirases, was seized by the Asuras at the time of sacrifice and rescued by Indra. Afterwards, by the command of that god, he became the person named Gṛitsamada, son of Sunaka, in the family of Bhṛigu. Thus the Anukramanikā (Index to the Rīg-veda) says of him : 'That Gṛitsamada, who, having been an Āngirasa, and son of Sunahotra, became a Bhārgava and son of Sunaka, saw the second Maṇḍala.' So, too, the same Saunaka says in his Rishi-anukramāṇa regarding the Maṇḍala beginning with 'Thou, o Agni' :—'Gṛitsamada son of Sunaka who is declared to have been naturally an Āngirasa, and the son of Sunahotra, became a Bhṛigu.' Hence the seer of the Maṇḍala is the rishi Gṛitsamada son of Sunaka."

It will be noticed that (unless we are to suppose a different Gṛitsamada to be intended in each case) there is a discrepancy between the Purāṇas on the one hand, and Sāyana and the Anukramanikā on the other ; as the Purāṇas make Gṛitsamada the son of Sunahotra or Sunahotra, and the father of Sunaka ; whilst the Anukramanikā, followed by Sāyana, represents the same personage as having been, indeed, originally the son of Sunahotra of the race of Angiras, but as having afterwards become, by what process does not appear, the son of Sunaka of the race of Bhṛigu.

In his translation of the Rīg-veda (ii. 207 f.) Professor Wilson refers



to a legend about King Vītahavya in the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Ma-hābhārata (verses 1944-2006) which gives a different account of Grit-samada's parentage. It begins: *Śṛiṇu rājān yathā rājā Vītahavyo mahāyasaḥ | rājarshir durlabham prāpto brāhmanyam loka-satkṛitam |* "Hear, o king, how the renowned Vītahavya, the royal rishi, attained the condition of Brāhmanhood venerated by mankind, and so difficult to be acquired." It happened that Divodāsa, King of Kāśī (Benares) was attacked by the sons of Vītahavya, and all his family slain by them in battle. The afflicted monarch thereupon resorted to the sage Bhārā-dvāja, who performed for him a sacrifice in consequence of which a son named Pratardana was born to him. Pratardana, becoming an accomplished warrior, was sent by his father to take vengeance on the Vīta-havyas. They rained upon him showers of arrows and other missiles, "as clouds pour down upon the Himālaya"<sup>66</sup> (*abhyavarshanta rājānam himavantam ivāmbudāḥ*); but he destroyed them all, and "they lay with their bodies besmeared with blood, like kinsuka-trees"<sup>67</sup> cut down', (*apatān rudhirārdrāṅgā nikṛitā iva kiṁsukāḥ*). Vītahavya himself had now to fly to another sage, Bhrigu, who promised him protection. The avenger Pratardana, however, followed and demanded that the refugee should be delivered up:

*Asyedānīm badhād adya bhavishyāmy anṛināḥ pituḥ | tam uvācha kṛi-pāvishṭo Bhrigur dharma-bhṛitām varah | "nehāsti kshattriyāḥ kaśchit sarve hīme dvijātayaḥ" | etat tu vachanaṁ śrūtvā Bhrigos tathyam Pra-tardanaḥ | pādāv upasprīṣya śanaḥ prahrishṭo vākyam abravīt | evam apy asmi bhagavan kṛitakṛityo na saṁśayaḥ | . . . . tyājito-*hi* mayā jātim esha rājā Bhrigūdvaḥ | tatas tenābhyannujñāto yayau rājā Pra-tardanaḥ | yathā-gatam mahārāja muktṡā visham ivoragaḥ | Bhrigor vachana-mātreṇa sa cha brahmārshitām gataḥ | Vītahavyo mahārāja brah-mavādītvaṁ eva oḥa | tasya Gṛitsamadaḥ putro rūpenendra ivāparaḥ | "Sakras tvam" iti yo daityaḥ nigrihītaḥ kilābhavat | ṛigvede varttate chāgryā śrūtiṛ yasya mahātmanah | yatra Gṛitsamado "brahman" brāh-manaiḥ sa mahīyate | sa brahmachārī viprarshiḥ śrīmān Gṛitsamado bhavat |*

"Pratardana says: 'By the slaughter of this (Vītahavya) I shall

<sup>66</sup> This simile seems to indicate a familiarity with the manner in which the clouds collect, and discharge their contents on the outer range of the Himālaya.

<sup>67</sup> The Kinsuka is a tree bearing a red blossom (*Butea frondosa*).



now, to-day, be acquitted of my debt to my father.' Bhṛigu, the most eminent of religious men, filled with compassion, answered: 'There is no Kshattriya here: all these are Brāhman.' Hearing this true assertion of Bhṛigu, Pratardana was glad, and gently touching the sage's feet, rejoined: 'Even thus, o glorious saint, I have gained my object . . . . for I have compelled this King (*i.e.* Rājanya) to relinquish his caste.' King Pratardana then, after receiving the sage's salutations, departed, as he came, like a serpent which has discharged its poison: while Vītahavya by the mere word of Bhṛigu became a Brāhman-rishi, and an utterer of the Veda. Gṛītsamada, in form like a second Indra, was his son; he was seized by the Daityas, who said to him, 'Thou art Śakra' (Indra). In the Rig-veda the texts (*śruti*) of this great rishi stand first.<sup>98</sup> There Gṛītsamada is honoured by the Brāhman (with the title of) 'Brāhmān.' This illustrious personage was a Brahmacārin, and a Brāhman-rishi."

According to the enumeration of Gṛītsamada's family, which follows here, Śunaka was his descendant in the twelfth generation, and Saunaka in the thirteenth. The story concludes with these words:

*Evañ vipratvaṃ agamad Vītahavyo narādhipaḥ | Bhṛigoh prasādād  
 rājendra kshattriyaḥ kshattriyarshabha |*

"Thus did King Vītahavya, a Kshattriya, enter into the condition of Brāhmanhood by the favour of Bhṛigu."

In the next chapter we shall again notice Vītahavya among the Kshattriyas who are declared by tradition to have been the authors of Vedic hymns.

King Divodāsa was the sixth in descent from Kāśa brother of Gṛītsamada. Of him the Harivaṃśa states, section 32, verse 789 f.:

*Divodāsasya dāyādo brahmarshir Mitrāyur nṛipaḥ | Maitrāyaṇas  
 tataḥ Soma Maitreyās tu tataḥ smṛitāḥ | ete vai saṃśritāḥ pakṣham  
 kshattropetās tu Bhārgavāḥ |*

"The son of Divodāsa was the King Mitrāyu a Brāhman-rishi. From him sprang Soma Maitrāyaṇa, from whom the Maitreyas received their name. They, being of Kshattriya lineage, adhered as Bhārgavas to the side (of the latter)."

<sup>98</sup> If I have correctly interpreted this verse, and if by "first" we are to understand first in order, it does not accurately represent the state of the case: as the hymns of Gṛītsamada only appear in the second Maṇḍala.





The twentieth in descent from the same Kāśa, brother of Gritsamada, was Bhārgabhūmi, of whom the Vishṇu Purāṇa says, iv. 8, 9:

*Bhārgasya Bhārgabhūmiḥ | tataś chāturvārṇya-pravṛttilḥ | ity ete Kāśayo dhūpatayaḥ kathitāḥ |*

"The son of Bhārga was Bhārgabhūmi, from whom the four castes originated. Thus have the kings called Kāśis been declared."

In two passages of the Harivaṁśa, names identical, or nearly so, are found, but with a different progenitor in each case, in reference to which a similar statement is made. The first is in section 29, verse 1596:

*Venuhotra-sutaś chāpi Bhargo nāma prajāśvaraḥ | Vatsasya Vatsabhūmis tu Bhṛigubhūmis tu Bhārgavāt | ete hy Angirasah putrā jātā vaṁśe 'tha Bhārgave | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyās trayah putrāḥ<sup>89</sup> sahasraśaḥ |*

"The son of Venuhotra was King Bharga. From Vatsa sprang Vatsabhūmi, and Bhṛigubhūmi from Bhārgava. These descendants of Angiras were then born in the family of Bhṛigu, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas three (classes of) descendants in thousands."

The second passage is in the 32nd section, verse 1752:

*Sukumārasya putras tu Satyaketur mahārathaḥ | suto 'bhavad mahā-tejā rājā parama-dhārmikah | Vatsasya Vatsabhūmis tu Bhārgabhūmis tu Bhārgavāt | ete hy Angirasah putrā jātā vaṁśe 'tha Bhārgave | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś cha Bharatarshabha |*

"The warrior Satyaketu was the son of Sukumāra, and a prince of great lustre and virtue. From Vatsa sprang Vatsabhūmi, and Bhārgabhūmi from Bhārgava. These descendants of Angiras were then born in the family of Bhṛigu, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras."

The parallel passage in the Vāyu Purāṇa, as quoted by Professor Wilson, p. 409, has names which are mostly different:

*Venuhotra-sutaś chāpi Gārgyo vai nāma viśrutaḥ | Gārgyasya Gārgabhūmis tu Vatsa Vatsasya dhimataḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāś chaiva trayah putrāḥ sudhārmikāḥ |*

"The son of Venuhotra was the renowned Gārgya. Gārgabhūmi was the son of Gārgya; and Vatsa of the wise Vatsa. Brāhmans and Kshattriyas were the virtuous sons of these two."<sup>90</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Professor Wilson, p. 410, note, gives *tejoyuktāḥ*, "glorious," instead of *trayah putrāḥ*, as the reading either of the Brāhma Purāṇa, or of the Harivaṁśa, or both.

<sup>90</sup> In regard to these passages the reader may consult the remarks of Professor



Another son of Āyus (son of Purūravas) was Rambha, of whom the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, ix. 17, 10 :

*Rambhasya Rabhasaḥ putro Gabhīraś chākriyas tataḥ | tasya kshettre brahma jāne śrinu vāṁsam Anenasaḥ |*

"The son of Rambha was Rabhasa, from whom sprang Gabhīra and Akriya. From his wife Brāhmans were born : here now the race of Anenas" (another son of Āyus).

Of the same Rambha the Vishṇu Purāṇa says (iv. 9, 8), *Rambhas to anapatyo 'bhavat |* "Rambha was childless."

Another son of Āyus, as we have seen, Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 8, 1, was Nahusha. He had six sons (V. P. iv. 10, 1), of whom one was Yayāti. The sons of the latter were Yada, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu, and Pūru (Ibid. iv. 10, 2).<sup>91</sup> One of these five, Anu, had, as we are told, in the twelfth generation a son called Bali, of whom the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 18, 1, relates :

*Hemāt Sutapās tasmād Balir yasya kshettre Dīrghatamasā Anga-Banga-Kalinga-Suhma-Pundrākhyam Bāleyaṁ kshattam ajanyata |*

"From Hema sprang Sutapas; and from him Bali, on whose wife<sup>92</sup> Bāleya Kshattriyas (i.e. Kshattriyas of the race of Bali), called Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Suhma, and Pundra were begotten by Dīrghatamas."

Professor Wilson (p. 445, note 12) quotes from the Vāyu Purāṇa a statement regarding the same person that he had "sons who founded the four castes" (*putrān chāturvarṇya-karān*); and refers to a passage in the Matsya Purāṇa, in which Bali is said to have obtained from

Wilson, p. 409, note 16, where a commentator (on the Brāhma Purāṇa, or the Hari-vamśa) is quoted, who says that in the passage from these works "another son of Vatsa the father of Alarka is specified, viz., Vatsabhūmi; while Bhārgava is the brother of Vatsa; and that (the persons referred to were) Angirases because Gālava belonged to that family, and (were born in the family) of Bhṛigu, because Viśvāmitra belonged to it" (*Vatsasya Alarka-pituh putrāntaram āha "Vatsabhūmir" iti | "Bhārgavād" Vatsa-bhṛatuh | "Angiraso" Gālavasya Angirasatvāt | "Bhārgave" Viśvāmitrasya Bhārgavatvāt*). The Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 8, 6, says that Vatsa was one of the names of Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, a descendant of Kāśa, and a remote ancestor of Bhārgabhūmi. See however Professor Wilson's note 13, p. 408. It is possible that the resemblance of the word Bhārga to Bhārgava may have occasioned the descendants of the former to be connected with the family of Bhṛigu.

<sup>91</sup> These five names occur together in the plural in a verse of the Rig-veda, i. 109, quoted above, p. 179.

<sup>92</sup> *Kshettre bhāryāyām jātavād Bāleyāḥ |* "They were called descendants of Bali because they were born of his wife."



Brahmā the boon that he should "establish the four fixed castes" (*chaturō niyatān varṇāṁs tvaṁ sthāpayeti*).

The Harivaṁśa gives the following account of Bali, in the course of which the same thing is stated; section 31, verses 1682 ff.:

*Phenāt tu Sutapā jajne sutap Sutapasō Baliḥ | jāto mānusha-yonau tu  
sa rājā kāchaneshudhiḥ | mahāyogī sa tu Balir babhūva nripatiḥ purā |  
putrān utpādayāmāsa pancha vaṁśa-karān bhuvi | Angaḥ prathamato  
jajne Vangaḥ Suhmas tathaiva cha | Puṇḍraḥ Kalingaś cha tathā Bāle-  
yaṁ kshattram uchyaते | Bāleyā brāhmaṇāś chaiva tasya vaṁśakārā  
bhuvi | Bales tu Brahmaṇā datto varaḥ prītena Bhārata | mahāyogitvam  
āyus cha kalpasya parimānataḥ | sangrāme chāpy ajeyatvaṁ dharme  
chaiva pradhānatā | trīlokyā-darśanaṁ chāpi prādhānyam prasave  
tathā | bale chāpratimatvaṁ vai dharmā-tattvārtha-darśanam | chaturō  
niyatān varṇāṁs tvaṁ cha sthāpayitēti cha | ity ukto vibhūnā rājā Baliḥ  
śāntim parāṁ yayau | tasyaite tanayāḥ sarve kshettrajā muni-pungavāt |  
sambhūtā Dirghatapasah Sudeshṇāyām mahaujausaḥ |*

"From Phena sprang Sutapas; and the son of Sutapas was Bali. He was born of a human mother, this prince with the golden quiver; but King Bali was of old a great yogin. He begot five sons, who were the heads of races upon the earth. Anga was first born, then Vanga, Suhma, Puṇḍra and Kalinga; such are the names of the Kshatriyas descended from Bali (*Bāleyāḥ*). There were also Bāleya Brāhmanas, founders of his race upon the earth. By Brahmā, who was pleased, the boon was granted to Bali that he should be a great yogin, should live the entire length of a Kalpa, should be invincible in battle, should have pre-eminence in virtue, should have the power of beholding the whole three worlds, should have a superiority in begetting progeny, should be unequalled in strength, and should comprehend the essential principles of duty. And being thus addressed by the Lord in these words, 'Thou shalt establish the four regulated castes,' King Bali attained supreme tranquillity. All these sons, the offspring of his wife, were begotten on Sudeshṇā by the glorious muni Dirghatapas."<sup>93</sup>

<sup>93</sup> M. Langlois must have found in his MS. a different reading of the last line, as he renders it otherwise. Professor Wilson remarks (V.P. pp. 444, note 12): "The Matsya calls Bali the son of Virochana, and *āyu-kalpa-pramāṇikah*, 'existing for a whole Kalpa'; identifying him, therefore, only in a different period and form, with the Bali of the Vāmana Avatāra" (Dwarf-incarnation). (See Wilson's Vishnu P. p. 265, note, and the Bhāgavata P. ix. sects. 15-23, and other works quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 116 ff.



Apratiratha is recorded as being a descendant of Pūru (another of Yayāti's sons), in the thirteenth generation (Wilson, p. 448). Of him it is related, Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 19, 2 :

*Rīteyoḥ Rantināraḥ putro 'bhūt | Taṁsum Apratirathaṁ Dhruvaṁ cha Rantināraḥ putrān avāpa | Apratirathāt Kaṇvaḥ | tasyāpi Medhātithiḥ | yataḥ Kaṇvāyanā dvijā babbhūḥ | Taṁsor Anilas tato Dushyantādyās chātvarāḥ putrā babbhūḥ | Dushyantāch chakravartī Bharato 'bhavat |*

"Rīteyu had a son Rantināra, who had Tansu, Apratiratha and Dhruva for his sons. From Apratiratha sprang Kaṇva. His son was Medhātithi; from whom the Kāṇvāyana Brāhmins were descended. From Tansu sprang Anila, who had four sons, Dushyanta, and others. From Dushyanta sprang the emperor Bharata."

With some variations the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, ix. 20, 1 :

*Pūror vaṁśam pravakshyāmi yatra jūto 'si Bhārata | yatra rājarshayo vaṁśyā brahma-vaṁśyās cha jajñire | . . . 6. Rīteyoḥ Rantibhāro 'bhūt trayas tasyātmajā nṛipa | Sumatir Dhruvo 'pratirathaḥ Kaṇvo 'pratirathāmajaḥ | tasya Medhātithis tasmāt Praskaṇvādya dvijātayaḥ | putro 'bhūt Sumater Raibhyo Dushyantas tat-suto mataḥ |*

"I shall declare the race of Pūru from which thou hast sprung, o Bhārata; and in which there have been born royal rishis, and men of Brahmanical family . . . 6. From Rīteyu sprang Rantibhāra; who had three sons, Sumati, Dhruva, and Apratiratha. Kaṇva was the son of the last; and the son of Kaṇva was Medhātithi, from whom the Praskaṇvas and other Brāhmins were descended."

A little further on, in the chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa just quoted (iv. 19, 10), Kaṇva and Medhātithi are mentioned as having had a different parentage from that before assigned, viz., as being the son and grandson of Ajamīdha, who was a descendant in the ninth generation of Tansu, the brother of Apratiratha :

*Ajamīdhāt Kaṇvaḥ | Kaṇvād Medhātithir yataḥ Kāṇvāyanā dvijāḥ | Ajamīdhasyānyaḥ putro Bṛihadishuḥ |*

"From Ajamīdha sprang Kaṇva: from Kaṇva Medhātithi, from whom were descended the Kāṇvāyana Brāhmins. Ajamīdha had another son Bṛihadishu."<sup>94</sup>

<sup>94</sup> On this the Commentator remarks: *Ajamīdhasya Kaṇvādir eko vaṁśo Bṛihadishv-ādīr aparo taṁśo Nīlādīr aparāḥ Rīkshādīs chāparāḥ |* "Ajamīdha had one set of descendants, consisting of Kaṇva, etc., a second consisting of Bṛihadishu, etc.,





On this last passage Professor Wilson observes, p. 452, note: "The copies agree in this reading, yet it can scarcely be correct. Kaṇva has already been noticed as the son of Apratiratha." But the compiler of the Purāṇa may here be merely repeating the discordant accounts which he found in the older authorities which he had before him.

Regarding Ajamīdha the Bhāgavata says, ix. 21, 21:

*Ajamīdhasya vaṁśyāḥ syuḥ Priyamedhādāyo dvijāḥ | Ajamīdhād Bṛihadishuḥ |*

"Priyamedha and other Brāhmins were descendants of Ajamīdha. From Ajamīdha sprang Bṛihadishu."

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa (iv. 19, 16) gives the following account of Mudgala, a descendant of Ajamīdha in the seventh generation:

*Mudgalāḥ cha Maudgalyāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayo bahūvuh | Mudgalād Bahvaśvo Bahvaśvād Divodāso 'halyā cha mithunam abhūt | Saradvato 'halyāyām Sātānando 'bhavat |*

"From Mudgala were descended the Maudgalya Brāhmins of Kshatriya stock. From Mudgala sprang Bahvaśva; from him again twins, Divodāsa and Ahalyā. Sātānanda was born to Saradvat<sup>95</sup> by Ahalyā."

Similarly the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, iv. 21, 33 f.:

*Mudgalād brahma nirvṛttaṁ gotram Maudgalya-saṅjñitam | mithunam Mudgalād Bhārmyād Divodāsaḥ pumān abhūt | Ahalyā kanyakā yasyām Sātānandas tu Gautamāt |*

"From Mudgala sprang Brāhmins, the family called Maudgalyas. To the same father, who was son of Bhārmyaśva, were born twins, Divodāsa, a male, and Ahalyā, a female child, who bore Sātānanda to Gautama."

The words of the Matsya Purāṇa on the same subject, as quoted by Professor Wilson, p. 454, note 50, are:

*Mudgalasyāpi Maudgalyāḥ kshattropetā dvijātāyāḥ | ete hy Angirasah pakṣe saṁsthītāḥ Kaṇva-Mudgalāḥ |*

"From Mudgala sprang the Maudgalyas, Brāhmins of Kshatriya stock. These Kaṇva and Mudgalas stood on the side of Angiras."

a third consisting of Nīla, etc., and a fourth consisting of Riksha, etc." The last two sons of Ajamīdha are mentioned further on, Nīla in v. 15, and Riksha in v. 18, of the same chapter of the V. P.

<sup>95</sup> The Commentator says this is a name of Gautama. Regarding Ahalyā and Gautama see the story extracted above, p. 121, from the Rāmāyaṇa.



The Harivaṁśa, section 32, verse 1781, thus notices the same family :  
*Mudgalasya tu dāyādo Maudgalyaḥ sumahāyāsāḥ | ete sarve mahāt-  
māno kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ | ete hy Agirasaḥ pakṣaṁ saṁśritāḥ  
Kāṇva-Mudgalāḥ | Maudgalyasya suto jyeshṭho brahmarshiḥ suma-  
hāyāsāḥ |*

"The renowned Maudgalya was the son of Mudgala. All these great personages were Brāhmanas of Kshattriya descent. These Kāṇvas and Mudgalas adhered to the side of Angiras. Maudgalya's eldest son was a celebrated Brahman-rishi."

Regarding Kshemaka, a future descendant of Ajamīdha in the 31st generation, the Vishṇu Purāṇa says, iv. 21, 4 :

*Tato Niramitras tasmāc cha Kshemakaḥ | tatrayāṁ ślokaḥ | "brah-  
ma-kshattrasya yo yonir<sup>96</sup> vāmso rājarshi-satkṛitāḥ | Kshemakam prāpya  
rājānaṁ sa saṁsthāṁ prāpsyato kalau |*

"From him (Khaṇḍapāni) shall spring Niramitra; and from him Kshemaka; regarding whom this verse (is current): 'The race, consecrated by royal rishis, which gave birth to Brāhmanas and Kshattriyas, shall terminate in the Kali age, after reaching King Kshemaka.'"

The corresponding verse quoted by Professor Wilson (p. 462, note 24) from the Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas substitutes *devarshi*, "divine rishis," or "gods and rishis," for the *rājarshi*, "royal rishis," of the Vishṇu Purāṇa. The verse in question is there described as *anuvāṁśa-śloko'yaṁ gīto vipraiḥ purātanaḥ*, "a genealogical verse sung by ancient Brāhmanas."

According to the details given from the Purāṇas in this section several persons, Gṛtsamada, Kāṇva, Medhātithi, and Priyamedha, to whom hymns of the Rig-veda are ascribed by Indian tradition as their rishis, were of Kshattriya descent.

In the line of the same Tansu, brother of Apratiratha, we find in the sixth generation a person named Garga, of whom the Vishṇu Purāṇa relates, iv. 19, 9 :

*Gargāt S'iniḥ | tato Gārgyāḥ S'ainyāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayo babhūvuh |*

"From Garga sprang S'ini; from them were descended the Gārgyas and Sainyas, Brāhmanas of Kshattriya race."<sup>97</sup>

<sup>96</sup> On this words the Commentator has this note : *Brahmaṇaḥ brāhmaṇasya Kshattrasya kshattriyasya cha yonir karanam pūrvam yathoktatvāt |* "Brahma" and 'Kshattria' stand for Brāhman and Kshattriya. This race is the 'source,' cause (of these), as has been declared above."

<sup>97</sup> On this the Commentator only remarks : *Tatas tābhyāṁ Gārgyāḥ S'ainyāḥ cha*





Similarly the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 21, 19, says:

*Gargāt S'ini's tato Gārgyaḥ kshattrād brahma hy avarttata |*

"From Garga sprang S'ini; from them Gārgya, who from a Kshatriya became a Brāhman."<sup>98</sup>

The Vishṇu Purāṇa records a similar circumstance regarding the family of Mahāvīryya, the brother of Garga (iv. 19, 10):

*Mahāvīryyād Urukshayo nāma putro 'bhūt | tasya Trayyaruna-Pushkarinau Kapiś cha putra-trayam abhūt | tach cha tritayam api paśchād vipratām upajagāma |*

"Mahāvīryya had a son named Urukshaya; who again had three sons, Trayyaruna, Puskarin, and Kapi; and these three<sup>99</sup> afterwards entered into the state of Brāhman (i.e. became such)."

