

ART. XIX. — *The First Maṇḍala of the Rig-Veda.* By
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THE paper which I formerly wrote on the Rig-Veda¹ was merely intended to lay down the general principles which guided the ancient Arranger of that venerable collection of poems. It was my good fortune to be the first to lay before scholars the following discoveries :—

1. That the hymns of the Rig-Veda are arranged in the order of their diminishing length.

2. That the First Maṇḍala differs from the rest, and that it possesses a special arrangement of its own.

3. That Maṇḍalas II. to VII. are uniform in character.

4. That the hymns of the Ninth Maṇḍala are manifestly arranged according to the metre and length of the hymns.

5. That certain long hymns in the Rig-Veda can be resolved into short sets of verses.

6. That the Tenth Maṇḍala consists of, at least, two collections, showing a distinct mark of cleavage between the 84th and 85th hymns.

I am, of course, pleased to find that my views have obtained general acceptance, and that M. Abel Bergaigne has founded upon them two interesting papers in the *Journal Asiatique*.² My present purpose is to carry the matter further, by endeavouring to clear the way for a clear apprehension of the nature of the First Maṇḍala.

M. Bergaigne thinks my original suggestion about the First

¹ *Journal of the Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. Part II.

² Sept.-Oct., 1886, p. 183; Feb.-March, 1887, p. 191. As the whole of M. Bergaigne's papers are based on my discoveries, it would have been more courteous had that gentleman made a more prominent allusion to me than an obscure reference at the end of the first paper, for the purpose of dissenting from an unimportant detail in my long article.

Maṇḍala rather risky. It is, according to him, an “ingénieuse mais très-aventureuse hypothèse.” Three years ago I pointed out certain facts which indicated that the First Maṇḍala was a ritual, consisting of hymns selected from those of the various families of Rishis to whom other Maṇḍalas are ascribed. M. Bergaigne does not attempt to discuss this view; he simply dismisses it with an epithet, and in its place he supplies an elaborate exposition of the Maṇḍala, in the course of which he is driven to divide the book into sections, to split up single hymns into fragments, to imagine interpolations, to reject hymns altogether,¹ and having, by these hazardous courses, produced a number of clusters of hymns, he ends with the statement that, “on n’aperçoit qu’une seule succession à laquelle il semble possible d’attacher quelque importance.” Thus the entire explanation ends, to all intents and purposes, in a *fiasco*. In proof that I do not exaggerate, I cite M. Bergaigne’s final remark on this Maṇḍala:—“Il est impossible qu’une samhita aussi systématique que celle qui comprend les Maṇḍalas II.-VII., ait commencé originairement par le Maṇḍala I. tout entier, sous sa forme actuelle. . . . Je ne vois donc que deux hypothèses possibles : ou bien le Maṇḍala I. a été ajouté tout entier après coup ; ou bien il se composait primitivement d’une seule collection, qui est devenue le noyau autour duquel se sont groupées successivement les autres.”

This plain statement of defeat surely renders it desirable to adduce some of the additional evidence which I formerly withheld, confirmatory of my apparently bold assertion, that the First Maṇḍala is, in reality, an orderly ritual. To make this clear, I will first indicate the influence under which the Sanhitâ was arranged; next, I will show that the First Maṇḍala is, in a way, eclectic; thirdly, I will point out unmistakeable evidence of orderly arrangement; and, lastly, I will adduce some proof of its ritualistic character.

1. It has long been known that the Ângirâsas were greatly concerned in the arrangement of the entire Sanhitâ, and in

¹ At the end of his second paper, M. Bergaigne gives a list of 184 hymns, and parts of hymns, in the Rig-Veda which he regards as interpolations.

the development of the ceremonial generally.¹ A very large number of the hymns in the Rig-Veda are directly ascribed to members of the Angiras family; and this also was the family which gave canonical sanction to the Atharva-Veda;² which must have been done at an early date, for the book is mentioned as a Veda in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. The Śāṅkhāyana-sūtra (xvi. 1) particularly associates the Angiras family with the Soma.³ Shadguruśishya intimates, in one of his anecdotes, that the Âṅgirasas claimed authority over Maṇḍalas not ascribed to members of their family. It is related that Śaunahotra (of the Bhâradvâja branch of the Angiras family) pleased Indra, who thereupon changed his name to Gṛtsamada, and caused him to be born in the race of Bhrigu, and to become the seer of the Second Maṇḍala. This tale seems obviously designed to show that the Second Maṇḍala owes its existence to an ancient representative of the Angiras family. A further indication of union between the Âṅgirasas and the Bhârgavas is found in the fact that the Atharva-veda—the special child of the Angiras family—is known as the “Bhrigvangiras,” as well as the “Atharvângiras,” thus associating the name of Bhrigu with the production.⁴ Again, the story of Śunahśepha is calculated to show how deeply the Vaiśvâmitras are indebted to the Âṅgirasas, and indeed owe their very Brahmanhood to the dominant family.

The foregoing facts show that the Angiras family claimed an interest in nearly the whole of the First Maṇḍala, the Second, Third, Fourth, Sixth, Eighth, and portions of the Ninth and Tenth Maṇḍalas. A very similar state of things is found in the case of the *Ādi Granth*. That book is well known to have been arranged by the fifth Guru, Arjun; and, having counted the verses, I am able to state that, out of the 15,575 stanzas

¹ In the 83rd hymn of this Maṇḍala Gotama makes the following statements about his family: “The Âṅgirasas first prepared the sacrificial food, and then, with kindled fire, (worshipped) with a most holy rite: they, *the institutors* (of the ceremony), acquired all the wealth of Papi, comprising horses, and cows, and (other) animals.”

² See the 80th hymn of this Maṇḍala.

³ See Prof. Max Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 446.

which the book contains, no fewer than 6204 stanzas were composed by Arjun, the Arranger, himself.

The predominating influence of the Angiras family is further indicated by the fact that, of the Forty-nine Gotras into which the faithful were divided, no less than thirty-eight are those of Ângirasas, and their friends the Vaiśvâmitras and Bhârgavas. Surely here is enough to prove the powerful influence of this great family, and to relieve one of any charge of venturesomeness in ascribing the arrangement of the Rîg-Veda to Angiras influence. In the First Maṇḍala this is yet further marked by the *exclusion* of Âtreya hymns, and by the *inclusion* of both branches of the Angiras family.