The Bhāgavata states, ix. 21, 19 f.:

*Duritakshayo Mahāvīryyāt tasya Trayyārūṇiḥ Kaviḥ | Pushkarārūṇi ity atra ye brāhmaṇa-gatim gatāḥ |*

"From Mahāvīryya sprang Duritakshaya. From him were descended Trayyārūṇi, Kavi, and Pushkarārūṇi, who attained to the destination of Brāhman."<sup>100</sup>

According to the Matsya Purāṇa also, as quoted by Professor Wilson (451, note 22), "all these sons of Uruksha (*sic*) attained the state of Brāhman" (*Urukshataḥ sūtā hy ete sarve brāhmaṇatām gatāḥ*); and in another verse of the same Purāṇa, cited in the same note, it is added: *Kāvyānām tu varā hy ete trayāḥ proktā maharshayaḥ | Gargāḥ Sankṛitayaḥ Kāvyā kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ |* "These three classes of great rishis, viz. the Gargas, Sankṛitis, and Kāvyas, Brāhman of Kshatriya race, are declared to be the most eminent of the Kāvyas, or descendants of Kavi." The original Garga was, as we have seen, the brother of Mahāvīryya, the father of Kavi, or Kapi; while, according to the

*Garga-vaṁśyato'vāt S'ini-vaṁśyato'vāḥ cha samākhyātāḥ | kshattriyā eva kenachit kārṇena brāhmaṇāś cha bābhūvuh |* "They were called Gārgyas and S'ainyas because they were of the race of Gārga and S'ini. Being indeed Kshattriyas they became Brāhman from some cause or other."

<sup>98</sup> The Commentator does not say how this happened.

<sup>99</sup> Unless Professor Wilson's MSS. had a different reading from mine, it must have been by an oversight that he has translated here, "The last of whom became a Brāhman."

<sup>100</sup> On this the Commentator annotates: *Ye atra kshattrā-vaṁśe brāhmaṇa-gatim brāhmaṇa-rūpatām gatāś te |* "Who in this Kshatriya race attained the destination of Brāhman,—the form of Brāhman."





Vishnu Purāṇa (iv. 19, 9), and Bhāgavata Purāṇa (ix. 21, 1), Sankṛiti was the son of Nara, another brother of Mahavīrya.

The series of passages just quoted is amply sufficient to prove that according to the traditions received by the compilers of the ancient legendary history of India (traditions so general and undisputed as to prevail over even their strong hierarchical prepossessions), Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and even Vaiśyas and Sūdras, were, at least in many cases, originally descended from one and the same stock. The European critic can have no difficulty in receiving these obscure accounts as true in their literal sense; though the absence of precise historical data may leave him without any other guide than speculation to assist him in determining the process by which a community originally composed for the most part of one uniform element, was broken up into different classes and professions, separated from each other by impassable barriers. On the other hand, the possibility of this common origin of the different castes, though firmly based on tradition, appeared in later times so incredible, or so unpalatable, to some of the compilers of the Purāṇas, that we find them occasionally attempting to explain away the facts which they record, by statements such as we have encountered in the case of the Kings Rathītara and Bāli, that their progeny was begotten upon their wives by the sages Angiras and Dīrghatamas, or Dīrghatapās; or by the introduction of a miraculous element into the story, as we have already seen in one of the legends regarding Gṛitsamada, and as we shall have occasion to notice in a future chapter in the account of Viśvāmītra.





## CHAPTER III.

ON THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF  
INDIAN SOCIETY ACCORDING TO THE HYMNS OF THE RIG-  
AND ATHARVA-VEDAS.

In the last chapter I have attempted to shew that in general the authors of the hymns of the Rig-veda regarded the whole of the Aryan people, embracing not only the priests and chiefs, but the middle classes also of the population, as descended from one common father, or ancestor, whom they designate by the name of Manu. This reference to a common progenitor excludes, of course, the supposition that the writers by whom it is made could have had any belief in the myth which became afterwards current among their countrymen, that their nation consisted of four castes, differing naturally in dignity, and separately created by Brahmā.

In that chapter I proposed to leave for further consideration any specific notices which the Rig-veda might contain regarding the different classes of which the society contemporary with its composition was made up. On this consideration I now enter. As that great collection of hymns embodies numerous references, both to the authors themselves and to the other agents in the celebration of divine worship, it may be expected to supply, incidentally or indirectly, at least, some information respecting the opinion which these ministers of religion entertained of themselves, and of the ecclesiastical and civil relations in which they stood to the other sections of the community. I shall now endeavour to shew how far this expectation is justified by an examination of the Rig-veda.

It will be understood, from what I have already (pp. 7 and 11 ff.) written on the subject of that one hymn of the Rig-veda in which the





four castes are distinctly specified, *i.e.* the Purusha Sūkta, that in the enquiry, which I am now about to undertake, I confine myself in the first instance to those hymns which for any reason (see p. 4, above) appear to be the most ancient, leaving out of account until afterwards, all those compositions which, like the one just mentioned, are presumably of a later age.

It will, I think, be found on investigation that not only the older hymns, but the great bulk of the hymns, supply no distinct evidence of the existence of a well defined and developed caste-system at the time when they were composed.

SECT. I.—*On the signification of the words brāhmān, brāhmana, etc., in the Rig-veda.*

As the Rig-veda Sanhitā is made up almost entirely of hymns in praise of the gods, it was not to be anticipated that it should furnish any systematic or detailed explanations on the points which form the object of our enquiry. But as was natural in compositions of the early and simple age to which these hymns belong, they do not always confine themselves to matters strictly connected with their principal subject, but indulge in occasional references to the names, families, personal merits, qualifications, relations, circumstances, and fortunes of the poets by whom they were produced, or of their patrons or other contemporaries, or of their predecessors.

I have, in another volume of this work,<sup>1</sup> enquired into the views which the authors of the hymns appear to have held on the subject of their own authorship. The conclusion at which I arrived was, that they did not in general look upon their compositions as divinely inspired, since they frequently speak of them as the productions of their own minds (vol. iii. pp. 128–140). But although this is most commonly the case (and especially, as we may conjecture, in regard to the older hymns), there is no doubt that they also attached a high value to these productions, which they describe as being acceptable to the gods (R.V. v. 45, 4; v. 85, 1; vii. 26, 1, 2; x. 23, 6; x. 54, 6; x. 105,

<sup>1</sup> Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. iii. pp. 116–161.





8), whose activity they stimulated (iii. 34, 1; vii. 19, 11), and whose blessing they drew down. In some of the hymns a supernatural character or insight is claimed for the rishis (i. 179, 2; vii. 76, 4; iii. 53, 9; vii. 33, 11 ff.; vii. 87, 4; vii. 88, 3 ff.; x. 14, 15; x. 62, 4, 5), and a mysterious efficacy is ascribed to their compositions (vol. iii. pp. 173 f.). The rishis called their hymns by various names, as *arka*, *uktha*, *rich*, *gir*, *dhi*, *nītha*, *nivid*, *mantra*, *mati*, *sūkta*, *stoma*, *vāch*, *vachas*, etc. etc.; and the also applied to them the appellation of *brahma* in numerous passages.<sup>2</sup> That in the passages in question *brahma* has generally the sense of hymn or prayer is clear from the context of some of them (as in i. 37, 4; viii. 32, 27, where the word is joined with the verb *gāyata*, "sing," and in vi. 69, 7, where the gods are supplicated to hear the *brahma*), as well as from the fact that the poets are said (in i. 62, 13; v. 73, 10; vii. 22, 9; vii. 31, 11; x. 80, 7) to have fashioned or generated the prayer, in the same way as they are said to have fashioned or generated hymns in other texts (as i. 109, 1; v. 2, 11; vii. 15, 4; viii. 77, 4; x. 23, 6; x. 39, 14), where the sense is indisputable; while in other places (iv. 16, 21; v. 29, 15; vi. 17, 13; vi. 50, 6; vii. 61, 6; x. 89, 3) new productions of the poets are spoken of under the appellation of *brahma*.

That *brahma* has the sense of hymn or prayer is also shown by the two following passages. In vii. 26, 1, it is said: *Na somaḥ Indram asuto mamāda na abrahmāṇo maghavānaṁ sūtasaḥ | tasmai ukthaṁ janaye yaj jujoshad nṛivad navīyaḥ śṛṇavad yathā naḥ |* 2. *Ukthe ukthe somaḥ Indram mamāda nīthe nīthe maghavānaṁ sūtasaḥ | yad īm sabādhaḥ pitaraṁ na putrāḥ samāna-dakṣhāḥ avase havante |* "Soma unless poured out does not exhilarate Indra; nor do libations without hymns (*abrahmāṇaḥ*). I generate for him a hymn (*uktha*) which he will love, so that like a man he may hear our new (production). 2. At each hymn (*uktha*) the soma exhilarates Indra, at each psalm (*nītha*) the libations (exhilarate) Maghavat, when the worshippers united, with one effort, invoke him for help, as sons do a father."<sup>3</sup> Again in x. 105, 8, it is

<sup>2</sup> For a list of these texts and other details which are here omitted, I refer to my article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian Society in the Vedic age," in the Journal of the Roy. As. Soc. for 1866 (from which this section is mostly borrowed).

<sup>3</sup> It is clear from the context of this passage that *abrahmāṇaḥ* means "unattended by hymns," and not "without a priest." After saying that soma-libations without





## 242 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

said: *Ava no vṛjina śiśiḥi riḥā vanema anṛiḥaḥ | na abrahmā yajnaḥ riḥag joshati tve* | "Drive away our calamities. With a hymn (*riḥā*) may we slay the men who are hymnless (*anṛiḥaḥ*). A sacrifice without prayer (*abrahmā*) does not please thee well."

I have said that great virtue is occasionally attributed by the poets to their hymns and prayers; and this is true of those sacred texts when called by the name of *brahma*, as well as when they receive other appellations, such as *mantra*. Thus it is said, iii. 53, 12, *Viśvāmitrasya rakshati brahma idam Bhārataṁ janam* | "This prayer (*brahma*) of Viśvāmitra protects the tribe of Bharata;" v. 40, 6, *Gāḥam sūryaṁ tamasā apavratena turyeṇa brahmaṇā avindat Atriḥ* | "Atri with the fourth prayer (*brahmaṇā*) discovered the sun concealed by unholy darkness;" vi. 75, 19, *Brahma varma mama antaram* | "Prayer (*brahma*) is my protecting armour;" vii. 33, 3, *Eva id nu kam dāsarājne Sudāsam prāvad Indro brahmaṇā vo Vasishṭhāḥ* | "Indra preserved Sudās in the battle of the ten kings through your prayer, o Vasishṭhas." In ii. 23, 1, *Brahmaṇaspati* is said to be the "great king of prayers" (*jyeshṭhārājām brahmaṇām*) (compare vii. 97, 3), and in verse 2, to be the "generator of prayers" (*janitā brahmaṇām*); whilst in x. 61, 7, prayer is declared to have been generated by the gods (*svādhyo ajanayan brahma devāḥ*). Compare vii. 35, 7.

*Brāhmān* in the masculine is no doubt derived from the same root as *brāhmān* neuter, and though differing from it in accent<sup>4</sup> as well as gender, must be presumed to be closely connected with it in signification, just as the English "prayer" in the sense of a petition would be with "prayer," a petitioner, if the word were used in the latter sense. As, then, *brāhmān* in the neuter means a hymn or prayer, *brāhmān* in the masculine must naturally be taken to denote the person who composes or repeats a hymn or prayer. We do not, however, find that the composers of the hymns are in general designated by the word

hymns are unacceptable to Indra, the poet does not add that he is himself a priest, or that he is attended by one, but that he generates a hymn; and the same sense is required by what follows in the second verse. Accordingly we find that Sāyaṇa explains *abrahmāṇaḥ* by *stotra-hīnāḥ*, "destitute of hymns." The same sense is equally appropriate in the next passage cited, x. 105, 8. On iv. 16, 9, where *abrahmā* is an epithet of *dasyu*, "demon," Sāyaṇa understands it to mean "without a priest," but it may mean equally well or better, "without devotion, or prayer."

<sup>4</sup> In *brāhmān* neuter the accent is on the first syllable; in *brāhmān* masculine on the last.





*brāhmān*, the name most commonly applied to them being *rishi*, though they are also called *vipra*, *vedhas*, *kavi*, etc. (see vol. iii. of this work, pp. 116 ff.). There are, however, a few texts, such as i. 80, 1; i. 164, 35; ii. 12, 6; ii. 39, 1; v. 31, 4; v. 40, 8; ix. 113, 6, etc., in which the *brāhmān* may or must be understood as referred to in the capacity of author of the hymn he utters. So, too, in ii. 20, 4, and vi. 21, 8, a new composer of hymns seems to be spoken of under the appellation of *nūtānasya brāhmānyataḥ*; and in ii. 19, 8, the *Gr̥tsamadas* are referred to both as the fabricators of a new hymn (*manma navīyaḥ*) and as (*brāhmānyantaḥ*) performing devotion.<sup>5</sup> In three passages, vii. 28, 2; vii. 70, 5, and x. 89, 16, the *brāhmā* and *brāhmāni*, "prayer" and "prayers," or "hymn" and "hymns," of the *rishis* are spoken of; and in vii. 22, 9, it is said, "that both the ancient and the recent *rishis* have generated prayers" (*ye cha pūrve rishayo ye cha nūtnāḥ Indra brāhmāni-janayanta viprāḥ*). In i. 177, 5, we find *brāhmāni kārōḥ*, "the prayers of the poet." The fact that in various hymns the authors speak of themselves as having received valuable gifts from the princes their patrons, and that they do not there allude to any class of officiating priests as separate from themselves, would also seem to indicate an identity of the poet and priest at that early period.

The term *brahman* must therefore, as we may conclude, have been originally applied (1) to the same persons who are spoken of elsewhere in the hymns as *rishi*, *kavi*, etc., and have denoted devout worshippers and contemplative sages who composed prayers and hymns which they themselves recited in praise of the gods. Afterwards when the ceremonial gradually became more complicated, and a division of sacred functions took place, the word was more ordinarily employed (2) for a minister of public worship, and at length came to signify (3) one particular kind of priest with special duties. I subjoin a translation of the different passages in which the word occurs in the Rig-veda, and I have attempted to classify them according as it seems to bear, in each case, the first, second, or third of the senses just indicated. This, however, is not always an easy task, as in many of these texts there is nothing to fix the meaning of the term with precision, and one signi-

<sup>5</sup> In another place (x. 96, 5) *Indra* is said to have been lauded by former worshippers, *pūrvabhīr yājvābhīḥ*, a term usually confined (as *brāhmān* was frequently applied) in after times to the offerers of sacrifice.





## 244 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

fication easily runs into another, and the same person may be at once the author and the reciter of the hymn.

I. Passages in which *brāhmān* may signify "contemplator, sage, or poet."

(In all these texts I shall leave the word untranslated.)

i. 80, 1. *Itthā hi some id made brahmā chakāra varddhanam* |

"Thus in his exhilaration from soma juice the *brāhmān* has made (or uttered) a magnifying<sup>6</sup> (hymn)."

i. 164, 34. *Prichhāmi tvā param antam prithivyāḥ prichhāmi yatra bhuvanasya nābhīḥ | prichhāmi tvā vṛishno āsvasya retaḥ prichhāmi vāchaḥ pāramam vyoma* | 35. *Iyaṁ vedīḥ paro antaḥ prithivyāḥ ayaṁ yajno bhuvanasya nābhīḥ ayaṁ somo vṛishno āsvasya reto brahmā ayam vāchaḥ pāramam vyoma* |

"I ask thee (what is) the remotest end of the earth; I ask where is the central point of the world; I ask thee (what is) the seed of the vigorous horse; I ask (what is) the highest heaven<sup>7</sup> of speech. 35. This altar is the remotest end of the earth; this sacrifice is the central point of the world; this soma is the seed of the vigorous horse; this *brāhmān* is the highest heaven of speech."

ii. 12, 6. *Yo radhrasya choditā yaḥ kṛisasya yo brahmano nādhamānasya kīreḥ* |

"He (Indra) who is the quickener of the sluggish, of the emaciated, of the suppliant *brāhmān* who praises him," etc.

vi. 45, 7. *Brahmāṇam brahma-vāhasam gīrbhīḥ sakhāyam ṛignīyam | gām na dohaso huve* |

"With hymns I call Indra, the *brāhmān*,—the carrier of prayers (*brāhmā-vāhasam*), the friend who is worthy of praise,—as men do a cow which is to be milked."

vii. 33, 11. *Uta asi Maitrāvaruno Vasishṭha Urvaśyāḥ brahman manaso 'dhi jātaḥ | drapsam skannam brahmanā daivyena viśve devāḥ pushkare tvā 'dadanta* |

"And thou, o Vasishṭha, art a son of Mitra and Varuṇa (or a Maitrāvaruṇa-priest), born, o *brāhmān*, from the soul of Urvaśī. All the

<sup>6</sup> *Varddhanam* = *vriddhi-karam stotram* (Sāyaṇa).

<sup>7</sup> Compare R.V. iii. 32, 10; x. 109, 4, below, and the words, the highest heaven of invention."

<sup>8</sup> Compare R.V. x. 71 and x. 125.





gods placed in the vessel thee, the drop which had fallen through divine contemplation."

viii. 16, 7. *Indro brāhmā Indrah ṛishir Indrah puru puruhūtah | mahān mahībhīḥ śachībhīḥ |*

"Indra is a *brāhmān*, Indra is a *rishi*,<sup>9</sup> Indra is much and often invoked, great through his mighty powers."

x. 71, 11. (See the translation of the entire hymn below. The sense of *brāhmān* in verse 11 will depend on the meaning assigned to *jāta-vidyā*.)

x. 77, 1. (In this passage, the sense of which is not very clear, the word *brāhmān* appears to be an epithet of the host of Maruts.)

x. 85, 3. *Somam manyate papivān yat sampiṁshanti oshadhīm | somam yam brāhmāno vidūr na tasya aśnāti kāśhana |* 16. *Dve te chakre Sūrya brāhmāno ṛituthā viduḥ | atha ekaṁ chakraṁ yad guhā tad addhātayaḥ id viduḥ |* 34. . . . *Sūryān yo brāhmā vidyāt sa id vādhyam arhati |*

"A man thinks he has drunk soma when they crush the plant (so called). But no one tastes of that which the *brāhmāns* know to be soma (the moon). 16. The *brāhmāns* rightly know, *Sūryā*, that thou hast two wheels; but it is sages (*addhātayaḥ*) alone who know the one wheel which is hidden. 34. The *brāhmān* who knows *Sūryā* deserves the bride's garment."<sup>10</sup>

x. 107, 6. *Tam eva ṛishiṁ tam u brāhmānam āhur yajnanyaṁ sāma-gām uktha-sūsam | sa śukrasya tanva veda tisrah yaḥ prathamō dakṣhiṇayā rarādha |*

"They call him a *rishi*, him a *brāhmān*, reverend, a chanter of *Sāma* verses (*sāma-gām*), and reciter of *ukthas*,—he knows the three forms of the brilliant (*Agni*)—the man who first worshipped with a largess."

Even in later times a man belonging to the *Kshatriya* and *Vaiśya* castes may perform all the Vedic rites. Any such person, therefore, and consequently a person not a *Brāhman* might, according to this verse, have been called, though, no doubt, figuratively, a priest (*brāhmā*).

<sup>9</sup> Different deities are called *ṛishi*, *kavi*, etc., in the following texts: v. 29, 1; vi. 14, 2; viii. 6, 41; ix. 96, 18; ix. 107, 7; x. 27, 22; x. 112, 9.

<sup>10</sup> See Dr. Haug's Ait. Br. vol. i. Introduction, p. 20.





x. 117, 7. . . . *Vadan brāhmā avadato vaniyan prīnann āpir aprīn-  
tam abhi syāt* |

“A *brāhmān*<sup>11</sup> who speaks is more acceptable than one who does not speak: a friend who is liberal excels one who is illiberal.”<sup>12</sup>

x. 125, 5. *Yam kāmāye tam tam ugraṁ kṛṇomi tam brāhmāṇam tam  
rishiṁ tam sumedhām* |

“I (says Vāc) make him whom I love formidable, him a *brāhman*, him a rishi, him a sage.”

This would seem to prove that sometimes, at least, the *brāhmān* was such not by birth or nature, but by special favour and inspiration of the goddess. In this passage, therefore, the word cannot denote the member of a caste, who would not be dependent on the good will of Vāc for his position.

II. In the passages which follow the word *brāhmān* does not seem to signify so much a “sage or poet,” as a “worshipper or priest.”

i. 10, 1. *Gāyanti tvā gāyatrīṇo archanti arkam arkinah* | *brāhmāṇas  
tvā Satakrato ud vaṁsam iva yemire* |

“The singers sing thee, the hymnners recite a hymn, the *brāhmāns*, o Satakratu, have raised thee up like a pole.”<sup>13</sup>

i. 33, 9. *Amanyamānān abhi manyamānair nir brahmabhir adhamo  
dasyum Indra* |

“Thou, Indra, with the believers, didst blow against the unbelievers, with the *brāhmāns* thou didst blow away the Dasyu.”<sup>14</sup>

i. 101, 5. *Yo viśvasya jagataḥ prānatas patir yo brahmāṇe prathamō  
gāḥ avindat* | *Indro yo dasyūn adharān avātirat* . . .

“Indra, who is lord of all that moves and breathes, who first found the cows for the *brāhmān*, who hurled down the Dasyu.”

i. 108, 7. *Yad Indrāgnī madathaḥ sve durone yad brahmaṇi rājani vā  
yajatrā* | *ataḥ pari vṛiṣhanāv ā hi yātam athā somasya pibataṁ sutasya* |

“When, o adorable Indra and Agni, ye are exhilarated in your own

<sup>11</sup> The word here seems clearly to indicate an order or profession, as the *silent* priest is still a priest.

<sup>12</sup> See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20. The contexts of the two last passages are given in my article “Miscellaneous Hymns from the R. and A. Vedas,” pp. 32 f.

<sup>13</sup> Compare i. 5, 8; i. 7, 1; viii. 16, 9. See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> See on this verse the remarks of M. Bréal, *Hereule et Cacus*, etc. p. 152.



abode, or with a *brāhmān* or a *rājan*,<sup>15</sup> come thence, ye vigorous (deities), and then drink of the poured out soma.”<sup>16</sup>

i. 158, 6. *Dirghatamāḥ Māmateyo jujurvān dasame yuge | apām arthaṁ yatinām brahmā bhavati sārathih |*

“Dirghatamas, son of Mamatā, being decrepit in his tenth lustre, (though) a *brāhmān*, becomes the charioteer of (or is borne upon) the waters which are hastening to their goal.”

(Professor Aufrecht understands this to mean that Dirghatamas is verging towards his end, and thinks there is a play on the word “charioteer” as an employment not befitting a priest.)

ii. 39, 1. . . . *Grīdhṛā iva vṛikṣaṁ nidhimantam aha | brahmānā iva vidathe ukthāsā . . . |*

“Ye (Aśvins) (cry) like two vultures on a tree which contains their nest; like two *brāhmāns* singing a hymn at a sacrifice.”

iv. 50, 7. *Sa id rājā pratijanyāni viśvā śushmena tasthāv abhi vīryeṇa | Bṛihaspatiṁ yaḥ subhṛitam bibharti valgūyati vandate pūrva-bhājam |*  
8. *Sa it kṣeti sudhitaḥ okasi sve tasmai ilā pivate viśvadānīm | tasmai viśaḥ svayam eva namante yasmin brahmā rājani pūrvaḥ eti |* 9. *Apratīto jayati saṁ dhanāni pratijanyāni uta yā sajanyā | avasyave yo varivaḥ kṛinoti brahmaṇe rājā tam avanti devāḥ |*

“That king overcomes all hostile powers in force and valour who maintains Bṛihaspati in abundance, who praises and magnifies him as (a deity) enjoying the first distinction. 8. He dwells prosperous in his own palace, to him the earth always yields her increase,<sup>17</sup> to him the

<sup>15</sup> A distinction of orders or professions appears to be here recognised. But in v. 54, 7, a *rishi* and a *rājan* are distinguished much in the same way as a *brāhmān* and *rājan* are in i. 108, 7: *Sa na jīyate Marūto na hanyate na sredhāti na vyathate na rishyati | na asya rāyaḥ upa dasyanti na ūtayaḥ rishim vā yaṁ rājānaṁ vā sushūdatha |* “That man, whether *rishi* or prince, whom ye, o Maruts, support, is neither conquered nor killed, he neither decays nor is distressed, nor is injured; his riches do not decline, nor his supports.” Compare v. 14, where it is said: *Yugaṁ rayīm marutaḥ spūrha-vīraṁ yūyam rishim avatha sāma-vīram | yūyam arvantam Bharatāya vājaṁ yūyam dhattha rājānaṁ śruṣṭimantam |* “Ye, o Maruts, give riches with desirable men, ye protect a *rishi* who is skilled in hymns; ye give a horse and food to Bharata, ye make a king prosperous.” In iii. 43, 5, reference is found to Viśvāmitra, or the author, being made by Indra both a prince and a *rishi* (*kuvid mā gopāṁ karase janasya kuvid rājānam maghavann rjīshin | kuvid mā rishim papivāmsaṁ sutasya*).

<sup>16</sup> See on this verse Prof. Benfey's note, *Orient und Occident*, 3, 142.

<sup>17</sup> Compare R.V. v. 37, 4f.: *Na sa rājā vyathate yasminn Indras tīvram somam pivati go-sakhāyam |* “That king suffers no distress in whose house Indra drinks the pungent soma mixed with milk,” etc.



248 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

people bow down of themselves,—that king in whose house a *brāhmān* walks first.<sup>18</sup> 9. Unrivalled, he conquers the riches both of his enemies and his kinsmen—the gods preserve the king who bestows wealth on the *brāhmān* who asks his assistance.”<sup>19</sup>

iv. 58, 2. *Vayaṁ nāma pra bravāma ghrītasya asmin yajne dhārayāma namobhiḥ | upa brahmā śrinavat śasyamānaṁ chatuḥ-śringo avamīd gau-  
raḥ etat |*

“Let us proclaim the name of butter; let us at this sacrifice hold it (in mind) with prostrations. May the *brāhmān* (Agni?) hear the praise which is chanted. The four-horned bright-coloured (god) has sent this forth.”

v. 29, 3. *Uta brahmāno Maruto me asya Indrah somasya sushutasya peyāḥ |*

“And, ye Maruts, *brāhmāns*, may Indra drink of this my soma which has been poured out,” etc.

v. 31, 4. *Anavas te ratham āsvāya takshaṇ Tvashṭā vajram puruhūta dyumantam | brahmānaḥ Indram mahayanto arkair avarddhayann Ahaye hantavai u |*

“The men<sup>20</sup> have fashioned a car for thy (Indra's) horse, and Tvashṭri a gleaming thunderbolt, o god greatly invoked. The *brāhmāns*, magnifying Indra, have strengthened him for the slaughter of Ahi.”

v. 32, 12. *Evā hi tvām rituthā yātayantam maghā viprebhyaḥ dadatām śrinomi | kiṁ te brahmāno grihate sakḥāyo ye tvāyāḥ nidadhuḥ kāmam Indra |*

“I hear of thee thus rightly prospering, and bestowing wealth on, the sages (*viprebhyaḥ*). What, o Indra, do the *brāhmāns*, thy friends, who have reposed their wishes on thee, obtain?”

v. 40, 8. *Grāveṇo brahmā yuyujānaḥ saparyan kīrinā devān namasā upaśikshan | Atriḥ sūryasya divi chakshur ā adhāt Svarbhānor apa mā-  
yāḥ aghukshat |*

“Applying the stones (for pressing soma), performing worship, honouring the gods with praise and obeisance, the *brāhmān* Atri placed

<sup>18</sup> Compare viii. 69, 4; x. 39, 11; x. 107, 5; and the word *purohita*, used of a ministering priest as one placed in front. Prof. Aufrecht, however, would translate the last words, “under whose rule the priest receives the first or principal portion.”

<sup>19</sup> See on this passage Roth's article, “On Brahma and the *Brāhmāns*,” Journ. Germ. Or. Soc. i. 77 ff. See also Aitareya *Brāhmaṇa*, viii. 26.

<sup>20</sup> Are the *Ribhus* intended?





the eye of the sun in the sky, and swept away the magical arts of Svarbhānu."

vii. 7, 5. *Asādi vrito vahnir ājaganvān Agnir brahmā nri-shādane vidhartā* |

"The chosen bearer (of oblations), Agni, the *brāhmān*, having arrived, has sat down in a mortal's abode, the upholder."

vii. 42, 1. *Pra brahmāṇo Angiraso nakshanta* |

"The *brāhmāns*, the Angirases, have arrived," etc.

viii. 7, 20. *Kva nūnaṁ sudānava madatha vrikta-barhisah* | *brahmā ko vaḥ saparyati* |

"Where now, bountiful (Maruts), are ye exhilarated, with the sacrificial grass spread beneath you? What *brāhmān* is serving you?"

viii. 17, 2. *Ā tvā brahma-yujā harī vāhatām Indra keśinī* | *upā brahmāṇi naḥ śrinu* | 3. *Brahmāṇas tvā vayaṁ yujā somapām Indra somināḥ* | *utāvanto havāmahe* |

"Thy tawny steeds with flowing manes, yoked by prayer (*brahma-yujā*),<sup>21</sup> bring thee hither, Indra; listen to our prayers (*brāhmāṇi*). 3. We *brāhmāns*, offerers of soma, bringing oblations, continually invoke the drinker of soma."

viii. 31, 1. *Yo yajāti yajāte it sunavach cha pachāti cha* | *brahmā id Indrasya chākanat* |

"That *brāhmān* is beloved of Indra who worships, sacrifices, pours out libations, and cooks offerings."

viii. 32, 16. *Na nūnam brahmanām rinam prāsūnām asti sunvatām* | *na somo apratā pape* |

"There is not now any debt due by the active *brāhmāns* who pour out libations. Soma has not been drunk without an equivalent."

viii. 33, 19. *Adhah paśyasva mā upari santaram pādakau hara* | *mā te kaśa-plakau dṛiṣan strī hi brahmā babhūvitha* |

"Look downward, not upward; keep thy feet close together; let them not see those parts which should be covered; thou, a *brāhmān*, hast become a woman."

viii. 45, 39. *Ā te etā vacho-yujā harī grībhne sumadrathā* | *yad im brahmabhyeḥ id dadah* |

<sup>21</sup> Compare viii. 45, 39, below: *brahma-yuj* occurs also in i. 177, 2; iii. 35, 4; viii. 1, 24; viii. 2, 27.





## 250 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

"I seize these thy tawny steeds, yoked by our hymn (*vachō-yujā*)<sup>22</sup> to a splendid chariot, since thou didst give (wealth) to the *brāhmāns*.

viii. 53, 7. *Kva sya vṛishabho yuvā tuvi-grīvo anānataḥ | brāhmā kas taṁ saparyati |*

"Where is that vigorous, youthful, large-necked, unconquered (Indra)? What *brāhmān* serves him?

viii. 66, 5. *Abhi Gandharvam atrinaḍ abudhneshu rajassu ā | Indro brahmabhyah id vridhe |*

"Indra clove the Gandharva in the bottomless mists, for the prosperity of the *brāhmāns*."

viii. 81, 30. *Mō su brāhmā iva tandrayur bhuvō vājānām pate | matsva sutasya gomataḥ |*

"Be not, o lord of riches (Indra), sluggish like a *brāhmān*.<sup>23</sup> Be exhilarated by the libation mixed with milk."

viii. 85, 5. *Ā yad vajram bāhvor Indra dhatse mada-chyutam Ahave hantavai u | pra parvatāḥ anavanta pra brāhmāno abhinakshanta Indram |*

"When, Indra, thou seizest in thine arms the thunderbolt which brings down pride, in order to slay Ahi, the (aerial) hills and the cows utter their voice, and the *brāhmāns* draw near to thee."

ix. 96, 6. *Brāhmā devānām padavīḥ kavīnām rishir viprānām mahisho mṛigānām | śyeno gridhrānām svadhitir vanānām somaḥ pavitram ati eti rebhan |*

"Soma, resounding, overflows the filter, he who is a *brāhmān* among the gods, a leader among poets, a rishi among the wise, a buffalo among wild beasts, a falcon among kites, an axe among the woods."

ix. 112, 1. *Nānānām vai u no dhiyo vi vratāni janānām | lakṣhā rish-ṭaṁ rutam bhishag brāhmā suncantam ichhati.*

"Various are the thoughts and endeavours of us different men. The carpenter seeks something broken, the doctor a patient, the *brāhmān* some one to offer libations."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Compare viii. 87, 9, *yunjanti harī ishīrasya gāthayā urau rathe uruyuge | Indrā-vāhū vachoyujā*; i. 7, 2, *vachoyujā*; i. 14, 6, *manoyujā*; vi. 49, 5, *ratho . . . manasā yujānaḥ*.

<sup>23</sup> Dr. Haug (Introd. to Ait. Br. p. 20) refers to Ait. Br. v. 34, as illustrating this reproach. See p. 376 of his translation. This verse clearly shows that the priests formed a professional body.

<sup>24</sup> This verse also distinctly proves that the priesthood already formed a profession. Verse 3 of the same hymn is as follows: "I am a poet, my father a physician, my





ix. 113, 6. *Yatra brahmā pavamāna chhandasyām vāchaṁ vadan | grāṇā some mahīyate somena ānandaṁ janayann Indrāya Indo pari srava |*

“O pure Soma, in the place where the *brāhmān*, uttering a metrical hymn, is exalted at the soma sacrifice through (the sound of) the crushing-stone, producing pleasure with soma, o Indu (Soma) flow for Indra.”

x. 28, 11. *Tebhyo godhā ayathaṁ karshad etad ye brahmaṇaḥ pratipīyanti annaiḥ | sime ukshnaḥ avasrīṣṭūn adanti evayam balāni tanvaḥ śrīṇānāḥ |* (The word *brahmaṇaḥ* occurs in this verse, but I am unable to offer any translation, as the sense is not clear.)

x. 71, 11. (See translation of this verse below, where the entire hymn is given.)

x. 85, 29. *Parā dehi sāmulyam brahmaḥhyo vi bhaja vasu | . . . 35. Sūryāyāḥ paśya rūpāni tāni brahmā tu śundhati |*

“Put away that which requires expiation (?). Distribute money to the *brāhmāns*. . . 35. Behold the forms of Sūryā. But the *brāhmān* purifies them.”

x. 141, 3. *Somaṁ rājānam avase Agniṁ gīrbhir havāmahe | Ādityān Vishnuṁ Sūryam brahmāṇaṁ cha Bṛihaspatim |*

“With hymns we invoke to our aid king Soma, Agni, the Ādityas, Vishnu, Sūrya, and Bṛihaspati, the *brāhmān*.”

III. In the following passages the word *brāhmān* appears to designate the special class of priest so called, in contradistinction to *hotri*, *udgātri*, and *adhvaryu*. 1.9

ii. 1, 2 (= x. 91, 10). *Tava Agne hotraṁ tava potram ritviyaṁ tava neshtraṁ tvam id agnid ritāyataḥ | tava prasāstraṁ tvam adhvariyaḥ brahmā cha asi grihapatiḥ cha no dame | 2. Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhāḥ satām asi tvam Vishṇur urugāyo namasyaḥ | tvam brahmā rayivid Brahmanaspate tvam vidharttaḥ sachase purandhyā |*

“Thine, Agni, is the office of *hotri*, thine the regulated function of *potri*, thine the office of *neshtri*, thou art the *agnidh* of the pious man, thine is the function of *prasāstri*, thou actest as *adhvaryu*, thou art the *brāhmān*, and the lord of the house in our abode. 2. Thou, Agni, art Indra, the chief of the holy, thou art Vishnu, the wide-stepping, the

mother a grinder of corn” (*kāṛur ahaṁ tato bhīṣag upala-prakṣhiṇī nānā*). Unfortunately there is nothing further said which could throw light on the relations in which the different professions and classes of society stood to each other.



## 252 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

adorable, thou, o Brahmanaspati, art the *brāhmān*, the possessor of wealth, thou, o sustainer, art associated with the ceremonial."

iv. 9, 3. *Sa sadma pari nīyate hotā mandro divishṭishu | uta potā ni shīdati |* 4. *Uta gnā Agnir adhware uta grihapatir dame | uta brahmā ni shīdati |*

"He (Agni) is led round the house, a joyous *hotri* at the ceremonies, and sits a *potri*. 4. And Agni is a wife (*i.e.* a mistress of the house) at the sacrifice, and the master of the house in our abode, and he sits a *brāhmān*."

x. 52, 2. *Ahañ hotā ni asīdañ yajīyān viśve devāḥ maruto mā jūnānti | ahar ahar Aśvinā ādhvaryavañ vām brahmā samid bhavati sā ahutir vām |*

(Agni says) "I have sat down an adorable *hotri*; all the gods, the Maruts, stimulate me. Day by day, ye *Aśvins*, I have acted as your *adhvaryu*; the *brāhmān* is he who kindles the fire: this is your invocation."

I shall now bring forward the whole of the texts in which the word *brāhmāna*, which, no doubt, originally meant a son, or descendant, of a *brāhmān*, occurs in the Rig-veda.<sup>25</sup> They are the following:

i. 164, 45. *Chatvāri vāk parimitā padāni tāni vidur brāhmaṇāḥ ye manishīṇāḥ | guhā trīṇi nihitā na ingayanti turīyam vācho manushyāḥ vadanti |*

"Speech consists of four defined grades. These are known by those *brāhmāns* who are wise. They do not reveal the three which are esoteric. Men speak the fourth grade of speech."

This text is quoted and commented upon in Nirukta xiii. 9.

vi. 75, 10. *Brāhmaṇāsah pītarah somyāsah śive no dyāvā-prithivī ane- hasā | Pūshā nah pātu duritād rītāvridhaḥ . . . |*

"May the *brāhmaṇ* fathers, drinkers of soma, may the auspicious, the sinless, heaven and earth, may *Pūshan*, preserve us, who prosper by righteousness, from evil, etc."

<sup>25</sup> There are two more texts in which the word *brāhmāna* is found, viz. i. 15, 5, and ii. 36, 5, on which see the following note. The word *brahmaputra* (compare *Aśv. S. S. ii. 18, 13*) "son of a brahman," is found in ii. 43, 2: *Udgātā iva śakune sāmā gāyasi brāhmā-putrah iva savaneshu śaṁsasi |* "Thou, o bird, singest a *sāma* verse like an *udgātri*; thou singest praises like the son of a *brāhmān* at the libations." (Ind. Stud. ix. 342 ff.) *Vipra*, used in later Sanskrit as synonymous with *Brāhmaṇ*, has in the R.V. the sense of "wise," "sage" assigned by Nigh. 3, 15 (= *medhāvi-nāma*), and in Nir. 10, 19, = *medhāvinah*. It is often applied as an epithet to the gods.





vii. 103, 1 (= Nirukta 9, 6). *Saṁvatsaram śaśayānāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ vrata-chārīnāḥ | vācham Parjanya-jinvitām pra maṇḍūkāḥ avādishuḥ . . . . | 7. Brāhmaṇāso atirātre na some saro na pūrṇam abhito vadan-taḥ | saṁvatsarasya tad ahaḥ pari śhṭha yad maṇḍūkāḥ prāvriṣhīnam bābhūva | 8. Brāhmaṇāsah somino vācham akrata brahma kṛiṇvantaḥ parivatsarīnam | adhvaryavo gharmināḥ sishvidānāḥ āvir bhavanti guhyā na ke chit |*

"After lying quiet for a year, those rite-fulfilling *brāhmans*<sup>26</sup> the frogs have (now) uttered their voice, which has been inspired by Parjanya . . . . 7. Like *brāhmans* at the Atirātra soma rite, like (those *brāhmans*) speaking round about the full pond (or soma-bowl<sup>27</sup>), you, frogs, surround (the pond) on this day of the year, which is that of the autumnal rains. 8. These soma-offering *brāhmans* (the frogs) have uttered their voice, performing their annual devotion (*brahma*); these *adhvaryu* priests sweating with their boiled oblations (or in the hot season) come forth from their retreats like persons who have been concealed."

x. 16, 6. *Yat te krishnāḥ śakunaḥ ātutoda pipilāḥ sarpāḥ uta vā svā-padaḥ | Agniḥ tad viśvād agadaṁ karotu Somaś cha yo brāhmaṇān āviveśa |*

"Whatever part of thee any black bird, or ant, or serpent, or wild beast has mutilated, may Agni cure thee of all that, and Soma who has entered into the *brāhmans*."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> In the Nighantus, iii. 13, these words *brāhmaṇāḥ vrata-chārīnāḥ* are referred to as conveying the sense of a simile, though they are unaccompanied by a particle of similitude. In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 126, Roth thus remarks on this passage: "This is the only place in the first nine mandalas of the R.V. in which the word *Brāhmaṇa* is found with its later sense, whilst the tenth mandala offers a number of instances. This is one of the proofs that many of the hymns in this book were composed considerably later (than the rest of the R.V.). The word *brāhmaṇa* has another signification in i. 15, 5; ii. 36, 5; and vi. 75, 10." (In the first of these texts, Roth assigns to the word the sense of the *Brāhmaṇa*'s soma-vessel. See his Lexicon, s.v. It does not appear what meaning he would give to the word in vi. 75, 10. He has in this passage overlooked R.V. i. 164, 45, which, however, is duly adduced in his Lexicon). See Wilson's translation of the hymn; as also Müller's, in his *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 494 f.

<sup>27</sup> *Saras*. See R.V. viii. 66, 4, quoted in Nirukta, v. 11, where Yaska says, "The ritualists inform us that at the mid-day oblation there are thirty *uktha* platters destined for one deity, which are then drunk at one draught. These are here called *saras*." (Compare Roth's Illustrations on the passage. See also R.V. vi. 17, 11, and viii. 7, 10, with Sāyaṇa's explanations of all three passages).

<sup>28</sup> Compare A.V. vii. 115, 1 f.; xii. 5, 6.





## 254 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

x. 71, 1.<sup>29</sup> *Bṛihaspate prathamam vācho agraṁ yat prairata nāmadhe-  
yaṁ dadhānāḥ | yad eshām śreshṭhām yad aripram asit preṇā tad eshām  
nihitām guhā āviḥ |* 2. (= Nirukta iv, 10) *Saktum iva titaiṇā punanto  
yatra dhīrāḥ manasā vācham akrata | atra sakhāyaḥ sakhyaṇi jānate  
bhadrā eshām lakṣmīr nihitā adhi vāchi |* 3. *Yajnena vāchaḥ padavīyam  
āyan tām anv avindann ṛishishu pravishṭām | tām ābhṛitya vi adadhuḥ  
purutr tām sapta rebhāḥ abhi saṁ navante |* 4. (= Nir. i. 19) *Uta  
tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācham uta tvaḥ śrinvan na śrinoti enām |  
uto tvasmai tanvaṁ vi sasre jāyā iva patye usati sūvāsāḥ |* 5. (= Nir.  
i. 20) *Uta tvaṁ sakhye sthirapitam āhur na enaṁ hinvanty api vāji-  
neshu | adhenvā charati māyayā esha vācham śūśruvān aphaḥlām apush-  
pām |* 6. *Yas tityāja sachi-vidam sakhāyaṁ na tasya vāchi api bhāgo  
asti | yad im śrinoti alakaṁ śrinoti na hi praveda sukrītasya panthām |*  
7. *Akṣhantantaḥ karnavantāḥ sakhāyo manojaveshu asamāḥ babbūvuḥ |  
ādaghmnāsāḥ upakakṣhāsāḥ u tve hradāḥ iva snātvaḥ u tve dadṛiṣre |*  
8. (= Nir. xiii. 13) *Hṛidā tashṭeshu manaso javeshu yad brāhmaṇāḥ  
saṁyajante sakhāyaḥ | atra aha tvaṁ vi jahur vedyābhir ohabrahmaṇo  
vi charanti u tve |* 9. *Ime ye na arvāṇ na parāś charanti na brāh-  
maṇāso na sute-karāsāḥ | te ete vācham abhipadya pāpayā śirīs tantram  
tanvate aprajajnyayāḥ |* 10. *Sarve nandanti yaśasā āgatena sabhā-sahena  
sakhyaḥ sakhāyaḥ | kilbisha-sprit pitu-shanir hi eshām aram hito bhavati  
vājināya |* 11. (= Nir. i. 8) *Richām tvaḥ posham āste pupushvān gāya-  
traṁ tvo gāyati śakvarīshu | brahmā tvo vadati jātu-vidyāṁ yajnasya mā-  
trām vi mimāte u tvaḥ |*

“When, o Bṛihaspati, men first sent forth the earliest utterance of speech, giving a name (to things), then all that was treasured within them, most excellent and pure, was disclosed through love. 2. Wherever the wise,—as if cleansing meal with a sieve,—have uttered speech with intelligence, there friends recognize acts of friendliness; good fortune dwells in their speech.”<sup>30</sup> 3. Through sacrifice they came upon

<sup>29</sup> I cannot pretend that I am satisfied with some parts of the translation I have attempted of this very difficult hymn; but I give it such as it is, as the interpretation of the Vedic poems is still to a certain extent tentative. Verses 4 and 5 are explained in Sāyana's Introduction to the Rig-veda, pp. 30 f. of Müller's edition. I am indebted here, as elsewhere, to Prof. Aufrecht for his suggestions.

<sup>30</sup> I quote here, as somewhat akin to this hymn, another from the A.V. vi. 108, being a prayer for wisdom or intelligence: 1. *Tvaṁ no medhe prathamā gobhīr aśvebhīr ā gahi | tvaṁ sūryasya rasmiḥhis tvam no asi yajniyā |* 2. *Medhām aham prathamām*





the track of speech, and found her entered into the rishis. Taking, they divided her into many parts: <sup>31</sup> the seven poets celebrate her in concert. 4. And one man, seeing, sees not speech, and another, hearing, hears her not; <sup>32</sup> while to a third she discloses her form, as a loving well-dressed wife does to her husband. 5. They say that one man has a sure defence in (her <sup>33</sup>) friendship; he is not overcome even in the conflicts (of discussion). But that person consorts with a barren delusion who has listened to speech without fruit or flower. 6. He who abandons a friend who appreciates friendship, has no portion whatever in speech. All that he hears, he hears in vain, for he knows not the path of righteousness. 7. Friends gifted both with eyes and ears have proved unequal in mental efforts. Some have been (as waters) reaching to the face or armpit, while others have been seen like ponds in which one might bathe. 8. When *brāhmans* who are friends strive (?) together in efforts of the mind produced by the heart, <sup>34</sup> they leave one man behind through their acquirements, whilst others walk about boasting to be *brāhmāns*. (This is the sense Professor Aufrecht suggests for the word *shabrahmāṇaḥ*. Professor Roth *s.v.* thinks it may mean "real priests." The author of Nirukta xiii. 13, explains it as meaning "reasoning priests," or "those of whom reasoning is the sacred science.") 9. The men who range neither near nor far, who are neither (reflecting) *brāhmans* nor yet pious worshippers at libations,—these, having acquired speech, frame their web imperfectly, (like) female

*brahmaṇvatīm brahma-jūtām rishishtutām | prapītām brahmachāribhīr devānām avase huve |* 3. *Yām medhām Rībhavo vidur yām medhām asurāḥ viduḥ | rishayo bhadrām medhām yām vidus tām mayy ā veśayūmasi |* 4. *Yām rishayo bhūta-krito medhām medhāvino viduḥ | tayā mām adya medhayā Agne medhāvinaṁ kṛnu |* 5. *Medhām sāyam medhām prātar medhām madhyandīnam pari | medhām sūryasya rasmibhīr vachasā "* *veśayāmahe* 1. "Come to us, wisdom, the first, with cows and horses; (come) thou with the rays of the sun; thou art to us an object of worship. 2. To (obtain) the succour of the gods, I invoke wisdom the first, full of prayer, inspired by prayer, praised by rishis, imbibed by Brahmachārins. 3. We introduce within me that wisdom which Rībhuv know, that wisdom which divine beings (*asurāḥ*) know, that excellent wisdom which rishis know. 4. Make me, o Agni, wise to-day with that wisdom which the wise rishis—the makers of things existing—know. 5. We introduce wisdom in the evening, wisdom in the morning, wisdom at noon, wisdom with the rays of the sun, and with speech" (*vachasū*). Regarding the *rishayo bhūtakṛitāḥ* see above, p. 37, note.