2. The eclectic character of the First Maṇḍala is demonstrated by the fact that it contains hymns of *seven out of the eight great families of Rishis*.¹ This, to my mind, is conclusive on the question. No other portion of the Rîg-veda is of this mixed character. The Eighth Maṇḍala (which contains hymns by four families) is in no respect representative; for nearly all its hymns are by Ângirasas, the only exceptions being *one* by a Kâśyapa, *one* by an Âtreya, and *three* by Bhârgavas.

The First Maṇḍala was certainly intended to bring together representatives of the various families of Rishis. There are hymns by the Vaiśvâmitras, by both the Gautama and the Bhâradvâja branches of the Ângirasas, by the Vâsishthas, by the Kâśyapas, by the Bhârgavas, and by the Âgastyas. The hymns of these families are arranged in a definite order, as will be shown further on. The only family excluded is that of the Âtreyas; but there are reasons which satisfactorily account for this exclusion.

In the first place, the theology of the Rîg-veda is pre-eminently Solar; and this is strikingly apparent in the First Maṇḍala. The Rishis represented in this Maṇḍala are, all of them, authors of hymns to Agni, the typical Solar deity. It is

¹ The Śatapatha-Brahmana reckons only *seven* Brahmarshis, by omitting Agastî from its list; but Agastî is a Devarshi of the highest rank, and the progenitor of an orthodox Gotra or family.

also clear that the Ângirasas were specially interested in the Solar cult ; indeed, one of the names of Agni is "Angiras," and, in the 21st hymn of this Maṇḍala, Agni is said to have been "the first Angiras Ṛishi."¹

Atri is the only Maharshi *who never hymned the flaming Agni*. Some of Atri's descendants did celebrate Agni, as is seen in the Fifth Maṇḍala ; but Atri himself was the patron of the Moon, not of the Sun. In my former paper I pointed to the legend that the Moon was produced from the flash of Atri's eye. The special connection of the Âtreyas with Lunar worship is emphasized by the fact that the first hymn of their Maṇḍala is by Budha, the regent of the Moon ; and an indication of conversion to Ângirasas views is plainly shown by the second hymn. This curious poem alludes to the tradition that its author Vṛiśa, of the Atri race, who was Purohita to the Ikshvâkus, through unskilfulness killed a Brahman child. It was not until Vṛiśa had acquired the *Ângirasa*-mantra that he recovered intelligence and restored the boy to life. The seventh verse of this hymn says, "Thou hast liberated the fettered Śunahśepha from a thousand stakes ; for he was patient in endurance ; so, Agni, free us from our bonds." Here we have the Ṛishi of a race specially devoted to the Moon, offering laudation to Agni, the Solar representative, for a boon conferred on the Ângirasas. Translated into history, this tradition obviously means that the devotees of a Lunar cult were won over to the Solar cult under Angiras influence. This original connection with Lunar ideas is, in itself, a sufficient reason for exclusion from a specially Solar ritual, such as the First Maṇḍala appears to be. But there is another and more cogent reason for the exclusion of Âtreya hymns from that book.

¹ Here it may be pointed out that the names of the families represented in the First Maṇḍala themselves indicate Solar attributes ; thus, Bhrigu "the scorching," Angiras "the swift," Viśvâmitra "the universal friend," Vasishṭha "most wealthy." The meaning of Agasti is doubtful ; the suggested rendering, "mountain-thrower," is more than problematical. On the other hand, the meaning of Atri "the devourer," and that of Kaśyapa "with black teeth," may imply allusions to Lunar eclipse. These are probably mere coincidences ; but they curiously accord with the rest of the evidence adduced. Atri may mean "the devourer (of clarified butter)," and Kaśyapa's having been the first human pupil of Agni, would connect these two also with Solar worship.

The *Ātreyas* were the friends of the *Gaupāyanas*,¹ who were dismissed from their office of *Purohita* to the *Ikshvāku* race. They made themselves obnoxious in consequence of their dismissal; but were punished by the incantations of their rivals, who are termed *māyāvin* "possessors of magic arts." When we remember that the *Āngirasas* were the *Rishis* of the *Atharva-veda*, we see, in this tradition, the record of an enmity between the believers in, and the disbelievers in, the magic formulæ of the *Atharvans*; and, as the *Āngirasas* ultimately gained the ascendancy, they excluded from their ritual the hymns of their opponents.

But this tradition has another phase. We know that *Viśvāmitra* and *Vasishṭha* were the rival orthodox *Purohitas* of the *Ikshvākus*, and that *Viśvāmitra* was connected, in an especially cordial manner (by the *Śunahśepha* affair), with the great *Āngiras* family. Here we have an additional reason for the exclusion, from an *Āngirasas* ritual, of the hymns written by the friends of those who had been dismissed by the *Ikshvākus*, the patrons both of themselves and of their friends the *Vaiśvāmitras*.

The exclusion of the hymns of the *Ātreya* family from the First *Maṇḍala* is certainly remarkable; but the reasons given above are sufficiently cogent to account for it. It may be objected that it is not an easy thing to reject the hymns of an undoubted *Devarshi*, and unsettle the traditions of so conservative a faith as that of *Brahmanism*. To this I reply, that the *Ātreyas* do not seem to have been popular. They founded only two *Gotras* out of the Forty-nine, and were thus, apparently, but little known. Furthermore, the *Lunar* devotees may have been held to be sufficiently represented by the hymn of *Kāśyapa*, the pre-eminent *Rishi* of the *Soma*. The fact that the very centre of the *Maṇḍala* is given to the representative of the *Soma* or *Lunar* cult may well be held to have satisfied the claims of both the *Ātreyas* and the *Kāśyapas*.

The rejection of *Atri's* family necessarily reduced to six

¹ This is plainly shown by the inclusion of the *Gaupāyana* hymn in the Fifth or *Ātreya* *Maṇḍala*.

the number of families taking part in the ritual. A change in number is a far more patent fact than a change of names. There is abundant evidence to show that the ancient originators of Brahmanism were spoken of as the Seven Rishis. In order to make the First Maṇḍala conform to this recognized number, after the rejection of Atri, the simple expedient was adopted of admitting both branches of the Angiras family. The Seven Rishis are not always mentioned under the same names. Conflicting lists of names are given in different works; and, although some of these varying names are equivalents of each other, the diversities are sufficient to show that the only thing settled was the number Seven. This number was preserved, as we have seen, by dividing the Ângirasas into two branches.

3. As to the arrangement of the First Maṇḍala, my hypothesis is, that the Angiras family of worshippers of Agni by means of Soma, placed the *only hymn invoking Agni written by the peculiar Rishi of the Soma* (Kaśyapa), as a centre, in conjunction with the antique poem of the so-called Râjarshis, addressed to *Indra*. On each side of these they placed *their own hymns* to Agni and Indra, bearing the name of the progenitor of their race, the Devarshi Kutsa.¹ Outside these again were placed hymns from *the other branch of their family*, thereby monopolizing the posts of honour. Two other families were then admitted, one on each side, flanked by other collections of Ângirasa hymns; ending, at the two extremes, with the hymns of two other families. Whether my explanation of the *reason* is the right one, or not, the *fact* is indubitable, that the family clusters are arranged in the order I have stated.

I have conceived that this very methodical arrangement was intentional, and for liturgical purposes of an eclectic character. It is certainly remarkable that hymns of the

¹ The hymns are said to have been 'seen' by Kutsa, of the *race* of Angiras, or the *son* of Angiras; but the relationship of these remote progenitors is decidedly problematical. Kutsa may have been an old, or specially influential, member of the Bhâradvâja family, and may have been accounted a Devarshi in consequence; or, being already accounted a Devarshi, hymns ascribed to him may have been selected to represent the Bhâradvâja family. It is remarkable that Yâska, in his *Śrauta Sûtra*, quotes *Kutsa* as a heterodox belief.

Seven Rishis should be found arranged in this peculiar manner; and it is difficult to imagine that this could have occurred through mere accident, or that it could have been purposely done except for a liturgical object.

A startling confirmation of the truth of my suggestion is found in the fact that the *Âdi Granth* of the Sikhs is arranged on precisely the same system; and this was done, undoubtedly, for liturgical purposes. The *Âdi Granth*, as I showed in my paper last July, consists of three parts; the first contains the sacred texts used in daily prayer, and this is certainly of a liturgical character; the second contains the various Râgs, the equivalents of the Maṇḍalas II.-VII.; and the third part consists of a supplement, not unlike the Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Maṇḍalas. In this case, no doubt whatever exists as to the principle of arrangement, and it is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that similar causes produced similar effects in the case of the Rîg-veda. I must confess that the more I study the First Maṇḍala, the more clearly does its liturgical character appear, and to abandon my hypothesis in favour of the explanation proposed by M. Bergaigne seems to me like quitting a Copernican to return to a Ptolemaic system. The orderly arrangement of this Maṇḍala will be further explained in the next paragraphs.

4. The foregoing facts make it clear to my mind that the First Maṇḍala is a collection of hymns intended to represent the families or Gotras of the Seven Rishis, the grand originators of the Brahmanic faith, and to unite in a single ceremonial observance the entire body of the orthodox. The next point to ascertain is, whether this Maṇḍala is really ritualistic in character. I have spoken of the difficulties and complications into which M. Bergaigne is driven by his rejection of my suggestion that the hymns are clustered round a centre represented by the hymn of Kaśyapa. Let any one compare M. Bergaigne's attempt with my simple exposition, and ask himself which is the more venturesome. I simply lay down the facts as we find them, which arrange themselves in the following manner:

5. Vaiśvâmitra hymns	}	Hymns 1-98.
4. Bhâradvâja hymns		
3. Vâsishṭha hymns		
2. Gautama hymns		
1. Bhâradvâja hymns (Kutsa)		
0. Kaśyapa and the Five Rishis.		Hymns 99, 100.
1. Bhâradvâja hymns (Kutsa)	}	Hymns 101-191.
2. Gautama hymns		
3. Bhârgava hymns		
4. Gautama hymns		
5. Agastya hymns		

Here we have a perfectly regular system, without the least tampering with the text. In the centre we have Kaśyapa's Soma hymn, outside which the rest is arranged in sets of hymns balancing each other; the intention to place Kaśyapa's hymn in the centre being markedly shown by Kutsa's hymns to Agni being separated from his hymns to Indra for this purpose.¹

The subject-matter of the various hymns lends further support to this theory of arrangement. Towards the commencement of the Maṇḍala are hymns speaking of the efficacy of ritual observances, and these are followed by the remarkable hymns describing the process of manufacturing Soma. The fully prepared juice is then lauded in the 91st hymn; and then come supplications for the forgiveness of sins; followed by a hymn which speaks of generating fire from wood. Then comes Kaśyapa's verse, "We offer libations," followed by prayers asking freedom from sin; and these are succeeded by historical instances recounting the efficacy of sacrificial observances. These indications of methodical arrangement of matter require further investigation; but, so far as they go, they tend still further to show that the prevailing idea in this Maṇḍala culminates in the hymn of Kaśyapa.

¹ In proof that the early Hindûs were familiar with this system of placing ceremonial observances on each side of a medial act, I cite what the Satapatha-Brahmaṇa says of this arrangement of the Purushamedha sacrifice: "Thereof the Agnishtoma is the first day; the next is the Ukthya; the next is the Atirâtra; then comes the Ukthya; and next the Agnishtoma; thus it is enclosed on both sides by the Ukthya and the Agnishtoma."

It will be seen that, starting from Kaśyapa, the hymns of this Maṇḍala fall naturally into five clusters on each side of it; and, therefore, the entire Maṇḍala consists of eleven divisions. These divisions exhibit themselves on mere inspection, and do not call for the smallest interference with the preserved text. It is an incontestable fact that there are eleven divisions, five on each side of a medial one, whether any special significance attaches to that fact, or not. The mere coincidence of these eleven divisions in an assortment of hymns representing the families of the Seven Rishis, instantly calls to the mind of every student of ancient Brahmanism the old Puroḷāśa offering in eleven receptacles.

With respect to this number 11, the Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa tells us that, at the Purushamedha, "for the initiation (there should be) *eleven* animals fit for Agni and Soma; for them there should be *eleven* sacrificial posts; *eleven* syllables are comprised in the Trishtubh metre. The Trishtubh is the thunderbolt—it is vigour . . . In the rite of consecration there should be *eleven* victims . . . because the victims are *elevenfold*, therefore, verily, is all this creation *elevenfold*. Prajâpati is *elevenfold*; all this is truly Prajâpati; all this is the Purushamedha, which is the means for the attainment and subjugation of all this." This quotation is sufficient to show that an important sacrifice was really divided into eleven parts, and that a ritual might be expected to follow such an arrangement.