<sup>31</sup> Compare x. 125, 3; i. 164, 45; (x. 90, 11); and A.V. xii. 1, 45.

<sup>32</sup> Compare Isaiah vi. 9, 10; and St. Matthew xiii. 14, 15.

<sup>33</sup> *Yāśakhye*, Yāśka.

<sup>34</sup> Compare i. 171, 2; ii. 35, 2; vi. 16, 47.



weavers,<sup>35</sup> being destitute of skill. 10. All friends rejoice at the arrival of a renowned friend who rules the assembly; for such a one, repelling evil, and bestowing nourishment upon them, is thoroughly prepared for the conflict (of discussion). 11. One man possesses a store of verses (*richām*); a second sings a hymn (*gāyatra*) during (the chanting of) the *śakvaris*; one who is a *brāhmān* declares the science of being (*jāta-vidyām*), whilst another prescribes the order of the ceremonial.”<sup>36</sup>

R.V. x. 88, 19 (= Nir. vii. 31). *Yāvan-mātram ushaso na pratīkaṁ suparnyo vasate Mātariśvaḥ | tāvad dadhāti upa yajnam āyan brāhmaṇo hotur avaro nishīdan |*

“As long as the fair-winged Dawns do not array themselves in light, o Mātariśvan, so long the *brāhmaṇ* coming to the sacrifice, keeps (the fire), sitting below the hotṛi-priest.”

(See Professor Roth’s translation of this verse in his *Illustrations of the Nirukta*, p. 113).

x. 90, 11 (= A.V. xix. 5, 6; Vaj. S. xxxi.). See above, pp. 8–15.

x. 97, 22. *Oshadhayaḥ saṁvadante Somena saha rājñā | yasmai kṛṇoti brāhmaṇas taṁ rājan parayāmasi |*

“The plants converse with king Soma,<sup>37</sup> (and say), for whomsoever a *brāhmaṇ* acts (*kṛṇoti*, officiates), him, o king, we deliver.”

x. 109, 1. *Te ’evadan prathamāḥ brahma-kilbishe akūpāraḥ salilo Mātariśvaḥ | vīḷuharās tapa ugro mayobhār āpo devīr prathamajāḥ ṛitena | Soma rājā prathamō brahma-jāyām punaḥ prāyachhad ahṛinīyamānaḥ | anpartitā Varuṇo Mitraḥ āsīd Agnir hotā hastagrīhya ninūya | 3. Hastena eva grāhyaḥ ādhir asyāḥ “brahma-jāyā iyaṁ” iti cha id avochan | na dūtāya prahye tusthe eshā tathā rāshṭraṁ gupitāṁ kshattriyaṣya | 4. Devāḥ etasyām avadanta pūrve sapta rishayas tapase ye nisheduḥ | bhīmā jāyā brāhmaṇasya upanītā durdhām dadhāti paramo vyoman |*

<sup>35</sup> Such is the sense which Prof. Aufrecht thinks may, with probability, be assigned to *sīṛṣ*, a word which occurs only here.

<sup>36</sup> According to Yāska (Nir. i. 8), these four persons are respectively the *hotṛi*, *udgātṛi*, *brahmaṇ*, and *adhvaryu* priests. The *brahmaṇ*, he says, being possessed of all science, ought to know everything; and gives utterance to his knowledge as occasion arises for it (*jāte jāte*). See Dr. Haug’s remarks on this verse, *Ait. Br. Introd.* p. 20.

<sup>37</sup> Compare *oshadhūḥ Soma-rājñāḥ*, “the plants whose king is Soma,” in verses 18 and 19 of this hymn.





5. *Brahmachārī charati evishad vishah sa devānām bhavati ekam angam | tena jāyām anu avindad Bṛhaspatiḥ Somena nītām juhvām na devāḥ |*

6. *Punar vai devāḥ adaduh punar manushyāḥ uta | rājānāḥ satyaṁ kṛivānāḥ brahma-jāyām punar daduh |* 7. *Punardāya brahma-jāyām kṛitvī devair nikilbisham | ūrjam prithivyāḥ bhaktvāya urugāyam upāsate |*

"These (deities), the boundless, liquid Mātariśvan (Air), the fiercely-flaming, ardently-burning, beneficent (Fire), and the divine primeval Waters, first through righteousness exclaimed against the outrage on a *brāhmān*. 2. King Soma,<sup>38</sup> unenvious, first gave back the *brāhmān*'s wife; Varuṇa and Mitra were the inviters; Agni, the invoker, brought her, taking her hand. 3. When restored, she had to be received back by the hand, and they then proclaimed aloud, 'This is the *brāhmān*'s wife;' she was not committed to a messenger to be sent:—in this way it is that the kingdom of a ruler (or Kshattriya) remains secured to him.<sup>39</sup> 4. Those ancient deities, the Rishis, who sat down to perform austerities, spoke thus of her, 'Terrible is the wife of the *brāhmān*; when approached, she plants confusion in the highest heaven.'<sup>40</sup> 5. The *Brahmachārin*<sup>41</sup> (religious student) continues to perform observances. He becomes one member<sup>42</sup> of the gods. Through him Bṛhaspati obtained his wife, as the gods obtained the ladle which was brought by Soma. 6. The gods gave her back, and men gave her back; kings, performing righteousness, gave back the *brāhmān*'s wife. 7. Giving back the *brāhmān*'s wife, delivering themselves from sin against the gods, (these kings) enjoy the abundance of the earth, and possess a free range of movement."

<sup>38</sup> Compare R.V. x. 85, 39 ff. (=A.V. xiv. 2, 2 ff.) *Punaḥ patnīm Agnir adād āyushā saha varehasā | dīrghāyur asyāḥ yaḥ patir jīvati śaradāḥ śatam |* 40. *Somāḥ prathamō rivide Gandharvo rivide uttarah* (the A.V. reads: *Somasya jāyā prathamam Gandharvas te 'parah patih*) | *trītiyo Agnish te patir turīyas te manushyājāḥ | Somo dadād Gandharvāya Gandharvo dadād Agnaye | rayīm cha putrām chādād Agnir mahyam atho imām |* "Agni gave back the wife with life and splendour: may he who is her husband live to an old age of 100 years! Soma was thy first, the Gandharva was thy second, Agni thy third, husband; thy fourth is one of human birth. Soma gave her to the Gandharva, the Gandharva to Agni, Agni gave me wealth and sons, and then this woman." The idea contained in this passage may possibly be referred to in the verse before us (x. 109, 2).

<sup>39</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for this explanation of the verse.

<sup>40</sup> See R.V. i. 164, 34, 35, above.

<sup>41</sup> See my paper on the Progress of the Vedic Religion, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 374 ff.

<sup>42</sup> See A.V. x. 7, 1 ff.; 9, 26.





## 258 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

This hymn is repeated in the Atharva-veda with the addition of ten more verses which I shall quote in the next section.

I shall here state summarily the remarks suggested by a perusal of the texts which I have quoted, and the conclusions which they appear to authorize regarding the relation of the Vedic poets and priests to the other classes of the Indian community at the time when the earlier hymns of the Rig-veda were composed.

First: Except in the Purusha Sūkta (translated above in pp. 9 ff.) there is no distinct reference in the hymns to any recognised system of four castes.

Second: In one text (iii. 34, 9, see p. 176) where mention is made of the Āryan "colour," or "race," all the upper classes of the Indian community are comprehended under one designation, as the Kshattriyas and Vaiśyas as well as the Brāhmanas were always in after-times regarded as Āryas (see above, p. 176.)

Third: The term *brāhmāna* occurs only in eight hymns of the Rig-veda, besides the Purusha Sūkta, whilst *brāhmān* occurs in forty-six. The former of these words could not therefore have been in common use at the time when the greater part of the hymns were composed. The term *rājanya* is found only in the Purusha Sūkta; and *kshattriya* in the sense of a person belonging to a royal family, a noble, occurs only in a few places, such as x. 109, 3.<sup>43</sup> The terms *Vaiśya* and *Sūdra* are only found in the Purusha Sūkta, although *viś*, from which the former is derived, is of frequent occurrence in the sense of "people" (see p. 14, above).

Fourth: The word *brāhmān*, as we have seen, appears to have had at first the sense of "sage," "poet;" next, that of "officiating priest;" and ultimately that of a "special description of priest."

Fifth: In some of the texts which have been quoted (particularly i. 108, 7; iv. 50, 8f.; viii. 7, 20; viii. 45, 39; viii. 53, 7; viii. 81, 30; ix. 112, 1; x. 85, 29) *brāhmān* seems to designate a "priest by profession."

Sixth: In other places the word seems rather to imply something peculiar to the individual, and to denote a person distinguished for

<sup>43</sup> This text is quoted above. In viii. 104, 13, Kshattriya is perhaps a neuter substantive: *Na vai u Soma vṛjīnam kinoti na kshattriyam mīhuyā dhārayantam* | "Soma does not prosper the sinner, nor the man who wields royal power deceitfully."





genius or virtue (x. 107, 6), or elected by special divine favour to receive the gift of inspiration (x. 125, 5).

Seventh: *Brāhmāna* appears to be equivalent to *brāhmā-putra*, "the son of a *brāhmān*" (which, as we have seen, occurs in ii. 43, 2), and the employment of such a term seems necessarily to presuppose that, at the time when it began to become current, the function of a *brāhmān*, the priesthood, had already become a profession.

The Rig-veda Saṁhitā contains a considerable number of texts in which the large gifts of different kinds bestowed by different princes on the authors of the hymns are specified, and these instances of bounty are eulogized.

Of these passages R.V. i. 125; i. 126; v. 27; v. 30, 12 ff.; v. 61, 10; vi. 27, 8; vi. 45, 31 ff.; vi. 47, 22 ff. may be consulted in Prof. Wilson's translation; and a version of R.V. x. 107, which contains a general encomium on liberality will be found in the article entitled "Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig- and Atharva-vedas," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 32 f. The following further texts, which describe the presents given by different princes to the rishis, viz. vii. 18, 22 ff.; viii. 3, 21 ff.; viii. 4, 19 ff.; viii. 5, 37 ff.; viii. 6, 46 ff.; viii. 19, 36 f.; viii. 21, 17 f.; viii. 24, 29 f.; viii. 46, 21 ff.; viii. 54, 10 ff.; viii. 57, 14 ff.; x. 33, 4 ff.; x. 62, 6 ff.; x. 93, 14 f. are translated in the article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian Society in the Vedic age" in the same Journal for 1866, pp. 272 ff., to which I refer.

On the other hand the hymns of the Rig-veda contain numerous references to persons who, if not hostile, were at least indifferent and inattentive to the system of worship which the rishis professed and inculcated; and niggardly in their offerings to the gods and their gifts to the priests. The article to which I have just referred contains (pp. 286 ff.) a long list of such passages, from which I extract the following:

i. 84, 7. *Yāḥ ekah id vidayate vasu marttāya dāśushe | iśāno apratishkutaḥ Indro anga |* 8. *Kadā martyam arādhasam padā kshumpam iva sphurat | kadā naḥ śuśruvad girāḥ Indro anga |*

"Indra, who alone distributes riches to the sacrificing mortal, is lord and irresistible. 8. When will Indra crush the illiberal man like a bush with his foot? when will he hear our hymns?"





## 260 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

i. 101, 4. . . . *vīḥś chid Indro yo asuncvato vadhaḥ* . . . |

“Indra, who is the slayer of him, however strong, who offers no libations.”

i. 122, 9. *Jano yo Mitṛā-varuṇāv abhidhrug apo na vām sunoti akṣha-yādhruk | svayam sa yakṣmaṁ hṛdaye ni dhatte āpa yad im hotrābhīr ritāvā |*

“The hostile man, the malicious enemy, who pours out no libations to you, o Mitra and Varuṇa, plants fever in his own heart, when the pious man has by his offerings obtained (your blessing).”

i. 125, 7. *Mā prīnanto duritam enaḥ ā aran mā jārishuḥ sūrayaḥ suvatāsah | anyas teshām paridhīr astu kaś chid aprīnantam abhi saṁ yantu śokāḥ |*

“Let not the liberal suffer evil or calamity; let not devout sages decay; let them have some further term; let griefs befall the illiberal (aprīnantam).”

i. 182, 3. *Kim atra dasrā kṛinuthaḥ kim āsāthe jano yaḥ kaśchid ahavir mahiyate | ati kramishṭam juratam paṇer asum jyotir vipṛāya kṛinutām vachasyave |*

“What do ye here, o powerful (Aśvins)? why do ye sit (in the house of) a man who offers no oblation, and (yet) is honoured? Assail, wear away the breath of the niggard, and create light for the sage who desires to extol you.”

ii. 23, 4. *Sunitābhīr nayasi trāyase janaṁ yas tubhyaṁ dāśad na tam aṁho āśnavat | brahma-dvishas tapano manyumīr asi Bṛihaspate mahi tat te mahitvanam |*

“By thy wise leadings thou guidest and protectest the man who worships thee; no calamity can assail him. Thou art the vexer of him who hates devotion (brahma-dvishah), and the queller of his wrath: this, o Bṛihaspati, is thy great glory.”

iv. 25, 6. . . . *na asushver āpir na sakhā na jūmir dushprāvyo avahantā id avāchaḥ | 7. Na revatā paṇinā sakhyam Indro asuncatā suta-pāḥ saṁ grīṇite | ā asya vedāḥ khidati hanti nagnaṁ vi sushvaye paktaye kevalo bhūt |*

“Indra is not the relation or friend or kinsman of the man who offers no libations; he is the destroyer of the prostrate irreligious man. 7. Indra, the soma-drinker, accepts not friendship with the wealthy niggard who makes no soma-libations; but robs him of his riches, and



slays him when stripped bare, whilst he is the exclusive patron of the man who pours out soma and cooks oblations."

vi. 44, 11. . . . *jahi asushvān pra vriha aprinatah* |

"Slay (o Indra) those who offer no libations; root out the illiberal."

viii. 53, 1. *U tvā mandantu stomāh kṛinushva rādho adriṣaḥ* | *ava brahma-deśho jahi* | *pādā paṇin arādhaso ni badhasva mahān asi* | *na hi tvā kaśchana prati* |

"Let our hymns gladden thee; give us wealth, o thunderer. Slay the haters of devotion. 2. Crush with thy foot the niggards who bestow nothing. Thou art great; no one is comparable to thee."

It seems evident, then, from these texts (and there are many more of the same tenor), that the irreligious man, the *parcus deorum cultor et infrequens*, was by no means a rare character among the Āryas of the Vedic age, and that the priests often found no little difficulty in drawing forth the liberality of their contemporaries towards themselves and in enforcing a due regard to the ceremonials of devotion. And if we consider, on the other hand, that the encomiums on the liberality of different princes to the poets and priests which are contained in the passages to which I before adverted, are the production of the class whose pretensions they represent, and whose dignity they exalt, we shall, no doubt, see reason to conclude that the value of the presents bestowed has been enormously exaggerated, and make some deduction from the impression which these texts are calculated to convey of the estimation in which the priests were held at the time when they were composed. But after every allowance has been made for such considerations, and for the state of feeling indicated by the complaints of irreligion and illiberality of which I have cited specimens, it will remain certain that the *brāhmān*, whether we look upon him as a sage and poet, or as an officiating priest, or in both capacities, was regarded with respect and reverence, and even that his presence had begun to be considered as an important condition of the efficacy of the ceremonial. Thus, as we have already seen, in i. 164, 35, the *brāhmān* is described as the highest heaven of "speech;" in x. 107, 6, a liberal patron is called a *rishi* and a *brāhmān*, as epithets expressive of the most distinguished eulogy; in x. 125, 5, the goddess Vāch is said to make the man who is the object of her special affection a *brāhmān* and a *rishi*; in vi. 45 7; vii. 7, 5; viii. 16, 7; and ix. 96, 6, the term *brāhmān* is applied





## 262 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

honorifically to the gods Indra, Agni, and Soma; in iv. 50, 8, 9, great prosperity is declared to attend the prince by whom a *brāhman* is employed, honoured, and succoured; and in iii. 53, 9, 12; v. 2, 6; vii. 33, 2, 3, 5; and vii. 83, 4, the highest efficacy is ascribed to the intervention and intercession of this class of functionaries.

Again, whatever exaggeration we may suppose in the texts which eulogize the liberality of princely patrons, in regard to the value of the presents bestowed, there is no reason to doubt that the ministers of public worship, who possessed the gift of expression and of poetry, who were the depositaries of all sacred science, and who were regarded as the channels of access to the gods, would be largely rewarded and honoured.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> It is to be observed that, in these eulogies of liberality, mention is nowhere made of *Brāhman*s as the recipients of the gifts. In two places, viii. 4, 20, and x. 33, 4, a *rishi* is mentioned as the receiver. In later works, such as the *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa*, on the contrary, the presents are distinctly connected with *Brāhman*s. Thus it is said in that work, ii. 2, 2, 6: *Devāḥ vai devāḥ devāḥ aha eva devāḥ atha ye brāhmaṇāḥ śūśruvāṃso 'nūchānās te manushya-devāḥ | teshāṃ dvedhā vibhaktāḥ eva yajnaḥ āhutayaḥ eva devānām dakṣiṇāḥ manushya-devānām brāhmaṇānām śūśruvāḥ anūchānānām | āhutibhir eva devān prīṇāti dakṣiṇibhir manushya-devān brāhmaṇān śūśruvusho 'nūchānān | te enam ubhaye devāḥ prītāḥ sudhāyām dadhāti*. "Two kinds of gods are gods, viz. the gods (proper), whilst those *Brāhman*s who have the Vedic tradition, and are learned, are the human gods. The worship (*yajna*) of these is divided into two kinds. Oblations constitute the worship offered to the gods, and presents (*dakṣiṇā*) that offered to the human gods, the *Brāhman*s, who possess the Vedic tradition and are learned. It is with oblations that a man gratifies the gods, and with presents that he gratifies the human gods, the *Brāhman*s, who possess the Vedic tradition, and are learned. Both these two kinds of gods, when gratified, place him in a state of happiness" (*sudhāyām*); (or "convey him to the heavenly world," as the expression is varied in the parallel passage of the same work, iv. 3, 4, 4). It is similarly said in the *Taitt. Saṁh.* i. 7, 3, 1: *Parokṣam vai anye devāḥ iḥyante pratyakṣam anye | yad yajate ye eva devāḥ parokṣam iḥyante tān eva tad yajati | yad anvāhāryam āharaty ete vai devāḥ pratyakṣam yad brāhmaṇās tān eva tena prīṇāti | atho dakṣiṇā eva asya eṣhā | atho yajasya eva chhīdram apidadhāti yad vai yajasya krūram yad vīṣhṭam tad anvāhāryeṇa anvāharati | tad anvāhāryasya anvāhāryatvam | devadūtāḥ vai ete yad ritejo yad anvāhāryam āharati devadūtān eva prīṇāti*. "Some gods are worshipped in their absence, and others in their presence. It is to those gods who are worshipped in their absence that the sacrificer offers the oblation which he presents. And it is these gods who are visible, i.e. the *Brāhman*s, whom he gratifies with the *anvāhārya* (present of cooked rice) which he afterwards brings. Now this *anvāhārya* is the present (*dakṣiṇā*) connected with it (the sacrifice). Then he covers over the faults of the sacrifice. Whatever in it is excessive or defective, that he removes by means of the *anvāhārya*. In this consists the nature of that offering. These officiating priests are the messengers of the gods; and it is the messengers of the gods whom the sacrificer gratifies with this *anvāhārya* gift which he presents."





It is further clear, from some of the texts quoted above (ii. 1, 2; iv. 9, 3; x. 52, 2), as well as i. 162, 5, and from the contents of hymns ii. 36; ii. 37; ii. 43; and x. 124, 1,<sup>45</sup> that in the later part of the Vedic era, to which these productions are probably to be assigned, the ceremonial of worship had become highly developed and complicated, and that different classes of priests were required for its proper celebration.<sup>46</sup> It is manifest that considerable skill must have been required for the due performance of these several functions; and as such skill could only be acquired by early instruction and by practice, there can be little doubt that the priesthood must at that period have become a regular profession.<sup>47</sup> The distinction of king or noble and priest appears to be recognized in i. 108, 7, as well as in iv. 50, 8, 9; whilst in v. 47, 7, 14, a similar distinction is made between king and rishi; and it is noticeable that the verse, in other respects nearly identical, with which the 36th and 37th hymns of the eight maṇḍala respectively conclude, ends in the one hymn with the words, "Thou alone, Indra, didst deliver Trasadasyu in the conflict of men, magnifying prayers" (*brahmāṇi vardhayan*); whilst in the other the last words are, "magnifying (royal) powers" (*kṣhatrāṇi vardhayan*), as if the former contained a reference to the functions of the priest, and the latter to those of the prince. (Compare viii. 35, 16, 17.)

While, however, there thus appears to be every reason for supposing that towards the close of the Vedic period the priesthood had become a profession, the texts which have been quoted, with the exception of the verse in the Puruṣa Sūkta (x. 90, 12), do not contain anything which necessarily implies that the priests formed an exclusive caste, or, at least, a caste separated from all others by insurmountable barriers, as in later times. There is a wide difference between a profession, or even a hereditary order, and a caste in the fully developed Brahmanical sense.

<sup>45</sup> See also i. 94, 6, where it is said: "Thou (Agni) art an *adhvaryu*, and the earliest *hotṛi*, a *prasāstri*, a *potṛi*, and by nature a *purohita*. Knowing all the priestly functions (*ārtvijyā*) wise, thou nourishest us," etc. (*tvam adhvaryur uta hotā 'si pūrvyaḥ prasāstā potā janushā purohitaḥ | viśvā videvā ārtijyā dhīra pushyasy Agne ity ādī*).

<sup>46</sup> See Prof. Müller's remarks on this subject, *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 485 ff.; and Dr. Haug's somewhat different view of the same matter in his *Introd. to Ait. Br.* pp. 11 ff.

<sup>47</sup> In regard to the great importance and influence of the priests, see Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 485 ff.





## 264 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

Even in countries where the dignity and exclusive prerogatives of the priesthood are most fully recognized (as in Roman Catholic Europe), the clergy form only a profession, and their ranks may be recruited from all sections of the community. So, too, is it in most countries, even with a hereditary nobility. Plebeians may be ennobled at the will of the sovereign. There is, therefore, no difficulty in supposing that in the Vedic era the Indian priesthood—even if we suppose its members to have been for the most part sprung from priestly families—may have often admitted aspirants to the sacerdotal character from other classes of their countrymen. Even the employment of the word *brāhmaṇa* in the Rig-veda does not disprove this. This term, derived from *brahman*, “priest,” need not, as already intimated, signify anything further than the son or descendant of a priest (the word *brahmaputra*, “son of a priest,” is, as we have seen, actually used in one text),—just as the *rājanya* means nothing more than the descendant of a king or chief (*rājan*), a member of the royal family, or of the nobility.

The paucity of the texts (and those, too, probably of a date comparatively recent) in which the word *brāhmaṇa* occurs, when contrasted with the large number of those in which *brāhmān* is found, seems, as I have already observed, to prove conclusively that the former word was but little employed in the earlier part of the Vedic era, and only came into common use towards its close. In some of these passages (as in vii. 103, 1, 7, 8; x. 88, 19) there is nothing to shew that the Brāhman is alluded to as anything more than a professional priest, and in vii. 103, the comparison of frogs to Brāhmans may seem even to imply a want of respect for the latter and their office.<sup>48</sup> In other places (i. 164, 45, and x. 71, 8, 9) a distinction appears to be drawn between intelligent and unintelligent Brāhmans, between such as were thoughtful and others who were mere mechanical instruments in carrying on the ceremonial of worship,<sup>49</sup> which, certainly points to the existence of a sacerdotal class. In another passage (x. 97, 22) the importance of a Brāhman to the proper performance of religious rites appears to be clearly expressed. In x. 109, where the words *brāhmān* (*passim*) and *brāh-*

<sup>48</sup> See Müller's remarks on this hymn in his *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 494.

<sup>49</sup> In R.V. viii. 50, 9, it is said: “Whether an unwise or a wise man, o Indra, has offered to thee a hymn, he has gladdened (thee) through his devotion to thee (*avipro vā yad avidhad vipro vā Indra te vacah | sa pra mamandat tvōyā ity ādi*).”