Orderly arrangement is, furthermore, indicated by the fact that the hymns of Kutsa are divided into two portions; those addressed to Agni being placed before the 99th hymn, and those to Indra after it. If we consider the 99th hymn as the medial act of a ceremonial, we then find that the hymns placed in immediate contiguity to it, on each side, are those bearing the name of the great Devarshi representing the very family under whose influence we have excellent reason for believing that the entire Sanhitâ was arranged. Again, if we consider the verse of Kaśyapa as a dividing line, we find that the Âprî hymn of the Bhâradvâjas occurs on one side of that line, and the Âprî hymn of the Gautamas on the

other side, thus conferring very special distinction on the Angiras family. Yet again, it cannot fail to attract attention that, on one side of Kaśyapa's hymn there are two sets of Bhâradvâja hymns and one of Gautama, while, on the other side, quite systematically, there are two sets of Gautama hymns and one of Bhâradvâja. It would, indeed, be most remarkable if all this were the result of pure chance; more especially, when we remember that the hymns of Kutsa are quite peculiar in this fact of division, and that the effect is to place the praises of Agni and Indra on each side of a central hymn on the Soma, in conformity with the dictum that Agni and Indra share the Soma between them.

Patient investigation will, no doubt, reveal further confirmatory details; in the meantime it is well to point out that the First Maṇḍala admits of division into eleven parts in another way, still without the least tampering with the text. This is effected by simply utilizing the fact that the hymns of Agasti are in three clusters, viz. those addressed to Indra and the Maruts (hymns 165-172); those celebrating Indra and the Aświns (hymns 173-183); and those devoted to Agni and the Sun (hymns 184-191). Room is found for these new divisions by bringing together the hymns of each family, thus absorbing a cluster of Bhâradvâja hymns on one side of Kaśyapa, and a cluster of Gautama hymns on the other side, in the following manner:

1. Vaiśvâmitra hymns (1-10).
2. Bhâradvâja hymns (11-64 and 95-98).
3. Vâsishṭha hymns (65-73).
4. Gautama hymns (74-94).
5. Kaśyapa and the Five Rishis (99, 100).
6. Bhâradvâja hymns (101-115).
7. Bhârgava hymns (128-140).
8. Gautama hymns (116-127 and 141-164).

Hymns of Agasti.

9. Indra and the Maruts (165-172).
10. Indra and the Aświns (173-183).
11. Agni and the Sun (184-191).

This last method of classification satisfies the rule of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, that the Puroḷāśa is offered in eleven receptacles, eight of which belong to Agni, and three to Viṣṇu. There is no difficulty with respect to the first eight divisions; they are all specially consecrated to Agni by beginning with that deity's hymns; for even the verse of Kaśyapa is addressed to Agni, although invoking a blessing on the libation of Soma. With respect to the hymns of Agastī, a careful inspection will show that there is nothing fanciful in this suggested division into three parts. They separate readily and naturally into clusters of 8, 11, and 8 hymns respectively. But a real objection to considering the hymns of Agastī as the portion of Viṣṇu lies in their subject-matter. There seems no reason why hymns to Indra, the Maruts, the Aświns, Agni, and the Sun, should be held to represent Viṣṇu in particular. Of course, as the Viṣṇu of the Vedas is the deity of the fire on the hearth, while Agni is the ethereal or heavenly fire, the last portion may be held to celebrate the earthly or material fire, bearing the oblation from earth to heaven. It seems to me, however, far more probable that the entire ceremonial was completed in eleven acts, which were simply allotted in the proportions of 8 and 3 without particular reference to any part of the ritual. As a fact, furthermore, the material offering was divided into eleven portions in eleven platters, and the rule of division has, probably, reference solely to that fact, without involving a corresponding division of the hymns which accompanied the offering.

It is not a little remarkable, however, that the First Maṇḍala admits of division into eleven parts in a manner which separates the whole Maṇḍala into three well-defined clusters, with an Angiras Âprī hymn in the first and last; and Kaśyapa and its companion hymn occupy the centre of the middle cluster. This also is effected without the least interference with the text:

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| { | 1. Vaiśvâmitra hymns. | | |
| | 2. Bhâradvâja hymns (with Âpri hymn of Kanwas). | | |
| | 3. Vâsishṭha hymns. | | |
| { | 4. Gautama hymns. | { | |
| | 5. Bhâradvâja hymns | | 6. Kaśyapa's hymn. |
| | 8. Gautama hymns. | | 7. Hymn of Five Rishis. |
| { | 9. Bhârgava hymns. | | |
| | 10. Gautama hymns (with Âpri hymn of Ângirasas). | | |
| | 11. Agastya hymns. | | |

Here, again, we find that by taking the hymns in the order of their occurrence, they fall into three clusters of threes, making nine sets of hymns, into the midst of which two special hymns are inserted, making altogether eleven divisions. It will, furthermore, be perceived that the middle set contains a selection of Bhâradvâja hymns (the very family which arranged the Sanhitâ), on each side of which is a selection of Gautama hymns (representing the other branch of the same influential race). In the cluster which precedes, we find Bhâradvâja hymns in the middle, flanked by Vaiśvâmitra and Vâsishṭha hymns (opposing family representatives); while the cluster which follows the medial set contains Gautama hymns as a nucleus, with Bhârgava and Agastya hymns as supporters.

These three clusters certainly present a systematic grouping, having Ângirasas hymns as the nucleus of each; the medial cluster being entirely Ângirasas in origin; while the two outer clusters are flanked by hymns from other families.

I must also call attention to the fact that the Âpri hymn of the Bhâradvâjas falls near the middle of the first cluster; and the Âpri hymn of the Gautamas near the middle of the third cluster; while the remarkable hymns numbered 6 and 7 are exactly in the middle of the central cluster.

There are several hymns in the Maṇḍala which intimate that a threefold division of the sacrifice was a familiar idea to the ancient Brahmans. The 34th hymn abounds in specifications of *threes*, particularly mentioning a "*threefold* act of

worship"; and the 47th hymn speaks of the "*thrice*-heaped sacred grass." The expression "*thrice eleven* divinities," which several times occurs, seems to connect the numbers 3 and 11 together.

The foregoing facts tend to prove still more plainly that the First Maṇḍala is systematically arranged; for, in whatever way we test it, we find that it presents features of regularity. This can only be the case when objects recur in an orderly series. Under such circumstances, from whatever point the search may start, an orderly succession is detected. The initial fact of orderly arrangement having been ascertained, the discussion can be narrowed to the discovery of the correct starting-point.

The arrangement which I think the true one is that set forth in my first paper, in 1884, where I place five sacrificial acts on each side of a middle point. The dogmatic allotment of eight of those parts to Agni, and three to Viṣṇu, on account of the Gâyatrî metre and the three mythological steps, seems to belong to an epoch when the primitive ideas had become clouded with misapprehension.¹

There is one argument against the ritualistic character of the First Maṇḍala which demands consideration, and that is the fact that it contains three Âprî hymns. We know that each family was particular in the use of these hymns, and each claimed the right to introduce its own Âprî hymn at the sacrifices. If the First Maṇḍala is a general ritual, how is it that it contains, not seven Âprî hymns, one for each family, nor one Âprî hymn of the dominant party, but three Âprî hymns? As regards two of them we need feel no surprise; for they are the Âprî hymns of the two branches of the Angiras family; one of them being placed before, and the other after, the medial point marked by the hymn of Kāśyapa. The predominant influence of the Ângirases renders this quite intelligible. Nothing can be more natural than the desire to include both these representative hymns;

¹ The legend that Viṣṇu stepped three times is found in the 22nd hymn of this Maṇḍala; but the steps were taken "to uphold righteous acts," and Viṣṇu was aided in the performance "by the *seven* metres," without allusion to the eight Gâyatrî feet.

one to be rehearsed towards the beginning, the other towards the end, of the ceremony.

But these two hymns exhibit a striking peculiarity. They consist of twelve and thirteen verses, respectively, whereas all the other Âprî hymns in the Rîg-veda contain only eleven verses each. The ordinary Âprî hymns invoke the Sun under either the name *Tanûnapât* or *Narâsansa*; *these two hymns alone invoke the Sun under both those names*, and this occasions their extra length. Here we have another plain proof, not only of orderly arrangement, but of designed eclecticism or selective combination. These two hymns were intended to express both forms of adoration; the verse invoking *Tanûnapât* gratifying the Agastyas, the Vaiśvâmitras, the Kâśyapas, and the Jamadagnyas; while that invoking *Narâsansa* must have been pleasing to the Bhârgavas, the Âtreyas, the Vâsishṭhas, and the Bâdhryasvas. This fact of *double invocation*, in the case of two Âprî hymns, just where (on the ritual theory) we should expect such a phenomenon to appear, is too remarkable to be set aside as a mere accident.

With respect to the third Âprî hymn, it is sufficient to remark that it is found among the hymns of Agasti at the end of the First Maṇḍala. This small batch of hymns contains all the hymns of the Rishi Agasti; and, if his Âprî hymn were not placed among them, it would have no place of rest in the canon, according to my theory of the arrangement of the Rîg-veda. This of itself is sufficient reason for its present position. There is only one other hymn of the Agastya race in the Rîg-veda, and that is one addressed to Soma in the Ninth Maṇḍala; accordingly, if the Âprî hymn of this family were rejected from the First Maṇḍala, it would have to form a Maṇḍala by itself. Furthermore, as the First Maṇḍala contains *all* the hymns of each Rishi whose hymns are included in it, there would be no valid reason for rejecting this hymn, which is ascribed to Agasti himself.

It is, at the same time, worth remarking that, according to the suggested division of this Maṇḍala into eight and three parts, respectively, the Âprî hymn of the Agastyas would fall

in the latter part, hypothetically devoted to Vishṇu. This would give eight parts and two Âprî hymns to Agni; and three parts and one Âprî hymn to Vishṇu. Another fact, of which more will be said presently, is that there are twice as many verses of the Agastyas in this Maṇḍala, as there are verses of the other Rishis, with the exception of the Ângirasas. This fact indicates, possibly, a partiality, which might also have been extended to the admission of the Âprî hymn of that family. On this point further investigation is needed. But surely there are sufficient facts in support of my hypothesis, to warrant the serious consideration of my views on this point.

The interesting question here not unnaturally suggests itself, why the head of each family should not have been selected as its most fitting representative. Why, for instance, should Madhuchchhandas be chosen to represent the Vaiśvâmitras, instead of Viśvâmitra himself? In this particular case we have the legend that Madhuchchhandas was the eldest of the sons of Viśvâmitra, who consented to recognize the leadership of Śunahśepa, after his adoption by their father. He received a special blessing in consequence of this dutiful conduct; and the prominent position assigned to his hymns as the first in the Maṇḍala is in conformity with the indications of the legend. Close upon the heels of the hymns of Madhuchchhandas come those of Śunahśepa himself, the first two of whose hymns are those which specially celebrate the circumstances which made him the link between the Ângirasas and the Vaiśvâmitras. This, of course, emphasizes the distinction conferred upon Madhuchchhandas, by implying that the story of Śunahśepa was in the mind of the Arranger, when he placed these hymns near each other.

It is not improbable that other circumstances, which at this distance of time do not readily catch attention, may have led, in a similar way, to the selection of the other Rishis as the representatives of their respective families. It is even possible that the term Śatarchin, applied to these Rishis, may indicate that, of all members of their families, their hymns approach nearest to a total of 100 *riches*. This is, in reality,

the case. The founders of the families far exceed that number of verses, and other members of the various families fall far short of that number. Those selected will, upon examination, be found to be the Rishis whose total *riches* approach nearest to 100 of any member of their respective families.

But there is another very remarkable fact connected with this name Śatarchin, which appears to indicate the true meaning of the term. If the stanzas of the First Maṇḍala be added together, the total number is 1973; and, as this number is ascribed to nineteen Rishis, by dividing the total among them, we get 103 for each, with 16 for a remainder. Thus, by dividing the total of *riches* among the total of *Rishis*, we find rather less than 104 for each of them. This is sufficiently good ground for ancient writers to speak of the Rishis of the First Maṇḍala as Śatarchin, or "possessors of 100 *riches*."¹ Should this indeed prove to be the reason for calling these Rishis Śatarchin, it at once proves also that the hymns of Agastī form an integral portion of the First Maṇḍala. On totally different grounds I have already shown that they are a necessary part of the First Maṇḍala; but the name Śatarchin, in the sense here pointed out, would effectually dispose of M. Bergaigne's suggestion that Agastī's hymns should be severed from the rest, and treated as a separate Maṇḍala, in accidental union with a heterogeneous collection of poems.