*mana* (in verse 4) seem to be used interchangeably—the inviolability of Brāhman's wives, the peril of interfering with them, and the blessing attendant on reparation for any outrage committed against them, are referred to in such a way as to shew at once the loftiness of the claim set up by the Brāhmanas on their own behalf, and to prove that these pretensions were frequently disregarded by the nobles. In x. 16, 6, the Brāhmanas are spoken of as inspired by Soma, and in vi. 75, 10, the manes of earlier Brāhmanas are reckoned among those divine beings who have power to protect the suppliant. But in none of these texts is any clear reference made to the Brāhmanas as constituting an exclusive caste or race, and nothing whatever is said about their being descended from an ancestor distinct from those of the other classes of their countrymen.

SECT. II.—*Quotations from the Rig-veda, the Nirukta, the Mahābhārata, and other works, to shew that according to ancient Indian tradition, persons not of priestly families were authors of Vedic hymns, and exercised priestly functions.*

But in addition to the negative evidence adduced in the preceding section, that during the age to which the greater part of the hymns of the Rig-veda are referable, the system of castes had, to say the least, not yet attained its full development, we find also a considerable amount of proof in the hymns themselves, or in later works, or from a comparison of both, that many of the hymns either were, or from a remote antiquity were believed to be, the productions of authors not of sacerdotal descent; and that some of these persons also acted as priests. The most signal instance of this kind is that of Viśvāmitra; but from the abundance of the materials which exist for its illustration I shall reserve it for the next chapter, where I shall treat of the contests between the Brāhmanas and the Kshattriyas.

In later times, when none but Brāhman priests were known, it seemed to be an unaccountable, and—as contradicting the exclusive sacerdotal pretensions of the Brāhmanas—an inconvenient circumstance, that priestly functions should have been recorded as exercised by persons whom tradition represented as Rājanyas; and it therefore became necessary to explain away the historical facts, by inventing miraculous legends to make it appear that these men of the royal order had been



in reality transformed into Brāhman, as the reward of their superhuman merits and austerities—an idea of which we shall meet with various illustrations in the sequel. The very existence, however, of such a word as *rājarshi*, or “royal rishi,” proves that Indian tradition recognized as rishis or authors of Vedic hymns persons who were considered to belong to Rājanya families. A number of such are named (though without the epithet of *rājarshi*) in the *Anukramanikā* or index to the *Rig-veda*; but Sāyana, who quotes that old document, gives them this title. Thus, in the introduction to hymn i. 100, he says: *Atra anukramyate “sa yo vṛishā ’ekonā Vārshāgirāḥ Rījṛāśvāambarīsha-Sahadeva-Bhayamāna-Surādhasaḥ” iti | Vṛishāgiro mahārājasya putrabhūtāḥ Rījṛāśvādāyaḥ pancha rājarshayaḥ sadehaṁ sūktāṁ dadṛiṣuḥ | atas te asya sūktasya ṛishayaḥ | uktaṁ hy ārshānukramanyām “sūktāṁ sa yo vṛishety etat pancha Vārshāgirāḥ viduḥ | niyuktāḥ nāmadheyaiḥ svair api ‘chaitat tyad’ iti ṛichi” iti |* “It is said in the *Anukramanikā*, ‘Of this hymn (the rishis) are Rījṛāśva, Ambarīsha, Sahadeva, Bhayamāna, and Surādhas, sons of Vṛishāgir.’ Rījṛāśva and others, sons of King Vṛishāgir, in all five rājarshis, saw this hymn in a bodily form. Hence they are its rishis (or seers). For it is declared in the *Ārsha Anukramanī*: ‘The five sons of Vṛishāgir, who are mentioned by name in the verse beginning “this praise” (the 17th), know this hymn.’” The 17th verse is as follows: *Etat tyat te Indra vṛishno ukthaṁ Vārshāgirāḥ abhi grīnanti rūdhaḥ | Rījṛāśvaḥ prasṭībhir Ambarīshaḥ Sahadevo Bhayamānaḥ Surādhaḥ |* “This hymn the Vārshāgiras, Rījṛāśva, with his attendants, and Ambarīsha, Sahadeva, Bhayamāna, and Surādhas, utter to thee, the vigorous, o Indra, as their homage;” on which Sāyana repeats the remark that these persons were rājarshis (*etat ukthaṁ stotraṁ rūdhaḥ saṁrūdhaḥ tvat-pṛiti-hetuṁ Vārshāgirāḥ Vṛishāgiro rājnaḥ putrāḥ Rījṛāśvādāyo ’bhi grīnanti abhimukhyena vadanti | . . . Rījṛāśvaḥ etat-sanjno rājarshiḥ prasṭībhiḥ pārśva-sthair anyair ṛishibhiḥ saha Indram astaut | ke te pārśva-sthāḥ | Ambarīshādāyaś chatvāro rājarshayaḥ*). Ambarīsha is also said to be the rishi of ix. 98. Again, “Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, a Rājarshi,” is said by Sāyana on R. V. iv. 42, to be the rishi of that hymn (*Purukutsasya putras Trasadasyuh rājarshiḥ | . . . atrānukramanikā ‘mama dvitā’ daśa Trasadasyuh Paurukutoyaḥ*). In the 8th and 9th verses Trasadasyu is thus mentioned: *Asmākam atra pitaras te āsan sapta ṛishayo Daurgahe badhyamāne | te ā*



*ayajanta Trasadasyum asyāḥ Indraṁ na vṛittraturam arddhadevam | 9.*  
*Purukutsānī hi vām adāsad havyebhir Indrā-varuṇā namobhiḥ | atha rā-*  
*jānām Trasadasyum asyāḥ vṛittrahanām dadathur arddhadevam | 8.*

"These seven rishis were our fathers. When the son of Durgaha was bound they gained by sacrifice for her (Purukutsānī) a son Trasadasyu, a slayer of foes, like Indra, a demigod. 9. Purukutsānī worshipped you, o Indra and Varuṇa, with salutations and obeisances; then ye gave her king Trasadasyu, a slayer of enemies, a demigod." I give Sāyana's note on these verses: "*Purukutsasya mahishī Daurgahe bandhana-sthite | patyāṁ arājakaṁ drishṭvā rāshṭram putrasya lipsayā | yadrichhayā samāyātān saptarshīn paryapūjayat | te cha prītāḥ punaḥ prochuḥ 'yajendrā-varuṇau bhṛīṣam' | sā chendra-varuṇāv iṣṭvā Trasadasyum ajñjanat | itihāsam imaṁ jānann rishir brūte richāv iha*" | *atha asmākam atra asminn arājake deśe asyām prithivyām vā pitarah pālayitārah utpādakās te āsann abhavan | ete saptarshayah prasiddhāḥ Daurgahe Durgahasya putre Purukutsa badhyamāne dridham pāsair yasmād asyāḥ asyai Purukutsānyai Trasadasyum āyajanta prādur Indrā-Varuṇayor anugrahāt* | "The queen of Purukutsa, when her husband, the son of Durgaha, was imprisoned, seeing the kingdom to be destitute of a ruler, and desirous of a son, of her own accord paid honour to the seven rishis who had arrived. And they, again, being pleased told her to sacrifice to Indra and Varuṇa. Having done so she bore Trasadasyu. Knowing this story, the rishi utters these two verses;" which Sāyana then explains. Similarly Sāyana says on v. 27: "Tryaruna son of Trivṛishṇa, Trasadasyu son of Purukutsa, and Aśvamedha son of Bharata, these three kings conjoined, are the rishis of this hymn; or Atri is the rishi" (*Atrānukramaṇikā* | "*Anas-vantā śhaṭ Traivṛishṇa-purukutsyau deau Tryaruna-Trasadasyū rājānau Bhārataś cha Aśvamedhaḥ | . . . 'na ātmā ātmane dadyād' iti sarvāsv Atriṁ kechit*" . . . *Trivṛishṇasya putras Tryarunah Purukutsasya putras Trasadasyur Bharatasya putre 'śvamedhaḥ ete trayo'pi rājānah sambhūya asya sūktasya rishayah | yadvā Atrir eva rishīḥ*). The *Anukramaṇikā*, however, adds that according to some, as "no one would give gifts to himself, none of the princes mentioned as donors could be the author; but Atri must be the rishi." As the hymn is spoken by a fourth person, in praise of the liberality of these kings, it is clear they cannot well be its authors. And a similar remark applies to iv. 42, 8 f. However, the Hindu tradition, being such as it is, is good proof that kings could, in



268 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

conformity with ancient opinion, be rishis. Trasadasyu and Trayaruna are also mentioned as the rishis of ix. 110.<sup>50</sup> The rishis of iv. 43 and iv. 44 are declared by Sāyana, and by the Anukramanikā, to be Purumīlha, and Ajamīlha, sons or descendants of Suhotra (iv. 43, *Atrānukramanikā* 'kaḥ u śāsvat' *sapta Purumīlhājamīlhaḥ Sauhotrau tv Āśvināḥ* | iv. 44, *Purumīlhājamīlhaḥ eva rishī*). Though these persons are not said by either of these authorities to be kings, yet in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas the latter is mentioned as being of royal race, and a tribe of Brāhmanas is said to have been descended from him (see above p. 227). In the sixth verse of iv. 44, the descendants of Ajamīlha are said to have come to the worship of the Āśvins (*naro yad vām Āśvinā stomam āvan sadhastutim Ajamīlhāso agman*). The following hymns, also, are said by tradition to have had the undermentioned kings for their rishis, viz.: vi. 15, Vitahavya (or Bharadvāja); x. 9, Sindhudvīpa, son of Ambarīsha (or Trīśiras, son of Tvasṭri); x. 75, Sindhukshit, son of Priyamedha; x. 133, Sudās, son of Pijavana; x. 134, Māndhātṛi, son of Yuvanāśva (see above, p. 225); x. 179, Sibi, son of Uśinara, Pratarāna, son of Divodāsa and king of Kāśī (see above, p. 229), and Vasumanas, son of Rohidaśva; and x. 148 is declared to have had Prithī Vainya<sup>51</sup> as its rishi. In the fifth verse of that hymn it is said: *Srudhi havam Indra śūra Prithyāḥ uta stavaso Venyasya arkaiḥ* | "Hear, o heroic Indra, the invocation of Prithī; and thou art praised by the hymn of Venya." In viii. 9, 10, also, Prithī Vainya is mentioned at the same time with three rishis: *Yad vām Kakshivān uta yad Vyāśvaḥ rishir yad vām Dīrghatamāḥ juhāva | Prithī yad vām Vainyāḥ sadaneshu eva id ato Āśvinā chetayethām* | "Whatever oblation (or invocation) Kakshivāt has made to you, or the rishi Vyāśva, or Dīrghatamas, or Prithī, son of Vena, in the places of

<sup>50</sup> In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, as we have seen above, p. 237, Trayyārūna, Pushkarin, and Kapi are said to have been sons of Urukshaya, and all of them to have become Brāhmanas; and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Trayyarūṇi, Pushkararūṇi, and Kapi are said to have all become Brāhmanas.

<sup>51</sup> The S. P. Br. v. 3, 5, 4, refers to Prithī as "first of men who was installed as a king" (*Prithī ha vai Vainyo manushyānām prathamō 'bhishishiche*). I extract from Dr. Hall's edition of Prof. Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. the following verse, adduced by the editor from the Vāyu Purāṇa about royal rishis: *Mānave Vainave (?) vamsē Aīde vamsē cha ye nr̥pāḥ | Aīdā Aīkshvākā Nābhāgā jneyā rājārshayas tu te* | "Kings in the race of Manu, Vena (?), and Iḍa, the descendants of Iḍa, Ikshvāku, and Nabhāga are to be known as having been rājārshis."



sacrifice, take notice of that, o *Āsṁins*." Here *Sāyaṇa* refers to *Prithi* as "the royal *rishi* of that name."

From the details I have supplied it is clear that in many cases the evidence is against the supposition that the princes to whom the hymns are ascribed were in reality their authors. The only instances in which the authorship seems to be established by the tenor of the hymns themselves are those of the *Vārshagiras*, or, at all events, that of *Prithi*. But, as has been already remarked, the fact that ancient Hindu tradition recognizes royal *rishis* as the authors of hymns is sufficient to prove that such cases were not unknown. Even if we were to suppose that flattery had any share in the creation of these traditions, it no doubt proceeded upon the belief of those who put them into circulation, that in earlier times the distinction between the priests and other classes was not so sharply defined as in their own day.

I proceed, however, to the case of *Devāpi*, in which the materials for forming a judgment are more adequate and satisfactory, and prove that he was not merely a *rishi* but an officiating priest.

In the *Anukramanikā*, R. V. x. 98 is ascribed to him as its author; and *Yāska* states as follows in the *Nirukta*, ii. 10:

*Tatra itihāsam ūchokshate | Devāpiś cha Ārshṭishenaḥ S'antanuś cha Kauravyau bhrātaraṁ bābhūvatuḥ | sa S'antanuḥ kanīyān abhishechayān-chakre | Devāpiś tapaḥ pratipede | tataḥ S'antanoh rājye dvādaśa var-shāni devo na cavarsha | tam ūchur brāhmaṇāḥ "adharmas tvayā charito jyeshṭham bhrātaram antaritya abhishechitam | tasmāt te devo na var-shati" iti | sa S'antanur Devāpiṁ śīśiksha rājyena | tam uvācha Devā-piḥ "purohitas te 'sāni yājyāni cha tvā" iti | tasya etad varsha-kāma-sūktam | tasya eṣhā bhavati |*

"Here they relate a story. *Devāpi* son of *Riṣṭishena*, and *Santanu*, belonged to the race of *Kuru* and were brothers. *Santanu*, who was the younger, caused himself to be installed as king, whilst *Devāpi* betook himself to austere fervour. Then the god did not rain for twelve years of *Santanu*'s reign. The *Brāhmans* said to him: 'Thou hast practised unrighteousness in that, passing by thy elder brother, thou hast caused thyself to be installed as king. It is for this reason that the god does not rain.' *Santanu* then sought to invest *Devāpi* with the sovereignty; but the latter said to him: 'Let me be thy



270 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

purohita and perform sacrifice for thee.' This hymn, expressing a desire of rain, is his. The following verse is part of it."

Yāska then quotes a verse of R.V. x. 98, the whole of which is as follows :

*Bṛihaspate prati me devatām ihi Mitro vā yad Varuṇo vā asi Pūshā |  
Ādityair vā yad Vasubhir Marutvān sa Parjanyaṁ S'antanave vṛishāya |  
2. Ā devo dūto ajiraś chikitsvān toad Devāpe abhi mām āgachhat | prati-  
chinah prati mām ā vavṛitsva dadhāmi te dyumatīm vācham āsan | 3.  
Asme dhehi dyumatīm vācham āsan Bṛihaspate anamivām ishirām |  
yayā vṛishīm S'antanave vanāca divo drapso madhumān ā viveśa | 4. Ā  
no drapsāḥ madhumanto viśantu Indra dehi adhirathāṁ sahasram | nī  
shūda hotram<sup>52</sup> rituthā yajasva devān Devāpe havishā saparya | 5. Ārsh-  
tisheno hotram ṛishir nishādan Devāpir deva-sumatiṁ chikitsvān | su utta-  
rasmād adharāṁ samudram apo divyah asṛijad varshyāḥ abhi | 6. Asmīn  
samudre adhi uttarasmin āpo devebhir nirvītāḥ atishṭhan | tāḥ adravann  
Ārshṭishenena sṛishṭāḥ Devāpinā preshītāḥ mṛikshinīṣhu | 7. Yad Devā-  
piḥ S'antanave purohito hotrāya vṛitah kṛipayann adidhet | deva-srutām  
vṛishṭi-vaniṁ rarāṇo Bṛihaspatir vācham asmai ayachhat | 8. Yaṁ tvā  
Devāpiḥ śusūchāno Agne Ārshṭisheno manusyaḥ samidhe | viśvebhir  
devair anumadyamānah pra Parjanyam īraya vṛishṭimantam | 9. Tvām  
pūrve ṛishayo gṛibhir āyan tvām adhevareshu purukūta viśve | sahasrāṇ;  
adhirathāni asme ā no yajnaṁ rohidaśva upa yāhi | 10. Etāni Agni na-  
vatir nava tve āhutāni adhirathā sahasrā | tebhir vardhasva tanvāḥ śūra  
pūrūr divo no vṛishṭim ishito ririki | 11. Etāni Agne navatiṁ sahasrā  
sam pra yachha vṛishṇe Indrāya bhāgam | vidvān pathah rituśo devayā-  
nān apy aulānaṁ divi deveshu dhehi | 12. Agne bādhasva vi mṛidho vi  
durgahā apo amivām apa rakshāṁsi sedha | asmāt samudrād bṛihato divo  
no apām bhūmānam upa nah sṛija iha |*

"Approach, Bṛihaspati,<sup>53</sup> to my worship of the gods, whether thou art Mitra, Varuṇa, Pūshan, or art attended by the Ādityas, Vasus, or Maruts : cause Parjanya to rain for Santanu. 2. The god, a rapid messenger, has become aware, and has come from thee, o Devāpi, to me, (saying) 'approach towards me; I will place a brilliant hymn

<sup>52</sup> Compare R.V. ii. 1, 2.

<sup>53</sup> It looks as if Agni were here to be understood by Bṛihaspati, see verses 9-12. In R.V. ii. 1, 4 ff. Agni is identified with Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Aṁsa, Tvashṭri, Rudra, Pūshan, Savitṛi, Bhaga.





in thy mouth.' 3. Place in our mouth, o Brihaspati, 'a brilliant hymn, powerful, and spirited, whereby we two may solicit rain for Santanu. The drop full of sweetness has descended on us from the sky. 4. May the drops full of sweetness come down upon us: give us, o Indra, a thousand waggon-loads (of them?). Perform the function of a hotṛi, sacrifice in due form, worship the gods with an oblation, o Devāpi. 5. The rishi Devāpi, son of Rishṭishēṇa, performing the function of a hotṛi, knowing (how to gain) the goodwill of the gods, has discharged from the upper to the lower ocean those waters of the sky which fall in rain. 6. The waters remained shut up by the gods in this upper ocean: they rushed forth when released by the son of Rishṭishēṇa, when discharged by Devāpi into the torrents.<sup>54</sup> 7. When Devāpi, placed in front of Santanu (as his purohita), chosen for the office of hotṛi, fulfilling his function, kindled (the fire),—then, granting the prayer for rain which was heard by the gods, Brihaspati gave him a hymn. 8. Do thou, o Agni, whom the man<sup>55</sup> Devāpi the son of Rishṭishēṇa has inflamed and kindled,—do thou, delighted, with all the the gods, send hither the rain-bearing Parjanya. 9. Former rishis have approached thee with their hymns; and all (approach) thee, o god, much-invoked, in their sacrifices: give us thousands of waggon-loads: come, thou who art borne by red horses,<sup>56</sup> to our sacrifice. 10. These ninety-nine thousands of waggon-loads (of wood and butter?) have been thrown into thee, o Agni, as oblations. Through them grow, hero, to (the bulk of) thy former bodies;<sup>57</sup> and stimulated, grant us rain from the sky. 11. (Of) these ninety thousands give, o Agni, a share to the vigorous Indra. Knowing the paths which rightly lead to the gods, convey the oblation (?) to the deities in the sky. 12. Overcome, o Agni, our enemies, our calamities; drive away sickness, and rakshases. From this great ocean of the sky discharge upon us an abundance of waters."

The fact of Devāpi being reputed as the author of this hymn, and as the purohita and hotṛi of his brother, seems to have led the legendary writers to invent the story of his becoming a Brāhman, which (as men-

<sup>54</sup> So the word *mṛtikshinī* is explained in Böhlingk and Roth's Lexicon.

<sup>55</sup> Or, "descendant of Manush" (*manushya*).

<sup>56</sup> This is a common epithet of Agni.

<sup>57</sup> This means, I suppose, "burst forth into vast flames."



tioned by Professor Weber, *Indische Studien*, i. p. 203) is recorded in the *Salya-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, verses 2281 ff. where he is there said to have attained this distinction at a certain place of pilgrimage called *Prithūdaka*; where *Sindhudvīpa* and *Viśvāmītra* also were received into the higher caste:

*Tatrārṣtīṣhenaḥ Kauravya brāhmanyam saṁśīta-vrataḥ | tapasā mahātā rājan prāptavān rīṣi-sattamaḥ | Sindhudvīpaś cha rājarṣhir Devāpiś cha mahātapaḥ | brāhmanyam labdhavān yatra Viśvāmītras tatkā muniḥ | mahātapaseḥ bhagavān ugra-tejāḥ mahātapaḥ | . . . . 2287. Purā kṛta-yuge rajann Ārṣtīṣheno dvijottamaḥ | vasan guru-kule nityam nityam adhyayane rataḥ | tasya rājan guru-kule vasato nityam eva cha | samāptim nāgamau vidyā nāpi vedāḥ viśāmpate | sa nirvinnas tato rājāns tapas tepe mahātapaḥ | tato vai tapasā tena prāpya vedān amuttamanān | sa vidvān veda-yuktaś cha siddhaś cāpy rīṣi-sattamaḥ | . . . . | evam siddhaś sa bhagavān Ārṣtīṣhenaḥ pratāpavān | tasminn eva tadā tirthe Sindhudvīpaḥ pratāpavān | Devāpiś cha mahārāja brāhmanyam prāpatur mahat |*

2281. "There the most excellent rishi *Ārṣtīṣhena*, constant in his observances, obtained *Brāhmanhood* by great austere fervour; as did also the royal rishi *Sindhudvīpa*,<sup>58</sup> and *Devāpi* great in austere fervour, and the glorious muni *Viśvāmītra*, of great austere fervour and fiery vigour." Some other particulars of *Ārṣtīṣhena* are given further on: 2287. "Formerly in the *Kṛita* age the most excellent *Brāhman* *Ārṣtīṣhena* dwelt constantly in his preceptor's family, devoted to incessant study; but could not complete his mastery of science or of the *vedas*.<sup>59</sup> Being in consequence discouraged, he betook himself to intense austere fervour. By this means he acquired the incomparable *Vedas*, and became learned and perfect. . . . . At the same place of pilgrimage the majestic *Sindhudvīpa* and *Devāpi* obtained the great distinction of *Brāhmanhood*."

It will be observed that here *Ārṣtīṣhena* is, in opposition to the authority of the *Nirukta*, made a distinct person from *Devāpi*.

<sup>58</sup> This prince also, as we have seen above, is mentioned among those *Rājanyas* who composed *Vedic hymns*.

<sup>59</sup> The *Vedas* are here spoken of in the plural, although *Ārṣtīṣhena* is said to have lived in the *Kṛita* age. But the *M. Bh.* itself says elsewhere (see above, p. 145) that there was then but one *Veda*.





In a note to his (French) translation of the Rig-veda, M. Langlois (vol. iv. 502) supposes that the hymn above translated (x. 98), like the Purusha Sūkta, is very much posterior in date to the other hymns in the collection. The names of Devāpi and Sāntanu indicate, he thinks, as the date of its composition, a period not far preceding that of the great war of the Mahābhārata. Professor Weber, on the other hand, considers (Indische Studien, i. 203) that the Sāntanu and Devāpi mentioned in that work (Ādi-parvan, 3750 f.) cannot be the same as the persons alluded to in the Rigveda, because their father was Pratīpa, not Rishṭishena; and because he thinks it doubtful whether a prince who preceded the Pāṇḍavas by only two generations could have been named in the Rig-veda, and appear there as an author of hymns.

The verses of the Ādi-parvan just referred to are as follows :

*Pratīpasya trayāḥ putrāḥ jajñire Bharatarshabha | Devāpiḥ Sāntanūḥ  
chaiva Vāhlikāḥ mahārathāḥ | Devāpiḥ cha pravavrāja teshāṁ dharma-  
hitepsayā | Sāntanūḥ cha mahīm lobhe Vāhlikāḥ cha mahārathāḥ |*

"Three sons were born to Pratīpa, viz. Devāpi, Sāntanu, and Vāhlika the charioteer. Of these Devāpi, desiring the benefits of religious excellence, became an ascetic; whilst Sāntanu and Vāhlika obtained (the rule of) the earth."