Another very singular fact is revealed, by estimating the totals of the *riches* in the First Maṇḍala. We find that the

¹ It may be only a coincidence, but still it deserves notice that the number of stanzas which M. Bergaigne proposes to reject from the First Maṇḍala as interpolations, amount to 177; but as he hesitates about rejecting the tenth stanza of Hymn 46, we may reduce this number to 176. He would, however, reject the whole of hymns 162-164, which specially relate to the Horse-sacrifice; and he would also omit the last hymn (191), addressed to the Sun. These are just the hymns which I consider specially significative of the true character of the Maṇḍala. However this may be, they comprise 103 stanzas, which, deducted from his total rejections 176, leave 73 as remainder, exactly the number which 1973 is in excess of 1900 stanzas, which would allow 100 *riches* to each of the 19 Rishis. It would thus appear that M. Bergaigne's investigations tend to strengthen my conclusions generally. The above certainly shows that if hymns 162, 163, 164, and 191 be considered integral parts of the First Maṇḍala, and the remaining 73 stanzas be rejected which M. Bergaigne holds to be interpolations, we get exactly the 1900 *riches* needed to provide the Rishis with 100 each.

quantities contributed by the different families bear relative proportions the one to the other; and the proportions which they bear to each other are exactly those which my previous arguments would have led the student to expect. The totals of the *riches* are as follows:—

Kâśyapas	1
The Five Rishis	19
Vâsishṭhas... ..	91
Bhârgavas... ..	100
Vaiśvâmitras	110
Agastyas	229
Gautamas	594
Bhâradvâjas	829

Total 1973 *riches*.

Here we find that the apostle of the Soma is represented by unity; the Vâsishṭhas (the orthodox *antagonists* of the Ângirasas and their friends) are in a minority; the Bhârgavas and Vaiśvâmitras (*friends* of the Ângirasas) have more space accorded to them; while double their number of *riches* is allowed to Agasti, who sings of Agni and Indra exclusively (a champion of the Solar cult); but four times the space is given to the Gautamas, and eight times the space to the Bhâradvâjas. It must not be forgotten that Kutsa's hymns are placed on both sides of the middle of the Maṇḍala, and that he was a Bhâradvâja. This fact, and the enormous preponderance of Bhâradvâja verses in the Maṇḍala seem conclusively to prove that the Maṇḍala, and probably the entire Rig-Veda, as we possess it, were arranged by the Bhâradvâja branch of the Ângirasas, and that Kutsa's hymns are, in reality, placed in the post of honour, on each side of the 99–100th hymn, which indicates when the libation of Soma was poured out.¹

¹ I am, of course, aware that the particular Śâkhâ preserved to us is that of the Śâkalas, and this appears to have been the Śâkhâ followed by Śaunaka, of the Śunaka-gotra, of the Bhrigu race. But this does not imply that the text we possess is the Bhârgava version, and therefore unsuitable as a foundation for

It is now necessary to examine this middle point a little more closely, in order to show that, like every other feature of this Maṇḍala, it lends its quota of proof to the hypothesis that the First Maṇḍala is a devotional ritual.

In the first place, as I pointed out three years ago, the libation of Soma was unquestionably the most solemn moment of the sacrifice; and in the orderly arrangement of the hymns of the First Maṇḍala we find that the medial hymn consists of a single verse, plainly asking the blessing of Agni on the Libation then being offered. This remarkable hymn is ascribed to Kaśyapa, the pre-eminent Ṛishi of the Soma, and therefore the most appropriate Ṛishi to memorize when the Soma was being offered. All the hymns of the Kāśyapas, but two, are invocations of Soma. The two exceptions are this very hymn to Agni and one to Indra in the Eighth Maṇḍala. This single-versed hymn is addressed to Agni as *Jātavedas* "the knower or possessor of all creatures"; and this very epithet, by which Agni is here invoked in the act of offering the libation, is an additional testimony to the eclectic character of the whole Maṇḍala. It implies that the offering was made for all creatures, and was, therefore, accompanied by hymns from the Ṛishis of all sections of Brahmanism. "Let us offer libations of Soma to *Jātavedas*," is the prayer; that is, let us worship the one who knows all clans, before whom there is no difference of family or race, he who is the owner and knower of all creatures. It is in some such form as this that we should expect the libation to be made, if it were indeed offered in the name of an entire community; and the fact that these remarkable words occur as the very middle of the Maṇḍala strengthens the conviction that they indicate the middle

arguments relating specially to the Bhâradvâjas; for the Prâtisâkhya of this Śâkhâ claims to follow the Sanhitâ of the Śaiśīriya-śâkhâ. Now Śisīra and Mudgala, both founders of Bhâradvâja Gotras, are cited as two of the five students of the Śâkala School who propagated varying recensions of the Rîg-veda; hence I infer that the Bhâradvâjas were intimately associated with the Śâkalâs. Śaunaka, also, though reckoned an adherent to the Śâkala School, yet

ceremony of the sacrifice,—the pouring out of the libation,—and also that the office is arranged on eclectic principles.

I have held that the words of Kaśyapa were used at what I believe to be the moment of offering the Soma ; because he is the peculiar Ṛishi of the Soma, because of the nature of the words themselves, and because of their medial position. We have not only the evidence of our senses, that nearly all the Soma hymns handed down to us are by members of the Kāśyapa family ; but we have also the express declaration of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, that the Kāśyapas conquered the Soma-juice for the benefit of creatures. This is good evidence to show that almost in Vedic times it was acknowledged that the Kāśyapas were the representatives of Soma worship.

There is, however, another and equally cogent reason for placing Kaśyapa in the middle as the leader in sacrifice. Kaśyapa was recognized as the first human teacher who received sacred knowledge from the gods themselves. We find, by the lists of revered teachers preserved in the Vanśa-Brāhmaṇa and the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, that traditional knowledge passed through a long line of teachers, who received divine truth one from another, until, in the remote past, the list ends in Kaśyapa, who received the secrets directly from Agni himself. These instructive lists of teachers afford something like historical evidence that the early Brahmans held that their system of belief had its origin from Kaśyapa ; at any rate, he was certainly regarded as the Father of the Faithful. This high antiquity and venerable position, as the ultimate link in the chain of union between heaven and earth, renders Kaśyapa the most suitable of all the Ṛishis to be the leader in the greatest sacrificial ceremonial. The extravagant veneration felt for Kaśyapa is reflected through all stages of Sanskrit literature, and finds its expression in the legends of the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, in which Kaśyapa is fabled to have been the husband of Diti, the parent of the Maruts, the progenitor of the Âdityas, if not the very Creator of the Universe. It is this name, written thus deeply in the Brahmanical system, that we find placed in the very middle of the First Mandala, as the point around

which all the rest is clustered. It is such a personage as this that we should expect to find in such a position; and the fact that we do find this honoured name there affords the most conclusive proof that my theory as to the arrangement of this book is the true one.

In immediate connection with this single verse of Kaśyapa on the Soma libation, comes the very remarkable hymn of the Five Rishis. In my former paper I said but little of this hymn, because I was then laying down the broad principles of a subject entirely new. My object then was to show the general system of the arrangement of the entire Rig-Veda; and, in the course of doing so, I merely indicated some of the conclusions to which my principles would probably lead. But, now that I am dealing particularly with the First Maṇḍala, and calling attention to the numerous facts which concur to prove its ritualistic character, it becomes needful to examine more fully this peculiar hymn.

The first thing that arrests attention, in contemplating this hymn, is its composite authorship—it is the only hymn of the First Maṇḍala with more than a single Rishi. This hymn is supposed to have had five Rishis; of whom, however, almost nothing is known. It happens that the name of one of these Rishis is given as Ambarīsha, who is said to have been the king of Ayodhya who purchased Śunahśepha for the purpose of sacrifice.¹ If this identification be correct, it affords some clue to the distinction conferred upon it; for there can be no doubt that the incident of Śunahśepha, and the bond of union created between the Vaiśvāmitras and the Ângirasas, had a marked influence on early Brahmanism. The fourth verse of this hymn specially praises Indra as “the most Angiras of the Ângirasas.” This, of course, may mean, as Sāyaṇa suggests, “the swiftest of the swift”; still

¹ It deserves remark, however, that Ambarīsha is, also, the name of one of the ancestors invoked by the Kautsa-gotra of the Bhāradvāja race. Was this ancestor and the king of Ayodhya the same person? The lists of Gotras and Ancestors preserved to us date however from only the Sūtra period of Sanskrit literature; and we know that, long before that time, the meaning of many Vedic words and expressions had become matter of speculation, and the subjects of improbable fables.

the use of the word *angiras* in this way may have had its influence in placing the hymn in the prominent position in which we find it. But it seems perfectly clear that a stronger reason lay in the fact that it celebrates Indra and the Maruts in an especial manner. We know positively that Agni along with Indra and the Maruts share the Soma between them; and here, just where other reasons have led us to conclude that the Soma was offered, we find the remarkable verse of libation offered to Agni, immediately followed by this peculiar hymn celebrating Indra and the Maruts.

The hymn consists of nineteen stanzas, the first *fifteen* of which end with the refrain, "May Indra, with the Maruts, be our protection." It might almost be inferred that the statement of the 72nd hymn of this Maṇḍala must have special reference to this particular composition. Thus it is seen that both the middle position and the nature of these two hymns answer precisely the conditions requisite to give them the characters I assign to them.

But this is not all. It will be seen that this hymn of the Five Rishis changes its character after the 15th stanza. Up to that point each stanza ends with the same refrain, but the refrain disappears from the last four stanzas. This peculiarity of *fifteen* stanzas leads to the reflection that something turns on the number 5. The number 15 may consist of five threes, or of three fives; and it will instantly recur to the mind that this Maṇḍala is divided, by the families of its Rishis, into two sets of five, with the two hymns now under discussion as a point of separation. This implies that some special significance may have been associated with the number 5. The 12th stanza of this hymn of the *Five* Rishis seems to direct our minds to an exact understanding, by lauding the Soma on the ground that it "inspires the *five* classes of beings." These five classes of beings have been held by Sāyaṇa to mean the four castes and the Nishâdas;¹ in other words, they

¹ It is clear from other hymns of this Maṇḍala that by this term is meant all the dwellers on earth; thus the 7th hymn says that "Indra rules over the five classes of the dwellers on earth;" and the 89th hymn, wishing to express the universality of Aditi, says, "Aditi is all the gods; Aditi is the five classes of

represent the community at large, and this precisely tallies with my discovery that the entire Maṇḍala is of a corporative character. It was intended to unite in one common act of worship all sections of the community; and the "five classes of beings" were typified by five ceremonial acts before the libation, and by five similar acts after it; while at the most solemn moment of the sacrifice they were specially mentioned in a hymn consisting of three parts of five stanzas each, or of five parts of three stanzas each, and a Supplementary group of four verses.¹

On directing attention to this Supplement, it will be seen that the tone of the hymn changes. In the former part, Indra is celebrated as the bestower of rain, the god of the thunder-clouds, the fertilizer and sustainer,—he is, in short, hymned as the farmer's friend. In the Supplement, though still styled "the showerer," he is celebrated as the god of war; and his aid is sought in the subjugation of very human foes. This is one of the hymns which contain unmistakeable allusion to the conquest of the aborigines by the fair-complexioned Aryans. I do not wish to assert that this Supplement is an addition to a previously existing poem; for I am well aware that sudden changes of style and subject are common enough in the R̥ig-veda; still, it deserves notice that, in the present case, this change of style takes place just after we pass the sets of five verses, and the special refrain of the hymn.

There can, however, be no objection to the idea of a designed introduction of the warlike character of Indra into the ceremonial; on the contrary, it makes the principal act of worship more complete. Accepting these four stanzas as part of the original arrangement, we should have, in the middle of the ritual—(1) the praises of Agni (fire, warmth,

men;" and the 117th hymn says that Atri was "venerated by the five classes of men," meaning that all mankind honoured him.

¹ It deserves remark that the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa expressly tells us that the sacrifice is *fivefold*. The words are: "The Purushamedha occupies five days, and is the greatest rite of sacrifice. The sacrifice is fivefold, and fivefold are the sacrificial animals; five are the seasons included in the year. Whatever is fivefold in celestial matters may be obtained through this."

and comfort), who is also asked, in his military capacity, to "consume the wealth of those who feel enmity against" the Aryans; (2) the libation of Soma; (3) the praises of Indra and the Maruts for both agricultural and military success.