The Harivaṁśa gives a different story about the same Devāpi, verse 1819 :

*Pratīpo Bhīmasenāt tu Pratīpasya tu Sāntanūḥ | Devāpiḥ Vāhlikāḥ  
chaiva trayāḥ eva mahārathāḥ | . . . . 1822. Upādhyāyas tu devānāṁ  
Devāpiḥ abhavad muniḥ | Chyavanasya kṛitāḥ putrāḥ ishṭāḥ chāsīd ma-  
hātmanāḥ |*

"Pratīpa sprang from Bhīmasena; and Sāntanu, Devāpi, and Vāhlika were the three chariot-driving sons of Pratīpa. . . . 1822. Devāpi became a muni, and preceptor of the gods, being the adopted son of Chyavana, by whom he was beloved."

The Vishṇu Purāṇa (iv. 20, 7 ff.) concurs with the preceding authorities in making Devāpi and Sāntanu to be sons of Pratīpa, and descendants of Kuru, and his son Jahnu. It repeats the legend given in the Nirukta of the country of Sāntanu being visited by a drought of twelve years duration, in consequence of his having assumed the royal authority while his elder brother lived. And although, as will be seen, the sequel of the story is widely different from that recorded by the



Nirukta, the earlier incidents in the two narratives are so similar, that it would appear to have been the intention of the Puranic writer to identify the Devāpi and Sāntanu whose history he relates with the persons of the same names, although of different parentage, mentioned in Yaska's work. He may, however, possibly have transferred an older legend to more recent personages. The passage of the Vishṇu Purāṇa is as follows :

*Rikshād Bhīmasenas tatas cha Dilipaḥ | Dilipāt Pratīpas tasyāpi Devāpi Sāntanu-Vāhlika-sanjnās trayasḥ putrāḥ bābhūvuh | Devāpir bālāḥ eva aranyaṁ viveśa | Sāntanūr avanīpatir abhavat | ayaṁ cha tasya ślokaḥ prithivyāṁ gīyate "yaṁ yaṁ karābhyāṁ sprīṣati jīrṇaṁ yauvanam eti saḥ | śāntiṁ chāpnoti yenāgryāṁ karmaṇā tena Sāntanuh" | tasya Sāntanoḥ rāṣṭre dvādaśa varshāṇi devo na vavarsha | tataścha aśeṣa-rāṣṭra-vināśam avekṣhya asau rājā brāhmaṇān aprichhad "bhoḥ kasmād asmin rāṣṭre devo na varṣatī | ko mama aparādhaḥ" iti | te tam ūchur "agrajasya te 'rḥā iyaṁ avanis trayā bhuyate parivettā tvam" | ity uktaḥ sa punas tām aprichhat "kim mayā vidheyam" iti | tena tam ūchur "yāvād Devāpir na patanādibhir doshair abhibhūyate tāvat tasya arhaṁ rājyam | tad alam etena tasmai diyatām" | ity ukte tasya mantri-pravareṇa Aśmasārīṇā tatra aranye tapasvino veda-vāda-virodha-vaktāraḥ prayojitāḥ | tair ati-rīju-mater mahīpati-putrasya buddhir veda-virodha-mārgānusārīṇy akriyata | rājā cha Sāntanur doḷja-vachanotpanna-parivedana-śokas tām brāhmaṇān agranīkritya agraja-rājya-pradānīya aranyaṁ jagāma | tad-āśramam upagatās cha tam avanīpati-putraṁ Devāpim upatasthuḥ | te brāhmaṇāḥ veda-vādānuriddhāni vachāṁsi "rājyam agrajena kartavyam" ity arthavanti tam ūchuḥ | asāv api veda-vāda-virodha-yukti-dūṣitam aneka-prakāram tām āha | tatas te brāhmaṇāḥ Sāntanum ūchur "āgachha bho rājann alam atra ati-nirbandhenā | praśāntaḥ eva asāv anāvṛiṣṭi-doshāḥ | patito 'yam anādī-kāla-mahita-veda-vachana-dūṣhaṇochchāraṇāt | patite cha agraje naiva parivetttryam bhavati" | ity uktaḥ Sāntanuh swa-puram āgatyā rājyam akarot | veda-vāda-virodhi-vachanochechāraṇa-dūṣhite cha jyeshṭhe 'smin bhrātari tishṭhaty api Devāpū akhila-sasya-nishpattaye vavarsha bhagavān Parjanyaḥ |*

"From Riksha sprang Bhīmasena; from him Dilīpa; from him Pratīpa, who again had three sons called Devāpi, Sāntanu, and Vāhlika. Devāpi while yet a boy retired to the forest; and Sāntanu became





king. Regarding him this verse is current in the world: 'Every decrepit man whom he touches with his hands becomes young. He is called Sāntanu from that work whereby he obtains supreme tranquility (*śānti*).' The god did not rain on the country of this Sāntanu for twelve years. Beholding then the ruin of his entire realm, the king enquired of the Brāhmins: 'Why does not the god rain on this country; what is my offence?' The Brāhmins replied: 'This earth, which is the right of thy elder brother, is now enjoyed by thee; thou art a *parivettṛi* (one married before his elder brother).'<sup>60</sup> Receiving this reply, he again asked them: 'What must I do?' They then answered: 'So long as Devāpi does not succumb to declension from orthodoxy and other offences, the royal authority is his by right; to him therefore let it be given without further question.' When they had so said, the king's principal minister Aśmasārin employed certain ascetics propounding doctrines contrary to the declarations of the Vedas to proceed into the forest, by whom the understanding of the very simple-minded prince (Devāpi) was led to adopt a system at variance with those sacred books. King Sāntanu being distressed for his offence in consequence of what the Brāhmins had said to him, went, preceded by those Brāhmins, to the forest in order to deliver over the kingdom to his elder brother. Arriving at the hermitage, they came to prince Devāpi. The Brāhmins addressed to him statements founded on the declarations of the Veda, to the effect that the royal authority should be exercised by the elder brother. He, on his part, expressed to them many things that were vitiated by reasonings contrary to the tenor of the Veda. The Brāhmins then said to Sāntanu, 'Come hither, o king: there is no occasion for any excessive hesitation in this affair: the offence which led to the drought is now removed. Your brother has fallen by uttering a contradiction of the words of the Veda which

<sup>60</sup> This is illustrated by Manu iii, 171 f.: *Dārūgnihotra-saṁyogaṁ kurute yo 'graje sthite | parivettā sa vijneyaḥ parivittis tu pūrvajāḥ |* 172. *Parivittih parivettā yayū cha parividyate | sarve te narakaṁ yānti dātṛi-yājaka-panchamāḥ |* "171. He who, while his elder brother is unwedded, marries a wife with the nuptial fires, is to be known as a *parivettṛi*, and his elder brother as a *parivitti*. 172. The *parivitti*, the *parivettṛi*, the female by whom the offence is committed, he who gives her away, and fifthly the officiating priest, all go to hell." The Indian writers regard the relation of a king to his realm as analogous to that of a husband to his wife. The earth is the king's bride.





have been revered from time without beginning; and when the elder brother has fallen, the younger is no longer chargeable with the offence of *pārivettīrya* (i.e. of marrying before his elder brother). When he had been so addressed, Śāntanu returned to his capital, and exercised the royal authority. And although his eldest brother Devāpi continued to be degraded by having uttered words opposed to the doctrines of the Veda, the god Parjanya rained in order to produce a harvest of all sorts of grain."

Can the compiler of the Purāṇa have deviated from the conclusion of this history as found in the Nirukta, and given it a new turn, in order to escape from the conclusion that a Rājanya could officiate as a purohita?

The same story is briefly told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 22, 14-17.

In the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, Devāpi's virtues and orthodoxy are extolled in the highest terms, and his exclusion from the throne is ascribed solely to his being a leper, v. 5054:

*Devāpiś tu mahātejās tvag-doshī rājā-sattamah | dhārmikah satya-vādī  
cha pituh śuśrūṣhaṇe rataḥ | paura-jānapadānām cha sammataḥ sādhu-  
satkṛitaḥ | sarveśhām bala-vṛiddhānām Devāpīr hṛidayangamah | vadān-  
yaḥ satyasandhaś cha sarva-bhūta-hite rataḥ | varttamānaḥ pituh sāstre  
brāhmaṇānām tathaiva cha | . . . . . | tam brāhmaṇāś cha vṛiddhāś cha  
paura-jānapadaih saha | sarve nivārayāmāsur Devāper abhisechanam | sa  
tach chkrutvā tu nṛipatīr abhisheka-nivāraṇam | asru-kanṭho 'bhavaḍ rājā  
paryasoḥata chātma-jem | evaṁ vadānyo dharmajnaḥ satyasandhaś cha so  
'bhavat | priyaḥ prajānām api sa tvag-doshena pradūṣitaḥ | "hīnāṅgam  
prithivīpālāṁ nābhinandanti devatāḥ" | iti kṛtvā nṛipa-śreṣṭhām pra-  
tyashedhan dvijarshabhāḥ | . . . . . | nivāritaṁ nṛipaṁ dṛiṣṭvā Devāpiḥ  
saṁśṛito vanam |*

"But the glorious Devāpi, a most excellent prince, righteous, veracious, and obedient to his father, was a leper. He was esteemed by the inhabitants both of town and country, honoured by the good, beloved by all, both young and old, eloquent, true to his engagements, devoted to the welfare of all creatures, and conformed to the commands of his father, and of the Brāhmans." [The king his father grew old and was making preparations for the investiture of his successor; but public opinion was opposed to the devolution of the royal authority on





a leper, however virtuous]. "The Brahmins and aged men, together with the dwellers both in town and country, all restrained him from the investiture of Devāpi. The king, learning their opposition, was choked with tears, and bewailed his son's fate. Thus Devāpi was eloquent, acquainted with duty, true to his promise, and beloved by the people, but vitiated by leprosy. The Brahmins forbade the king (to make Devāpi his successor), saying, 'the gods do not approve a king who labours under any corporeal defect.' . . . Perceiving that the king (his father) was hindered (from carrying out his wishes) Devāpi retired to the forest."

On the same subject, the Matsya Purāṇa, 49, v. 39 f., states as follows:

*Dilipasya Pratipastu tasya putrās trayāḥ smritāḥ | Devāpiḥ Śāntanuś  
chaiva Bāhlikas chaiva te trayāḥ | Bāhlikasya tu dāyādāḥ sapta Bāhliś-  
varāḥ nripāḥ | Devāpis tu apadhvastāḥ prajābhīr abhavad muniḥ |  
rīṣayah ūchhuḥ | prajābhis tu kimarthaṁ vai apadhvasto janēśvaraḥ |  
ke doṣāḥ rājaputrasya prajābhiḥ samudāhṛitāḥ | Sūta uvācha | kilāsid  
rājaputras tu kushī taṁ nābhyapūjayan | ko'rthān vai atra (? vetty  
atra) devānām kshattram prati dvijottamāḥ |*

"The son of Dilīpa was Pratīpa, of whom three sons are recorded, Devāpi, Śāntanu, and Bāhlika. The sons of the last were the seven Bāhliśvara kings. But the Muni Devāpi was rejected by the people. The rishis enquired: 'why was that prince rejected by the people? what faults were alleged against him?' Sūta replied: 'the prince was leprous, and they paid him no respect. Who knows the designs of the gods towards the Kshattriya race?'"

No more is said of Devāpi in this passage.<sup>61</sup> The Vishṇu Purāṇa has the following further curious particulars regarding him, iv. 24, 44ff.:

*Devāpiḥ Pauravo rājā Maruś chekshvāku-vaṁśajāḥ | mahāyoga-balo-  
petau Kalāpa-grāma-saṁśrayau | krīte yuge ihāgatya kshattrā-prācart-  
takan hi tau | bhaviṣyato Manor vaṁśe vīja-bhūtau vyavasthitau | etena  
krama-yogena Manu-putrair vasundharā | krīta-tretādī-sanjñāni yugāni  
trīṇi bhūjyate | Kalau tu vīja-bhūtās te kechit tishṭhanti bhūtale | yathāiva  
Devāpi-Marū sāmpratāṁ samavasthitau |*

"King Devāpi of the race of Puru,<sup>62</sup> and Maru of the family of

<sup>61</sup> See Prof. Wilson's note, 4to. ed. p. 458.

<sup>62</sup> In the twentieth chapter, as we have seen, he is said to be of the race of Kuru.





## 278 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

Ikshvāku, filled with the power of intense contemplation (*mahāyoga*) are abiding in the village of Kalāpa, continuing to exist as seeds in the family of Manu; they shall come hither in the (next) Kṛita age, and re-establish the Kshattriya race. According to this order the earth is enjoyed by the sons of Manu throughout the three ages called Kṛita, Tretā, and Dvāpara. But during the Kali certain persons remain upon earth as seeds (of a future race), as Devāpi and Maru now exist."

According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 22, 17, it is the lunar race, which had perished in the Kali age, that Devāpi is to restore in the future Kṛita (*soma-vāṁśe kalau naśhte kṛitādau sthāpayiṣhyati*).

I shall quote here from the 132nd section of the Matsya Purāṇa, entitled *Manvantara-varṇanam* (a description of the Manvantaras) some of the particulars about the rishis with which it concludes:

98. *Bhṛiguḥ Kāśyapḥ Prachetas cha Dadhīcho hy Atmavān api* |  
99. *Auro 'tha Jamadagniś cha Kṛipah Sāradvatas tathā | Arṣtisheno*  
*Yudhājich cha Vitaharya-Suvarchasau* | 100. *Vaiṇah Prithur Divodāso*  
*Brahmāsvo Gṛitsa-Saunakau | ekonaviṁśatir hy ete Bhṛigavo mantra-*  
*kṛittamāḥ* | 101. *Angirāḥ Vedhasas chaiva Bharadvājo Bhalandanah |*  
*Ritabādhas tato Gargah Sītih Sankṛitir eva cha* | 102. *Gurudhīras cha*  
*Māndhātā Ambarishas tathāiva cha | Yuvanāśvah Puruḥ Kutsah Pra-*  
*dyumnah Sravanasya cha* | 103. *Ajamādhō 'tha Haryaśvas Takshapah*  
*Kavir eva cha | Prishadaśvo Vīrūpās cha Kanvās chaivātha Mudgalah |*  
104. *Ulatkhyās cha Saradvāmś cha tathā Vājaśravū iti | Apaśyo 'tha*  
*Suvittās cha Vāmadevas tathāiva cha* | 105. *Ajito Bṛihadukthās cha*  
*rishir Dirghatamā api | Kakshivāmś cha trayastriṁśat smṛitā hy Angiraso*  
*varāḥ* | 106. *Ete mantra-kṛitah sarve Kāśyapāms tu nibodhata | . . .* |  
111. *Viśvāmitrās cha Gādheyo Devarājas tathā Balah | tathā vidvān*  
*Madhuchhandah Rishabhas chāghamarshanah* | 112. *Ashtako Lohitās*  
*chaiva Bhṛitakalās cha tāv ubhan | Vedāśravah Devarātah Purānāśvo*  
*Dhananjayah* | 113. *Mithilās cha mahātejah Sālankāyana eva cha | tra-*  
*yodaśaito vijneyah brahmishthah Kauśikah varāḥ | . . .* | 115. *Manur*  
*Vaivasvatas chaiva Ido rāja Pururavah | Kshattriyānām varah hy ete*  
*vijneyah mantra-vādinah* | 116. *Bhalandas chaiva Vandyās cha San-*  
*kirttiś<sup>63</sup> chaiva te trayah | ete mantra-kṛito jneyah Vaiśyānām pravarah*  
*sadā* | 117. *Ity eka-navatih proktah mantrah yaś cha bahih kṛitah |*

<sup>63</sup> Various readings—*Bhalandakas cha Vāsāscha Sankalāscha*.



*brāhmaṇāḥ kṣhattriyaḥ vaiśyaḥ rishi-putrān nibodhata* | 118. *Rishikāṇām sutāḥ hy ete rishi-putrāḥ śrutarshayaḥ* | <sup>64</sup>

“98. Bhṛigu, Kāśya, Prachetas, Dadhicha, Ātmavat, (99) Aurva, Jamadagni, Kṛipa, S'aradvata, Ārshṭishena, Yudhājī, Vitahavya, Suvarchas, (100) Vaina, Prithu, Divodāsa, Brahmāśva, Gṛitsa, S'aunaka, these are the nineteen <sup>65</sup> Bhṛigus, composers of hymns. 101. Angiras, Vedhasa, Bharadvāja, Bhalandana, <sup>66</sup> Rītabādha, Garga, Siti, Sankṛiti, Gurudhīra, <sup>67</sup> Māndhātṛi, Ambarīsha, Yuvanāśva, Purukutsa, <sup>68</sup> Pradyumna, S'ravanasya, <sup>69</sup> Ajamīdha, Haryaśva, Takshapa, Kavi, Pṛishadaśva, Virūpa, Kaṇva, Mudgala, Utathya, S'aradvat, Vājaśravas, Apaśya, Suvitta, Vāmadeva, Ajita, Bṛihaduktha, Dīrghatamas, Kakshīvat, are recorded as the thirty-three eminent Angirases. These were all composers of hymns. Now learn the Kāśyapas. . . . . 111. Viśvāmitra, son of Gādhi, Devarāja, Bala, the wise Madhuchhandas, Rishabha, Aghamarshana, (112) Ashtaka, Lohita, Bhṛitakila, Vedaśravas, Devārāta, Purāṇāśva, Dhananjaya, the glorious (113) Mithila, Sālankayana, these are to be known as the thirteen devout and eminent Kuśikas.<sup>70</sup> . . . . . 115. Manu Vaivasvata, Iḍa, king Purūravas, these are to be known as the eminent utterers of hymns among the Kshattriya. 116. Bhalanda, Vandya, and Sankīrti,<sup>71</sup> these are always to be known as the three eminent persons among the Vaiśyas who were composers of hymns. 117. Thus ninety-one<sup>72</sup> persons have been declared, by whom hymns have been given forth, Brāhmans, Kshattriya, and Vaiśyas. Learn the sons of the rishis. 118. These are the offspring of the rishikas, sons of rishis, secondary rishis (*śrutarshis*).”

The section ends here.

<sup>64</sup> I am indebted for an additional copy of this section of the Matsya Purāṇa (of which some account is given by Prof. Aufrecht in his Catalogue, p. 41), to the kindness of Mr. Griffith, Principal of Queen's College, Benares, who, at my request, has caused it to be collated with various other MSS. existing in Benares. I have not thought it necessary to exhibit all the various readings in the part I have quoted.

<sup>65</sup> The number of nineteen is only obtained by making Vaina and Prithu two persons.

<sup>66</sup> Instead of this word, one Benares MS. has Lakshmana.

<sup>67</sup> Two MSS. have Turavita. <sup>68</sup> This word is divided into two in the MS.

<sup>69</sup> Two MSS. have, instead, Svasrāvas and Tamasyavat.

<sup>70</sup> Unless some of the words I have taken as names are really epithets, fifteen persons are enumerated here.

<sup>71</sup> Some MSS. have Bhalandaka, Vandha or Vāsas, and Sankāla or Sankīma.

<sup>72</sup> This is the total of several lists, some of which I have omitted.





It will be observed from a comparison of this extract with the details previously given, that some of the rājarshis, or rishis of royal blood, such as Ārshṭishēṇa, Vīṭahavya, Prīthu (the same as Prithī) are spoken of as belonging to the family of Bhrigu, while others of the same class, such as Māndhātṛi, Ambarīsha, Yuvanāśva, Purukutsa, are reckoned among the Angirases. Viśvāmitra and his descendants are merely designated as Kuśikas without any specific allusion to their Rājanya descent; but Manu, Iḍa, and Purūravas, are distinctly recognized as being as once authors of hymns and Kshattriyas; and, what is more remarkable, three Vaiśyas are also declared to have been sacred poets. These traditions of an earlier age, though scanty in amount, are yet sufficient to show that in the Vedic times the capacity for poetical composition, and the prerogative of officiating at the service of the gods, was not regarded as entirely confined to men of priestly families.

SECT. III.—*Texts from the Atharva-veda illustrating the progress of Brāhmanical pretensions.*

I have already quoted (in pp. 21 and 22) three short passages from the Atharva-veda regarding the origin of the Brāhman and Kshattriya castes. \* I shall now bring forward some other texts from the same collection which show a much greater development of the pretensions of the priests to a sacred and inviolable character than we meet in any part of the Rig-veda, if the 109th hymn of the tenth book (cited above) be excepted.

I shall first adduce the 17th hymn of the fifth book, to which I have already alluded, as an expansion of R.V. x. 109.

Atharva-veda v. 17. (Verses 1-3 correspond with little variation to verses 1-3 of R.V. x. 109). 4. *Yām āhus "tārakā eṣhā vikeśī" iti ducheḥhunām grāmam avapadyamānām | sā brahma-jāyā vi dunoṭi rāsh-traṁ yatra prāpādi śasāḥ ulkushimāṇ |* (verses 5 and 6 = verses 5 and 4 of R.V. x. 109). 7. *Ye garbhāḥ avapadyante jagad yach chāpalupyate | virāḥ ye trihyante mitho brahma-jāyā hinasti tām |* 8. *Uta yat patayo daśa striyāḥ pūrve abrahmanāḥ | brahmā ched hastam agrahīt sa eva patir ekadhā |* 9. *Brāhmanāḥ eva patir na rājanyo na vaiśyāḥ | tat sūryaḥ prabruvann eti panchabhyo mānavabhyāḥ |* (Verses 10 and 11 = verses 6 and 7 of R.V. x. 109). 12. *Nāsya jāyā śatavāhī kalyāṇī talpam*



ā śaye | yasmin rāṣṭre nirudhyate brahma-jāyā achittiyā | 13. Na vikarṇaḥ prithuśirās tasmin vesmani jāyate | yasminn ityādi | 14. Nāsyā kshattā nishka-grivāḥ sūnānām eti agrataḥ | yasminn ityādi | 15. Nāsyā śvotaḥ kṛishna-karṇo dhuri yukto mahīyate | yasminn ityādi | 16. Nāsyā kehettre pushkaraṇī nāṇḍikaṁ jāyate viṣam | yasminn ityādi | 17. Nāsmāi priṣṇīm vi dūhanti ye 'syāḥ doham upāsate | yasminn ityādi | 18. Nāsyā dhenuḥ kalyāṇī nānaḍvān sahate yugam | vijānir yatra brāhmaṇo rātriṁ vasati pāpayā |

“ . . . . . 4. That calamity which falls upon the village, of which they say, ‘this is a star with dishevelled hair,’ is in truth the brāhmān’s wife, who ruins the kingdom; (and the same is the case) wherever (a country) is visited by a hare attended with meteors. . . . . 7. Whenever any miscarriages take place, or any moving things are destroyed, whenever men slay each other, it is the brāhmān’s wife who kills them. 8. And when a woman has had ten former husbands not brāhmāns, if a brāhmān take her hand (i.e. marry her), it is he alone who is her husband. 9. It is a Brāhmaṇ only that is a husband, and not a Rājanya or a Vaiśya. That (truth) the Sun goes forward proclaiming to the five classes of men (*pañcābhyaḥ mānavebhyah*), . . . . . 12. His (the king’s) wife does not repose opulent (*śatavākī*) and handsome upon her bed in that kingdom where a brāhmān’s wife is foolishly shut up. 13. A son with large ears (*vikarṇaḥ*) and broad head is not born in the house in that kingdom, etc. 14. A charioteer with golden neckchain does not march before the king’s hosts<sup>73</sup> in that kingdom, etc. 15. A white horse with black ears does not make a show yoked to his (the king’s) chariot in that kingdom, etc. 16. There is no pond with blossoming lotuses<sup>74</sup> in his (the king’s) grounds in that kingdom where, etc. 17. His (the king’s) brindled cow is not milked by his milkmen in that kingdom, etc. 18. His (the king’s) milch cow does not thrive, nor does his ox endure the yoke, in that country where a Brāhmaṇ passes the night wretchedly without his wife.”

This hymn appears to show that, however extravagant the pretensions of the Brāhmaṇs were in other respects, they had, even at the comparatively late period when it was composed, but little regard to

<sup>73</sup> The word here in the original is *sūnānām*, with which it is difficult to make any sense. Should we not read *senānām*?

<sup>74</sup> Compare R.V. x. 107, 10.