The supplemental character of the last four stanzas of the hymn of the Five Rishis deserves remark more from its interference with any idea that might be based on the significance of the numeral 5. There is, however, a further point to remark, which is, that the names of the so-called Five Rishis do not occur in the first fifteen stanzas. They are found in the seventeenth verse, as part of what I call the Supplement. I am not disposed to consider these stanzas as a later addition, on that account; much less, to deem them spurious. I would rather seek to discover their meaning. These five names are asserted to be those of Râjarshis, possibly because the name of one of them agrees with that of a King of Oudh; for little else is known of them. This interpretation appears to rest on the word *Vârshâgir*, which, with grammatical correctness, has been held by commentators to mean "descendants of Vrishagir." It has never occurred to any inquirer to suggest that these words are not necessarily patronymics at all. In the note to my former paper I pointed out that *Vârshâgir* would mean, equally well, "descendants of the adorers of the sprinkler," and that this would very fitly designate those who praised Indra as "the showerer," or rain-god, *in the manner of this very poem*. If we extend this process to the other names, we shall see that they also are significative in a very unexpected way. The word *Rijraśva* means "the horse of the leader," or the horse of sacrifice; *Ambarisha* is a cooking utensil for frying or broiling; *Sahadeva* is "the bearer," or "carrying deity," a common term for the sacrificial fire; *Bhayamâna* is the decoction or preparation of "fear," or "anxiety," not an inappropriate name for the Soma itself; while *Surâdhas* is plainly "the receptacle of the Soma." These translations enable us to see the reason for the introduction of the word *rjiraśva* into the 16th verse. That verse praises the long-limbed coursers of Indra, and asks that they may be made

specially beneficent to Rijraśva. There seems to be no particular reason why one of the supposed Five Brothers should be specially selected for benediction; or why the *horses* of Indra should be likely to become his exemplars; but, if we see in this word a mention of the *horse of sacrifice*, then we have a fact of the greatest interest. When translated by the aid of my interpretations, verses 16 and 17 read as follows:—"The long-limbed, decorated, and celestial, red and black Coursers, harnessed with satisfaction to the yoke of the chariot in which the Showerer of Benefits is conveyed, (are) for the benefit of the Sacrificial Horse, distinguished among the armies of mankind. O Indra, the Showerer, the Adorers of the Showerer, the Sacrificial Horse and his accompaniments,—the Cooking Utensil, the Fire, the Soma, and the Soma-receptacle,—address this propitiatory praise to thee."

It will be seen that Indra, throughout this hymn, is called "the Showerer," which confirms my interpretation of the name *Vārshâgir* "the adorers of the showerer"; and the compliment paid to Rijraśva, as "distinguished among the armies of mankind," confirms the opinion that the word implies a troop-horse, "the horse of the leader," the finest charger selected for sacrifice. The interpretations given to these words indicate that the sacrifice for which the First Maṇḍala was arranged was none other than the famous *Aśvamedha*. The arguments which lead to this conclusion are greatly fortified by the positive knowledge we possess that the 162nd and 163rd hymns of the First Maṇḍala actually were rehearsed at the *Aśvamedha*. We also know that this was the most solemn sacrifice in which Brahmanism ever engaged, that it dated from remote antiquity, and was, from its supposed efficacy and the splendour of its ceremonial, the sacrifice most likely to call for a Vedic ritual.

It must not be lost sight of that, at the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, there were twenty-one posts, the eleventh of which was called *Agnishthâ*, because standing nearest to the fire. This plainly informs us that there was one *yûpa* or post near the fire, and that the others stretched away, *ten* on each side;

this gives two posts to each of the *five* ceremonial acts I have spoken of, still further confirming my theory. The Taitirīya-Brāhmaṇa tells us that “ten times eighteen” heads of animals were required for the Aśvamedha, which again brings two fives before us in connection with this sacrifice. It will also be noticed that “ten times eighteen” are 180. Now, there are 191 hymns in the First Maṇḍala, that is, $180 + 11$; from this it might be inferred that 180 hymns were each accompanied by the slaughter of an animal, and that *eleven* (again this figure 11) were repeated without sacrifice. Can it have been that one hymn out of each of the eleven sets into which I have shown that the Maṇḍala is divided was a simple prayer, introduction, or doxology? At the Aśvamedha a human being was offered, and therefore the peculiarities of a Purushamedha attach to it, as noticed in a previous part of this paper.¹

The conclusions to which my interpretations and arguments lead are so startling, that the premisses on which they are based will receive, and ought to receive, the keenest criticism; but they are far too numerous, and far too cogent, to be set aside with a contemptuous allusion. We find that the First Maṇḍala has preserved to us the ritual of the famous Horse-sacrifice, which is admitted to have been the most solemn ceremonial of ancient Brahmanism. The Maṇḍala itself, by its repeated mention of Brahman, Adhvāryu, Hotri, and Potri priests, shows that a complicated ceremonial existed before the formation of the Sanhitā. It is such a ceremonial as that of the Aśvamedha, and only such a ceremonial as that, which could influence the arrangement of the R̥g-veda; and it will require serious argument and solid facts to shake the weighty and numerous considerations which I have adduced in support of my discoveries that:

1. The First Maṇḍala is an eclectic ritual.
2. That it is orderly in its arrangement.
3. That it expresses eleven acts of worship.
4. That the eleven acts are placed five on each side of a medial one.

5. That the medial point is the hymn of Kaśyapa, together with the hymn of the Five Ṛishis.
6. That the so-called Five Ṛishis are not historical personages, but are the names of the principal facts in the famous Horse-sacrifice.
7. That the ritual of the First Maṇḍala was intended to unite in one act of worship the "five classes of beings," that is to say, all sections of the community.
8. That there is good ground for believing that the Maṇḍala is the ritual of the Aśvamedha.

In the course of arriving at these conclusions, I have never been driven to amend the text handed down to us. Throughout my elucidation I am able to accept the text as it stands; and, although I do not pretend to have explained all the details, or to have actually demonstrated in an incontestable manner every suggestion which I have advanced, yet I do maintain that I have brought together such an accumulation of evidence that it will require the strongest of testimony to shake the conclusions which I have sought to establish.