## 282 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

the purity of the sacerdotal blood, as they not only intermarried with women of their own order, or even with women who had previously lived single, but were in the habit of forming unions with the widows of Rājanyas or Vaiśyas,<sup>75</sup> if they did not even take possession of the wives of such men while they were alive.<sup>76</sup> Even if we suppose these women to have belonged to priestly families, this would only show that it was no uncommon thing for females of that class to be married to Rājanyas or Vaiśyas—a fact which would, of course, imply that the caste system was either laxly observed, or only beginning to be introduced among the Indians of the earlier Vedic age. That, agreeably to ancient tradition, Brāhman intermarried with Rājanya women at the period in question, is also distinctly shewn

<sup>75</sup> That the remarriage of women was customary among the Hindus of those days is also shewn by A.V. ix. 5, 27 f., quoted in my paper on Yama, Jour. R. A. S. for 1865, p. 299.

<sup>76</sup> This latter supposition derives a certain support from the emphasis with which the two verses in question (A. V. v. 17, 8, 9) assert that the Brāhman was the only true husband. Whence, it may be asked, the necessity for this strong and repeated asseveration, if the Rājanya and Vaiśya husbands were not still alive, and prepared to claim the restoration of their wives? The verses are, however, explicable without this supposition.

It is to be observed, however, that no mention is here made of S'ūdras as a class with which Brāhman intermarried. S'ūdras were not Āryas, like the three upper classes. This distinction is recognised in the following verse of the A.V. xix. 62, 1: "Make me dear to gods, dear to princes, dear to every one who beholds me, both to S'ūdra and to Ārya." (Unless we are to suppose that both here and in xix. 32, 8, *ārya* = a Vaiśya, and not *ārya*, is the word). In S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva Sākhā (Adhvarya Kāṇḍa, i. 6), the same thing is clearly stated in these words (already partially quoted above, p. 176), for a copy of which I am indebted to Prof. Müller: *Tan na sarva eva prapadyeta na hi devāḥ sarveṇaiva sangacchante | ārya eva brāhmaṇo vā kshattriyo vā vaiśyo vā te hi yajñiyāḥ | no eva sarveṇaiva samvadeta na hi devāḥ sarveṇaiva samvadante āryeṇaiva brāhmaṇeṇa vā kshattriyeṇa vā vaiśyeṇa vā te hi yajñiyāḥ | yady enam sūdreṇa samvādo vindet "ittham enam nichakṣhe"* ity anyam brūyād eṣa dīkṣitāsyopachārah. "Every one cannot obtain this (for the gods do not associate with every man), but only an Ārya, a Brāhman, or a Kshattriya, or a Vaiśya, for these can sacrifice. Nor should one talk with everybody (for the gods do not talk with every body), but only with an Ārya, a Brāhman, or a Kshattriya, or a Vaiśya, for these can sacrifice. If any one have occasion to speak to a S'ūdra, let him say to another person, 'Tell this man so and so.' This is the rule for an initiated man."

In the corresponding passage of the Mādhyandina S'ākhā (p. 224 of Weber's edition) this passage is differently worded.

From Manu (ix. 149-157; x. 7 ff.) it is clear that Brāhman intermarried with S'ūdra women, though the offspring of those marriages was degraded.



by the story of the rishi Chyavana and Sukanyā, daughter of king Saryāta, narrated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and quoted in my paper entitled "Contributions to a Knowledge of Vedic Mythology," No. ii., in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, pp. 11 ff. See also the stories of the rishi Śyāvāśva, who married the daughter of king Rathaviti, as told by the commentator on Rig-veda, v. 61, and given in Professor Wilson's translation, vol. iii. p. 344.

The next hymn, from the same work, sets forth with great liveliness and vigour the advantages accruing to princes from the employment of a domestic priest.

Atharva-veda, iii. 19, 1. *Samśitam me idam brahma samśitam vīryam balam | samśitam kṣatṛam ajaram astu jishnur (? jishnu) yeshām asmi purohitaḥ |* 2. *Sam aham eshām rāshṭraṁ syāmi sam oja vīryam balam | vṛśchāmi śatrūnām bāhūn anena havishā aham |* 3. *Nichaiḥ pādyaṁtām adhare bhavantu ye naḥ sūrim maghavānam prīṭanyān | kṣhīṇāmi brahmaṇā 'mītrān unnayāmi svān aham |* 4. *Tikṣhṇīyāṁsaḥ paraśor agnes tikṣhṇatārāḥ uta | Indrasya vajrāt tikṣhṇīyāṁso yeshām asmi purohitaḥ |* 5. *Eshām aham āyudhā sam syāmi eshām rāshṭraṁ suvīraṁ vardhayāmi | eshām kṣatṛam ajaram astu jishnu eshām chittāṁ visve avantu devāḥ |* 6. *Uddharshantām Maghavan vājināni ud vīrānām jayātām etu ghoshāḥ | prithagghoshāḥ ululayaḥ ketumantaḥ udiratām | devāḥ Indra-jyeshṭhāḥ Maruto yantu senayā |* 7. *Preta jayata narah ugrāḥ vaḥ santu bāhavaḥ | tikṣheshavo abala-dhanvāno hata ugrāyudhāḥ abalān ugra-bāhavaḥ |* 8. *Avasṛishṭā parā pata śaravye brahma-samśite | jayāmitrān pra padyasva jahy eshām varaṁ-varam mā 'mīshām mochi kaśchana |*

"1. May this prayer of mine be successful; may the vigour and strength be complete, may the power be perfect, undecaying, and victorious of those of whom I am the priest (*purohita*). 2. I fortify their kingdom, and augment their energy, valour, and force. I break the arms of their enemies with this oblation. 3. May all those who fight against our wise and prosperous (prince) sink downward, and be prostrated. With my prayer I destroy his enemies and raise up his friends. 4. May those of whom I am the priest be sharper than an axe, sharper than fire, sharper than Indra's thunderbolt. 5. I strengthen their weapons; I prosper their kingdom rich in heroes. May their power be undecaying and victorious. May all the gods foster their designs.



284 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

6. May their valorous deeds, o Maghavat, burst forth; may the noise of the conquering heroes arise; may their distinct shouts, their clear yells, go up; may the gods, the Maruts, with Indra as their chief, march forward with their host. 7. Go, conquer, ye warriors; may your arms be impetuous. Ye with the sharp arrows, smite those whose bows are powerless; ye whose weapons and arms are terrible (smite) the feeble. 8. When discharged, fly forth, o arrow, sped by prayer. Vanquish the foes, assail, slay all the choicest of them; let not one escape."

The two following hymns from the same collection declare the guilt, the peril, and disastrous consequences of oppressing Brāhmanas, and robbing them of their property. The threats and imprecations of haughty sacerdotal insolence could scarcely be expressed more energetically.

Atharva-veda, v. 18. 1. *Naitām te devāḥ adadus tubhyaṁ nripate attave | mā brāhmanasya rājanya gām jighatso anādyām* | 2. *Aksha-drugdhō rājanyo pūpah ātma-parājitah | sa brāhmanasya gām adyād "adya jivāni mā śvaḥ"* | 3. *Āviśṭitā agha-vishā pridākūr iva charmanā | mā brāhmanasya rājanya trishṭā eśhā gaur anādyā* | 4. *Nir vai kshattram nayati hanti vareho agnir ārabdho vi dunoti sarvam | yo brāhmanam manyate annam eva sa vishasya pibati taimātasya* | 5. *Yah enam hanti mridum manyamāno deva-piyur dhana-kāmo na chittāt | sam tasya Indro hridaye agnim indhe ubhe enam dvishṭo nabhasi charantaṁ* | 6. *Na brāhmano himsitavyo agniḥ priyatanor iva | Somo hi asya dāyādah Indro asyābhisastipāḥ* | 7. *Satāpāshthām ni girati tām na śaknoti nihkhidam | annam yo brāhmanam malvah svādu admiṭi manyate* | 8. *Jihvā jyā bhavati kulmalāṁ vān nāṭikāḥ dantās tapasā 'bhidagāhāḥ | tebhīr brahmā vidhyati deva-piyūn hrid-balair dhanurbhīr deva-jūtaiḥ* | 9. *Tikshneshavo brāhmanāḥ hotimanto yām asyanti śaravyām na sā mṛishā | anulāya tapasā manyunā cha uta dūrād ava bhindanti enam* | 10. *Ye sahasram arājann āsan daśa-satā uta | te brāhmanasya gām jagdhvā Vaitahavyāḥ parābhavan* | 11. *Gaur eva tām hanyamānā Vaitahavyān avātīrat | ye Kesaraprābandhāyās charamājām apechiran* | 12. *Eka-satām tāḥ janatāḥ yāḥ bhūmir vyadhūnuta | prajāṁ himsitvā brāhmanīm asam-bhavyam parābhavan* | 13. *Deva-piyus charati marttyeshu gara-gīrno bhavati asthi-bhūyān | yo brāhmanam deva-bandhum hinasti na sa pitri-yānam apyeti lokam* | 14. *Agnir vai naḥ padavāyāḥ Somo dāyāda uchryate* |





*hantābhīṣastā Indras tathā taḍ vedhaso viduḥ | 15. Ishur iva digdhā  
nripate prīḍākūr iva gopate | sā brāhmaṇasya ishur ghorā tayā vidhyati  
piyataḥ |*

“1. King, the gods have not given thee (this cow) to eat. Do not, o Rājanya (man of royal descent), seek to devour the Brāhman's cow, which is not to be eaten. 2. The wretched Rājanya, unlucky in play, and self-destroyed, will eat the Brāhman's cow, saying, ‘Let me live to-day, (if I can) not (live) to-morrow.’ 3. This cow, clothed with a skin, contains deadly poison, like a snake. Beware, Rājanya, of this Brāhman's (cow); she is ill-flavoured, and must not be eaten. 4. She takes away his regal power, destroys his splendour, consumes him entire like a fire which has been kindled. The man who looks upon the Brāhman as mere food to be eaten up, drinks serpent's poison. 5. Indra kindles a fire in the heart of that contemner of the gods who smites the Brāhman, esteeming him to be inoffensive, and foolishly covets his property. Heaven and earth abhor the man who (so) acts. 6. A Brāhman is not to be wronged, as fire (must not be touched) by a man who cherishes his own body. Soma is his (the Brāhman's) kinsman, and Indra shields him from imprecations. 7. The wicked (?) man who thinks the priests' food is sweet while he is eating it, swallows (the cow) bristling with a hundred sharp points, but cannot digest her. 8. The priest's tongue is a bow-string, his voice is a barb, and his windpipe is arrow-points smeared with fire. With these god-directed, and heart-subduing bows, the priest pierces the scorers of the gods. 9. Brāhman bearing sharp arrows, armed with missiles, never miss their mark when they discharge a shaft. Shooting with fiery energy and with anger, they pierce (the enemy) from afar. 10. The descendants of Vitahavya, who ruled over a thousand men, and were ten hundred in number, were overwhelmed after they had eaten a Brāhman's cow.”<sup>77</sup> 11. The cow herself, when she was slaughtered, destroyed them,—those men who cooked the last she-goat of Kesaraprābandhā. 12. Those hundred persons whom the earth shook off, after they had wronged the priestly race, were overwhelmed in an inconceivable manner. 13. He lives among mortals a hater of the gods; infected with poison he becomes reduced to a skeleton; he who wrongs a Brāhman the kins-

<sup>77</sup> I am not aware whether any traces of this story are discoverable in the Purāṇas or Mahābhārata. See the first verse of the hymn next to be quoted.



man of the deities, fails to attain to the heaven of the Forefathers. 14. Agni is called our leader; Soma our kinsman. Indra neutralizes imprecations (directed against us); this the wise understand. 15. Like a poisoned arrow, o king, like a serpent, o lord of cows,—such is the dreadful shaft of the Brāhman, with which he pierces his enemies.”

Atharva-veda, v. 19, 1. *Atimātram avardhanta nod iva divam aspriṣan | Bhṛiguṁ hīmsitvā Sṛṇjayāḥ Vaitahavyāḥ parābhavan | 2. Bṛihatsā-mānam Āngirasam ārpayan brāhmaṇāṁ janāḥ | petras teshām ubhayādam avis tokāny āvayat | 3. Ye brāhmaṇam pratyashtūvan ye vā 'smin śuklam īshire | asnas te madhye kulyāyāḥ keśān khādanta āsate | 4. Brāhmagavī pachyamānā yāvat sā 'bhi vijangahe | tejo rāshtrasya nirhanti na viro jāyate vṛishā | 5. Krūrām asyāḥ āsanaṁ trisṭam piṣitam asyate | kshūrām yad asyāḥ pīyate tad vai pītrishu kilbisham | 6. Ugro rājā manyamāno brāhmaṇāṁ yaj jighatsati | parā tat sicyate rāshṭram brāhmaṇo yatra jāyate | 7. Aṣṭāpadī chaturakṣī chatuḥ-śrotrā chaturhanuḥ | dvyaśyā dvijihvā bhūtvā sā rāshṭram avadhūnute brahmajyasya | 8. Tad vai rāshṭram āravati nāvam bhinnām ivodakam | brāhmāṇāṁ yatra hīmsanti tad rāshṭram hanti ducheḥhunā | 9. Taṁ vṛikṣhāḥ apa sedhanti “chhāyām no mopa gāḥ” iti | yo brāhmaṇasya saddhanam abhi Nārada manyate | 10. Viṣham etad deva-kṛitām rājā Varuno abravīt | na brāhmaṇasya gām jagdhwā rāshṭre jāgara kaśchana | 11. Navaiva tāḥ navatayo yāḥ bhūmir vyadhūnute | prajāṁ hīmsitvā brāhmaṇīm asam-bhavyam parābhavan | 12. Yām mṛitāyānubadhanti kūdyam pada-yopanīm | tad vai brahmajya te devāḥ upastaranam abruvan | 13. Āsrūṇi kṛipamāṇasya yāni jitasya vāpṛitūḥ | taṁ vai brahmajya te devāḥ apām bhāgam adhārayan | 14. Yena mṛitāṁ snapayanti śmaśrūṇi yena undate | taṁ vai brahmajya te devāḥ apām bhāgam adhārayan | 15. Na varṣam Maitrāvaruṇam brahmajyam abhi varshati | nāsmāi samitiḥ kalpate na mitraṁ jāyate vaśam |*

“1. The Sṛṇjayas, descendants of Vītahavya, waxed exceedingly; they almost touched the sky; but after they had injured Bhṛigu, they were overwhelmed. 2. When men pierced Bṛihatsāman, a Brāhman descended from Āngiras, a ram with two rows of teeth swallowed their children. 3. Those who spit, or throw filth (?) upon a Brāhman, sit eating hair in the midst of a stream of blood. 4. So long as this Brāhman's cow is cut up (?) and cooked, she destroys the glory of the kingdom; no vigorous hero is born there. 5. It is cruel to





slaughter her; her ill-flavoured flesh is thrown away. When her milk is drunk, that is esteemed a sin among the Forefathers. 6. Whenever a king, fancying himself mighty, seeks to devour a Brāhman, that kingdom is broken up, in which a Brāhman is oppressed. Becoming eight-footed, four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-faced, two-tongued, she (the cow) shatters the kingdom of the oppressor of Brāhmans. 8. (Ruin) overflows that kingdom, as water swamps a leaky boat: calamity smites that country in which a priest is wronged. 9. Even trees, o Nārada, repel, and refuse their shade to, the man who claims a right to the property of a Brāhman. This (property), as king Varuṇa hath said, has been turned into a poison by the gods. No one who has eaten a Brāhman's cow continues to watch (*i.e.* to rule) over a country. 11. Those nine nineties (of persons) whom the earth shook off, when they had wronged the priestly race, were overwhelmed in an inconceivable manner (see verse 12 of the preceding hymn). 12. The gods have declared that the cloth wherewith a dead man's feet are bound shall be thy pall, thou oppressor of priests. 13. The tears which flow from a persecuted man as he laments,—such is the portion of water which the gods have assigned to thee, thou oppressor of priests. 14. The gods have allotted to thee that portion of water wherewith men wash the dead, and moisten beards. 15. The rain of Mitra and Varuṇa does not descend on the oppressor of priests. For him the battle has never a successful issue; nor does he bring his friend into subjection."

The attention of the reader is directed to the intensity of contempt and abhorrence which is sought to be conveyed by the coarse imagery contained in verses 3, and 12–14, of this last hymn.

There is another section of the same Veda, xii. 5, in which curses similar to those in the last two hymns are fulminated against the oppressors of Brāhmans. The following are specimens:

Atharva-veda, xii. 5, 4. *Brahma padavāyam brāhmaṇo 'dhipatiḥ |*  
5. *Tām ādadānasya brahma-gavīm jinato brāhmaṇān kshattriyasya |*  
6. *Apā krāmāti sūnritā vīryam puṇyā lakṣmīḥ |* 7. *Ojaścha tejaścha*  
*sahas cha balaṁ cha vāk cha indriyaṁ cha śrīś cha dharmas cha |*  
8. *Brahma cha kshattriṁ cha rāshṭraṁ cha viśas cha tvishiś cha yaśas cha*  
*varchas cha draviṇaṁ cha |* 9. *Āyus cha rūpaṁ cha nāma cha kīrttiś cha*  
*prūṇas cha apānas cha chakṣus cha śrotraṁ cha |* 10. *Payas cha rasas*





## 288 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

*cha annam cha annādyam cha ritam cha satyam cha ishṭam cha pūrtam  
cha prajā cha paśavaś cha* | 11. *Tāni sarvāṇi apa krāmanti brahma-gaviṃ  
ādādānasya jinato brāhmaṇaṃ kshattriyasya* | 12. *Sā eṣā bhīmā brahma-  
gavi agha-vishā . . . . .* | 13. *Sarvāṇy asyām ghorāṇi sarve cha mṛitya-  
vaḥ* | 14. *Sarvāṇy asyām krūrāṇi sarve puruṣa-vadhāḥ* | 15. *Sā  
brahma-jyam deva-pīyūṃ brahmagevī ādiyamānā mṛityoḥ padbise ā  
dyati* |

"4. Prayer (*brāhmān*) is the chief (thing); the Brāhman is the lord (*adhipati*). 5. From the Kshattriya who seizes the priest's cow, and oppresses the Brāhman, (6) there depart piety, valour, good fortune, (7) force, keenness, vigour, strength, speech, energy, prosperity, virtue, (8) prayer (*brāhmān*), royalty, kingdom, subjects, splendour, renown, lustre, wealth, (9) life, beauty, name, fame, inspiration and expiration, sight, hearing, (10) milk, sap, food, eating, righteousness, truth, oblation, sacrifice, offspring, and cattle;—(11) all these things depart from the Kshattriya who seizes the priest's cow. 12. Terrible is the Brāhman's cow, filled with deadly poison. . . . 13. In her reside all dreadful things, and all forms of death, (14) all cruel things, and all forms of homicide. 15. When seized, she binds in the fetters of death the oppressor of priests and despiser of the gods."

A great deal more follows to the same effect, which it would be tiresome to quote.

I subjoin some further texts, in which reference is made to *brāhmāns*.

In xix. 22, 21 (= xix. 23, 30) it is said:

*Brahma-jyeshṭhā sambhṛitā vīryāṇi brāhmāgre jyeshṭham divam ātatāna |  
bhūtānām brahmā prathamo ha jajne tenārhati brahmaṇā sparādhitum  
kaḥ* |

"Powers are collected, of which prayer (or sacred science, *brāhmān*) is the chief. Prayer, the chief, in the beginning stretched out the sky. The priest (*brāhmān*) was born the first of beings. Who, then, ought to vie with the *brāhmān*."

A superhuman power appears to be ascribed to the *brāhmān* in the following passages,—unless by *brāhmān* we are to understand *Brīhaspati* :—

xix. 9, 12. *Brahmā Prajāpatir Dhātū lokāḥ vedāḥ sapta-rishayo  
'gnayaḥ | tair me kṛitām svastyayanam Indro me śarma yachhatu brahmā  
me śarma yachhatu* |





“May a prosperous journey be granted to me by prayer, Prajāpati, Dhātṛi, the worlds, the Vedas, the seven rishis, the fires; may Indra grant me felicity, may the *brāhmān* grant me felicity.”

xix. 43, 8. *Yatra brahma-vido yānti dīkṣayā tapasā saha | brahmā mā tatra nayatu brahmā brahma dadhātu me | brahmane svāhā.*

“May the *brāhmān* conduct me to the place whither the knowers of prayer (or of sacred science) go by initiation with austerity. May the *brāhmān* impart to me sacred science. *Svāhā* to the *brāhmān*.”

The wonderful powers of the Brahmachārin, or student of sacred science, are described in a hymn (A.V. xi. 5), parts of which are translated in my paper on the progress of the Vedic Religion, pp. 374 ff.

And yet with all this sacredness of his character the priest must be devoted to destruction, if, in the interest of an enemy, he is seeking by his ceremonies to effect the ruin of the worshipper.

v. 8, 5. *Yam amī puro dadhire brahmānam apabhūtaye | Indra sa me adhaspadaṁ tam pratyasyāmi mṛityave |*

“May the *brāhmān* whom these men have placed in their front (as a *purohita*) for our injury, fall under my feet, o Indra; I hurl him away, to death (compare A.V. vii. 70, 1 ff.).

#### SECT. IV.—*Opinions of Professor R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug regarding the origin of caste among the Hindus.*

I shall in this section give some account of the speculations of Prof. R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug on the process by which they conceive the system of castes to have grown up among the Indians.

The remarks which I shall quote from Prof. Roth are partly drawn from his third “Dissertation on the Literature and History of the Veda,” p. 117, and partly from his paper on “Brahma and the Brāhmans,” in the first volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society.<sup>78</sup> He says in the latter essay: “The religious development of India is attached through the course of three thousand years to the word *brāhmā*. This conception might be taken as the standard for estimating the progress of thought directed to divine things, as at every step taken by the latter, it has gained a new form, while at the same time

<sup>78</sup> The reader who is unacquainted with German will find a fuller account of this article in the Benares Magazine for October 1851, pp. 823 ff.





## 290 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

it has always embraced in itself the highest spiritual acquisition of the nation. . . . The original signification of the word *brāhmā*, as we easily discover it in the Vedic hymns, is that of prayer; not praise or thanksgiving, but that invocation which, with the force of the will directed to God, seeks to draw him to itself, and to receive satisfaction from him. . . . From this oldest sense and form of *brāhmā* (neuter) was formed the masculine noun *brahmā*, which was the designation of those who pronounced the prayers, or performed the sacred ceremonies; and in nearly all the passages of the Rig-veda in which it was thought that this word must refer to the Brahmanical caste, this more extended sense must be substituted for the other more limited one. . . . From this sense of the word *brahmā*, nothing was more natural than to convert this offerer of prayer into a particular description of sacrificial priest: so soon as the ritual began to be fixed, the functions which were before united in a single person, who both prayed to the gods and sacrificed to them, became separated, and a priesthood interposed itself between man and God." <sup>79</sup>

Then further on, after quoting R.V. iv. 50, 4 ff. (see above, p. 247), Prof. Roth continues: "In this manner here and in many places of the liturgical and legal books, the promise of every blessing is attached to the maintenance of a priest by the king. Inasmuch as he supports and honours the priest, the latter ensures to him the favour of the gods. So it was that the caste of the Brāhmans arose and attained to power and consideration: first, they were only the single domestic priests of the kings; then the dignity became hereditary in certain families; finally a union, occasioned by similarity of interests, of these families in one larger community was effected; and all this in reciprocal action with the progress made in other respects by theological doctrine and religious worship. Still the extension of the power which fell into the hands of this priestly caste would not be perfectly comprehensible

<sup>79</sup> In his third Dissertation on the Literature and History of the Veda, Prof. Roth remarks: "In the Vedic age, access to the gods by prayer and sacrifice was open to all classes of the community; and it was only the power of expressing devotion in a manner presumed to be acceptable to the deities, or a readiness in poetical diction, that distinguished any individual or family from the mass, and led to their being employed to conduct the worship of others. The name given to such persons was *purohita*, one 'put forward'; one through whose mediation the gods would receive the offering presented. But these priests had as yet no especial sanctity or exclusive prerogative which would render their employment imperative."





from this explanation alone. The relation of spiritual superiority in which the priests came to stand to the kings was aided by other historical movements."

Professor Roth then proceeds: "When—at a period more recent than the majority of the hymns of the Rig-veda—the Vedic people, driven by some political shock, advanced from their abodes in the Punjab further and further to the south, drove the aborigines into the hills, and took possession of the broad tract of country lying between the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Vindhya range; the time had arrived when the distribution of power, the relation of king and priest, could become transformed in the most rapid and comprehensive manner. Principalities separated in such various ways, such a division into tribes as had existed in the Punjab, were no longer possible here, where nature had created a wide and continuous tract with scarcely any natural boundaries to dis sever one part from another. Most of those petty princes who had descended from the north with their tribes must here of necessity disappear, their tribes become dissolved, and contests arise for the supreme dominion. This era is perhaps portrayed to us in the principal subject of the Mahābhārata, the contest between the descendants of Pāṇḍu and Kuru. In this stage of disturbance and complication, power naturally fell into the hands of those who did not directly possess any authority, the priestly races and their leaders, who had hitherto stood rather in the position of followers of the kings, but now rose to a higher rank. It may easily be supposed that they and their families, already honoured as the confidential followers of the princes, would frequently be able to strike a decisive stroke to which the king would owe his success. If we take further into account the intellectual and moral influence which this class possessed in virtue of the prerogative conceded to, or usurped by, them, and the religious feeling of the people, it is not difficult to comprehend how in such a period of transition powerful communities should arise among the domestic priests of petty kings and their families, should attain to the highest importance in every department of life, and should grow into a caste which, like the ecclesiastical order in the middle ages of Christianity, began to look upon secular authority as an effluence from the fulness of their power, to be conferred at their will; and how, on the other hand, the numerous royal families should





## 292 MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY

sink down into a nobility which possessed, indeed, the sole right to the kingly dignity, but at the same time, when elected by the people, required inauguration in order to their recognition by the priesthood, and were enjoined above all things to employ only Brāhmanas as their counsellors."

In order to render the probability of this theory still more apparent, Professor Roth goes on to indicate the relations of the other castes to the Brāhmanas. The position which the three superior classes occupied in the developed Brahmanical system was one of gradation, as they differed only in the extent of their religious and civil prerogatives, the Kshattriya being in some respects less favoured than the Brāhman, and the Vaiśya than the Kshattriya. With the Sūdras, on the other hand, the case was quite different. They were not admitted to sacrifice, to the study of the Vedas, or to investiture with the sacred cord. From this Professor Roth concludes that the three highest castes stood in a closer connection with each other, whether of descent, or of culture, than any of them did to the fourth. The Indian body politic, moreover, was complete without the Sūdras. The Brāhman and Kshattriya were the rulers, while the Vaiśyas formed the mass of the people. The fact of the latter not being originally a separate community is confirmed by the employment assigned to them, as well as by their name Vaiśya, derived from the word *Viś*, a word which in the Veda designates the general community, especially considered as the possessor of the pure Aryan worship and culture, in contradistinction to all barbarian races. Out of this community the priesthood arose in the manner above described, while the Kshattriyas were the nobility, descended in the main from the kings of the earlier ages. The fourth caste, the Sūdras, consisted, according to Prof. Roth, of a race subdued by the Brahmanical conquerors, whether that race may have been a branch of the Arian stock which immigrated at an earlier period into India, or an autochthonous Indian tribe.

In his tract on the origin of Brāhmanism, from which I have already quoted (see above, pp. 11 and 14), Dr. Haug thus states his views on this question: "It has been of late asserted that the original parts of the Vedas do not know the system of caste. But this conclusion was prematurely arrived at without sufficiently weighing the evidence. It is true the caste system is not to be found in such a developed state;





the duties enjoined to the several castes are not so clearly defined as in the Law Books and Purāṇas. But nevertheless the system is already known in the earlier parts of the Vedas, or rather presupposed. The barriers only were not so insurmountable as in later times." (p. 6). This view he supports by a reference to the Zend Avesta, in which he finds evidence of a division of the followers of Ahura Mazda into the three classes of Atharvas, Rathaesthas, and Vāstrya fshuyans, which he regards as corresponding exactly to the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas of India. The Atharvas, or priests, in particular formed a class or even a caste; they had secrets which they were prohibited from divulging; they were the spiritual guides of their nation, and none but the son of a priest could become a priest—a rule which the Parsis still maintain. From these facts, Dr. Haug deduces the conclusion that the nation of which both the Indo-Arians and the Perso-Arians originally formed a part had been divided into three classes even before the separation of the Indians from the Iranians; and he adds (p. 7): "From all we know, the real origin of caste appears to go back to a time anterior to the composition of the Vedic hymns, though its development into a regular system with insurmountable barriers can be referred only to the latest period of the Vedic times."

I shall furnish a short analysis of some other parts of Dr. Haug's interesting tract. He derives (p. 7) the word *brāhmaṇa* from *brāhmān* (neuter), which originally meant "a sacred song, prayer," as an effusion of devotional feeling. *Brāhmā* was the "sacred element" in the sacrifice, and signified "the soul of nature, the productive power." The Brahmanic sacrifices had production as their object, and embraced some rites which were intended to furnish the sacrificer with a new spiritual body wherewith he might ascend to heaven, and others calculated to provide him with cattle and offspring (p. 8). The symbol of this *brāhmā*, or productive power, which must always be present at the sacrifice, was a bunch of *kuśa* grass, generally called *Veda* (a word alternating with *brāhmā*), which, at the sacrifice, was passed from one priest to another, and given to the sacrificer and his wife. The corresponding symbol of twigs used by the Parsis was called in Zend *bāresma*, which Dr. Haug considers to have been originally the same as *brāhmā* (p. 9). As it was essential to the success of these sacrifices





that every portion of the complicated ceremonial should be accurately performed, and as mistakes could not be avoided, it became necessary to obviate by an atonement (*prāyaścitti*) the mischief which would otherwise have ensued; and the priest appointed to guard against or expiate such mistakes, when committed by the other priests—the *hotri*, *adhvaryu*, and *udgātṛi*—was called, “from the most ancient times,” the *brāhmān* (masculine), who was a functionary pre-eminently supplied with *brāhmā* (neuter) or sacred knowledge, and thereby connected “with the soul of nature, the cause of all growth, the last cause of all sacrificial rites” (p. 10). The office of *brāhmān* was not one to which mere birth gave a claim, but had to be attained by ability and study. The descendants of these *brāhmān* priests were the Brāhmanas, and the speculations of the most eminent *brāhmān* priests on divine things, and especially on sacrificial rites, are contained in the works called Brāhmaṇas (p. 12). Dr. Haug considers that no such a class as that of the *brāhmān* priests existed at the early period when the ancestors of the Hindus separated from those of the Parsis in consequence of religious differences. The few rites preserved by the Parsis as relics of the remotest antiquity closely resemble those of the Brāhmanas. Dr. Haug finds that in the Homa ritual of the former (corresponding to the Soma ceremony of the latter) only two priests, called *Zota* and *Raspi* or *Rathwi*, are required, whom he recognises as corresponding to the *Hotri* and *Adhvaryu* of the latter. So long as the rites were simple, no *brāhmān* priest was wanted; but when they became complicated and multiform, the necessity for such a functionary arose. And it was only then that the sons of the *brāhmāns*, i.e. the Brāhmanas, could rise through the possession of sacred knowledge, derived from their fathers, to great power, and form themselves into a regular caste. The development of these ceremonies out of their primitive simplicity into the complexity and multifariousness which they ultimately assumed must, Dr. Haug thinks, have been the work of many centuries. This transformation must have taken place in the region bordering on the Sarasvatī, where the expansion of the Brahmanical system, and the elevation of the Brāhmanas to full spiritual supremacy, is to be sought, before the Indo-Arians advanced south-eastwards into Hindostan proper (p. 14). The ascendancy of the Brāhmanas was not however attained without opposition on the part of the kings (p. 18). Dr. Haug concludes by relating the reception





of Viśvāmitra into the order of Brāhmans, and by giving some account of the rishis and the several classes into which they were divided.

As the question is generally stated by Dr. Haug in pages 6 and 12 ff., the difference between him and other European scholars is one of age and not of principle, for neither party admits any distinction of race or congenital diversity between the three superior castes or classes.





## CHAPTER IV.

## EARLY CONTESTS BETWEEN THE BRAHMANS AND KSHATTRIYAS.

I proceed to give some legendary illustrations of the struggle which no doubt occurred in the early ages of Hindu history between the Brāhmans and the Kshattriya, after the former had begun to constitute a fraternity exercising the sacerdotal profession, but before the respective provinces of the two classes had been accurately defined by custom, and when the members of each were ready to encroach on the prerogatives claimed as their own exclusive birthright by the other.

SECT. I.—*Manu's Summary of refractory and submissive monarchs.*

I shall begin with the following passage, which we find in the Institutes of Manu, vii. 38 ff., regarding the impious resistance, as the lawgiver considered it, of certain monarchs to the legitimate claims of the priests, and the dutiful behaviour of others.

38. *Vṛiddhāñś cha nityaṁ seveta viprān veda-vidāḥ śuchīn | vṛiddha-sevī hi satatam rakshobhir api pūjyate |* 39. *Tebhyo 'dhigachhed vina-yaṁ vinītātmā 'pi nityaśaḥ | vinītātmā hi nṛpatir na vinaśyati karehi-chit |* 40. *Bahavo 'vinayād nashtāḥ rājānaḥ sa-parichhadāḥ | vanasthāḥ api rājyāni vinayāt pratipedire |* 41. *Veno vinashṭo 'vinayād Nahushaś chaiva pārthivaḥ | Sudāḥ Paijavanaś<sup>80</sup> chaiva Sumukho Nimir eva cha |* 42. *Prithus tu vinayād rājyam prāptavān Manur eva cha | Kuveraś cha dhanaiśvaryyam brāhmanyam chaiva Gādhijah |*

“Let the king constantly reverence ancient Brāhmans skilled in the Vedas, and pure in conduct; for he who always respects the aged is honoured even by the Rākshāsas. 39. Let him, even though humble-

<sup>80</sup> In support of this reading, see M. Loiseleur Deslongchamps's and Sir G. C. Haughton's notes on the passage.





minded, be continually learning submissiveness from them : for a submissive monarch never perishes. 40. Through want of this character many kings have been destroyed with all their possessions ; whilst by humility even hermits have obtained kingdoms. 41. Veṇa perished through want of submissiveness, and king Nahusha, and Sūdas the son of Pijavana, and Sumukha, and Nimi. 42. But through submissiveness Prithu and Manu attained kingly power, Kuvera the lordship of wealth, and the son of Gādhi (Viśvāmitra) Brāhmanhood.”<sup>81</sup>

Veṇa is again referred to in Manu ix. 66 f. : *Ayaṁ devijair hi vidvadbhiḥ paśudharmo nigarhitaḥ | manushyānām api prokto Veṇe rājyam praśāsati |* 67. *Sa mahim akhilām bhunjan rājarshi-pravarah purā | varṇānām sankarām chakre kāmopahata-chetanah |*

“This custom (of raising up seed to a deceased brother or kinsman by his widow) fit only for cattle, was declared to be (law) for men also, when Veṇa held sway. This eminent royal rishi, who in former times ruled over the whole earth, having his reason destroyed by lust, occasioned a confusion of castes.”

The legendary history of nearly all the kings thus stigmatized or celebrated can be traced in the Purāṇas and other parts of Indian literature. I shall supply such particulars of the refractory monarchs as I can find.

It will be observed that Manu is spoken of as an ordinary prince ; and that even Kuvera, the god of wealth, is said to have attained his dignity by the same species of merit as the other persons whom the writer eulogizes. I am not aware whether any legends exist to the same effect. Something of a contrary tendency is found with regard to the deity in question in the passage of the Mahābhārata, of which an extract is given above, in p. 140, note 249.

<sup>81</sup> Kullūka remarks on this passage : *Gādhi-putro Viśvāmitras' cha kshattriyaḥ saṁśa tenaiva dehena brāhmanyam prāptavān | rājya-lābhāvasare brāhmanya-prāptir aprastutā 'pi vinayotkarshārtham uktā |* *īdriśo 'yaṁ sāstrānushṭhāna-nishiddha-varjana-rūpa-vinayodayena kshattriyo 'pi durlabham brāhmanyam lebbe |* “Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, being a Kshattriya, obtained Brāhmanhood in the same body (i.e. without being again born in another body). The attainment of Brahmanhood by one who at the time held kingly authority, although an unusual occurrence, is mentioned to show the excellence of submissiveness. Through that quality, as exhibited in the observance of scriptural injunctions, and in abstinence from things forbidden, he, being a Kshattriya, obtained Brahmanhood, so difficult to acquire.”



I have not met with any story of Sumukha's contest with the Brāhmins. Some MSS. read Suratha instead of Sumukha.

The name of Sudās, the son of Pijavana, occurs in several parts of the Rig-veda. I shall return to him in relating the contest between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra. I begin with the story of Vena.

### SECT. II.—*Legend of Vena.*

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 13, Vena was the son of Anga, and the descendant in the ninth generation of the first Manu, Svāyambhuva; the line of ancestors from the latter downwards being as follows: Uttānapāda, Dhruva, Ślishti, Ripu, Chākshusha, the sixth Manu called Chākshusha, Uru, Anga (see Wilson's Vishṇu P. vol. i.). Vena thus belongs to a mythical age preceding by an enormous interval that of the descendants of Manu Vairasvata mentioned in the preceding chapter of this volume; five Manvantaras, or periods of 308,571 years each, having intervened in the present Kalpa between the close of the Svāyambhuva, and the beginning of the existing, or Vaivasvata, Manvantara.

Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 13, 7: *Parāsara uvācha | Sunithā nāma yā kanyā Mrityoḥ prathama-jā 'bhavat | Angasya bhāryyā sa datā tasyām Venas tv ajāyata | 8. Sa mātāmaha-doshena tena Mrityoḥ sutātmajah | nisargād iva Maitreya duṣṭaḥ eva vyajāyata | 9. Abhishikto yadā rājye sa Venah paramarshibhiḥ | ghoshayāmāsa sa tadā prithivyām prithivīpatiḥ | "na yastavyaṁ na dātavyaṁ hotavyaṁ na kadāchana | bhoktā yajnasya kas te anyo hy ahaṁ yajna-patiḥ sadā | 10. Tatas tam rishayaḥ sarve sampūjya prithivīpatiḥ | ūchuḥ sāmakalaṁ sāmyaṁ Maitreya samupasthitāḥ | rishayaḥ ūchuḥ | 11. "Bho bho rājan śrinuṣveta tvam yad vadāmas tava prabho | rājya-dehopakāre yaḥ prajānām cha hitam param | 12. Dīrgha-sattreṇa deveṣāṁ sarva-yajneṣvaraṁ Harim | pūjayishyāmo bhadrāṁ te tatrāṁśas te bhaviṣyati | 13. Yajnena yajna-puruṣo Viṣṇuḥ samprīṇito vibhuḥ | asmābhir bhavataḥ kāmān sarvān eva pradāsyati | yajnair yajneṣvaro yeshāṁ rāṣṭre sampūjyate Hariḥ | teshāṁ sarvepsitāvṛptim dadāti nṛipa bhūbhujām" | Venah uvācha | "mattaḥ ko 'bhyadhiko 'nyo 'sti kaś chārādhyo mamāparah | ko 'yaṁ Hariḥ iti khyāto yo vo yajneṣvaro mataḥ | Brahmā Janārdano Rudraḥ Indro Vāyur Yamo Raviḥ |*



*Hutabhug Varuṇo Dhātā Pūṣhā Bhūmīr Nisākaraḥ | ete chānye cha ye  
devāḥ śāpānugraha-kāriṇaḥ | nṛpasya te śarīra-sthāḥ sarva-devamayo  
nṛipaḥ | etaj jñātvā mayā 'jñaptam yad yathā kriyatām tathā | na  
dātavyam na hotavyam na yashṭavyam cha vo dvijāḥ | 14. Bhartuḥ śuś-  
rūṣaṇam dharmo yathā strīṇām paro mataḥ | mamājñā-pālanaṁ dharmo  
bhavatām cha tathā dvijāḥ | rishayaḥ ūchuḥ | "dehy amājñam mahā-  
rāja mā dharmo yātu sankshayam | havishām pariṇāmo 'yaṁ yad etad  
akhilam jagat | 15. Dharmā cha sankshayaṁ yāte kshāyate chākhilam  
jagat" | Parāśaraḥ uvācha | iti vijnāpyamāno 'pi sa Venāḥ paramar-  
śhibhīḥ | yadā dadāti nānujñam proktaḥ proktaḥ punaḥ punaḥ | tatas te  
munayaḥ sarve kopāmarsha-samanvitāḥ | "hanyatām hanyatām pāpāḥ"  
ity ūchuḥ te parasparam | 16. "Yo yajna-purushaṁ devam anādi-ni-  
dhanam prabhum | vinindaty adhamāchāro na sa yogyo bhuvaḥ patih" | ity  
uktvā mantra-pūtais te kuśair muni-gaṇāḥ nṛipam | nirjaghnur nihatam  
pūrvam bhagavan-nindanādīnā | tatas cha munayo reṇuṁ dadṛśuḥ sar-  
vato dvija | "kim etad" iti chāsannam paprachhūḥ te junaḥ tada |  
17. Ākhyātām cha jāneis teshāṁ "chauribhūtair arājake | rūṣṭre tu  
lokair ārabdhām para-svādānaṁ āturaiḥ | 18. Teshāṁ udīrṇa-vegānām  
chaurāṇām muni-sattamāḥ | sumahān dṛśyate reṇuḥ para-vittāpahā-  
rinām" | tataḥ sammantrya te sarve munayas tasya bhūbhṛtāḥ | mami-  
thū urum putrārtham anapatyasya yatnataḥ | mathyatas cha samuttas-  
thau tasyoroḥ purushaḥ kila | dagdha-sihūṇāpratikāśaḥ kharvātāsyo  
'tihrasvakaḥ | 19. Kiṁ karomīti tān sarvān viprān āha sa chāturaḥ |  
nishīdeti tam ūchuḥ te nishādās tena so 'bhavat | 20. Tatas tat-sambhavāḥ  
jātāḥ Vindhya-śaila-nivāsinaḥ | nishādāḥ muni-sārdūla pāpa-karmo-  
pabukshaṇāḥ | 21. Tena dvāreṇa nishkrāntam tat pāpam tasya bhūpateḥ |  
nishādās te tathā jātāḥ Venā-kalmasha-sambhavāḥ | 22. Tato 'sya dak-  
ṣhiṇam hastam mamiṭhūḥ te tadā dvijāḥ | mathyamāne cha tatṛābhūt  
Prithur Vainyaḥ pratāpavān | dīpyamānaḥ sva-vapushā sākṣhād Agnir  
ivejjvalan | 23. Ādyam ājagavaṁ nāma khāt papāta tato dhanuḥ | śarāś  
cha divyāḥ nabhasaḥ kavachaṁ cha papāta ha | tasmin jāte tu bhūtāni  
samprahrishṭāni sarvasaḥ | satputreṇa cha jātena Venō 'pi tridivam  
yayau | pun-nāmno narakāt trātāḥ sa tena sumahātmanā |*

"7. The maiden named Sunithā, who was the first-born of Mrityu (Death)<sup>82</sup> was given as wife to Anga; and of her Venā was born. 8. This son of Mrityu's daughter, infected with the taint of his ma-

<sup>82</sup> See above, p. 124, and note 230.



ternal grandfather, was born corrupt, as if by nature. 9. When Vena was inaugurated as king by the eminent rishis, he caused this proclamation to be made on the earth: 'Men must not sacrifice, or give gifts, or present oblations. Who else but myself is the enjoyer of sacrifices? I am for ever the lord of offerings.' 10. Then all the rishis approaching the king with respectful salutations, said to him in a gentle and conciliatory tone: 11. 'Hear, o king, what we have to say: 12. We shall worship Hari, the monarch of the gods, and the lord of all sacrifices, with a Dirghasattra (prolonged sacrifice), from which the highest benefits will accrue to your kingdom, your person, and your subjects. May blessings rest upon you! You shall have a share in the ceremony. 13. Vishnu the lord, the sacrificial Male, being propitiated by us with this rite, will grant all the objects of your desire. Hari, the lord of sacrifices, bestows on those kings in whose country he is honoured with oblations, everything that they wish.' Vena replied: 'What other being is superior to me? who else but I should be adored? who is this person called Hari, whom you regard as the lord of sacrifice? Brahmā, Janārdana, Rudra, Indra, Vāyu, Yama, Ravi (the Sun), Agni, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Pūshan, Earth, the Moon,— these and the other gods who curse and bless are all present in a king's person: for he is composed of all the gods.<sup>83</sup> Knowing this, ye must

<sup>83</sup> The orthodox doctrine, as stated by Manu, vii. 3 ff., coincides very nearly with Vena's estimate of himself, although the legislator does not deduce from it the same conclusions: 3. *Rakshartham asya sarvasya rājānam asṛjāt prabhūḥ* | 4. *Indrāṇīta-yamārkūṇām Agneś cha Varuṇasya cha* | *Chandra-Viśvadevāś chaiva mātṛūḥ nīrṛitya śāśvatīḥ* | 5. *Yasmād eśhām surendrāṇām mātṛābhyo nirmīto nṛipah* | *tasmād abhībhavaty eśha sarva-bhūtāni tejasā* | 6. *Tapaty āditya-vaśh chaisha chakṣhūṃśhi cha manāṃsi cha* | *na chainam bhuvi śaknoti kascid apy abhivikṣhitum* | 7. *So 'gnir bhavati Vāyus cha so 'rkaś Somaś sa Dharmarāt* | *sa Kuveraś sa Varuṇaś sa Mahendraś prabhūvataḥ* | 8. *Bālo 'pi nāvamantavyo "manuṣyaḥ" iti bhūmipah* | *māhaṭī devatā hy eśhū nara-rūpeṇa tiṣṭhati* | "3. The lord created the king for the preservation of this entire world, (4) extracting the eternal essential particles of Indra, Vāyu, Yama, Sūrya, Agni, Varuṇa, Chandra, and Kuvera. 5. Inasmuch as the king is formed of the particles of all these gods, he surpasses all beings in brilliancy. 6. Like the Sun, he distresses both men's eyes and minds; and no one on earth can ever gaze upon him. 7. He is Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Soma, Yama, Kuvera, Varuṇa, and Indra, in majesty. 8. Even when a child a king is not to be despised under the idea that he is a mere man; for he is a great deity in human form."

In another passage, ix. 303, this is qualified by saying that the king should imitate the functions of the different gods: *Indrasyārkasya Vāyoścha Yamasya Varuṇasya cha* | *Chandrasyāgneḥ Prithivyāś cha tejo vṛittāṃ nripas' charet* | This expanded in the next verses.





act in conformity with my commands. Brāhmans, ye must neither give gifts, nor present oblations nor sacrifices. 14. As obedience to their husbands is esteemed the highest duty of women, so is the observance of my orders incumbent upon you.' The rishis answered: 'Give permission, great king: let not religion perish: this whole world is but a modified form of oblations. 15. When religion perishes the whole world is destroyed with it.' When Vena, although thus admonished and repeatedly addressed by the eminent rishis, did not give his permission, then all the munis, filled with wrath and indignation, cried out to one another, 'Slay, slay the sinner. 16. This man of degraded life, who blasphemes the sacrificial Male, the god, the lord without beginning or end, is not fit to be lord of the earth.' So saying the munis smote with blades of kuśa grass consecrated by texts this king who had been already smitten by his blasphemy of the divine Being and his other offences. The munis afterwards beheld dust all round, and asked the people who were standing near what that was. 17. They were informed: 'In this country which has no king, the people, being distressed, have become robbers, and have begun to seize the property of others. 18. It is from these robbers rushing impetuously, and plundering other men's goods, that this great dust is seen? Then all the munis, consulting together, rubbed with force the thigh of the king, who was childless, in order to produce a son. From his thigh when rubbed there was produced a man like a charred log, with flat face, and extremely short. 19. 'What shall I do?' cried the man, in distress, to the Brāhmans. They said to him, 'Sit down' (*nishāda*); and from this he became a Nishāda. 20. From him sprang the Nishādas dwelling in the Vindhya mountains, distinguished by their wicked deeds. 21. By this means the sin of the king departed out of him; and so were the Nishādas produced, the offspring of the wickedness of Vena. 22. The Brāhmans then rubbed his right hand; and from it, when rubbed, sprang the majestic Prithu, Vena's son, resplendent in body, glowing like the manifested Agni. 23. Then the primeval bow called Ājagava fell from the sky, with celestial arrows, and a coat of mail. At Prithu's birth all creatures rejoiced. And through the birth of this virtuous son, Vena, delivered from the hell called Put<sup>84</sup> by this eminent person, ascended to heaven."

<sup>84</sup> This alludes to the fanciful derivation of *putra*, "son," from *put* + *tra*.