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ART. VIII.—*On the Relations of the Priests to the other Classes of Indian Society in the Vedic Age.*¹ By J. MUIR, Esq.

IN a former paper on "Manu, the progenitor of the Aryan Indians," published in the Society's Journal,² 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 the 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 Brahmâ.

That essay, however, leaves out of consideration any notices which the Rig-veda may contain regarding the different classes of which the society contemporary with its composition was made up. As this 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

¹ This subject has been already treated in Professor Roth's book, *Zur Litt. u. Geschichte des Weda*; in his essay "Brahma und die Brahmanen," in the 1st vol. of the *Journal of the Germ. Or. Society*; in Dr. Haug's Tract on "the Origin of Brahmanism," and in the 1st vol. of my "Sanskrit Texts."

² Vol. xx. p. 406 ff.

information respecting the opinion which these ministers of religion entertained of themselves, and of the relation 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.

I have elsewhere¹ enquired into the views which the authors of the hymns appear to have held on the subject of their own authorship. The conclusion I arrived at 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 (*ibid.* pp. 128–140). But though 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, 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 (Sanskrit Texts, vol. iii. pp. 173 f.) The Rishis called their hymns by various names, as *arka*, *uktha*, *ṛch*, *gir*, *dhî*, *nîtha*, *nivid*, *mantra*, *matî*, *sûkta*, *stoma*, *vâch*, *vachas*, etc. etc.; and they also frequently applied to them the appellation of *brahma*, as, for instance, in the whole, or most, of the following passages:—i. 31, 18; i. 37, 4; i. 61, 16; i. 62, 13; i. 80, 16; i. 117, 25; i. 152, 5, 7; i. 165, 14; ii. 18, 7; ii. 23, 1, 2; ii. 34, 6; ii. 39, 8; iii. 18, 3; iii. 29, 15; iii. 51, 6; iii. 53, 12; iv. 6, 11; iv. 16, 20, 21; iv. 22, 1; iv. 36, 7; v. 29, 15; v. 40, 6; v. 73, 10; v. 85, 1; vi. 17, 13; vi. 23, 1, 5; vi. 38, 3, 4; vi. 47, 14; vi. 50, 6; vi. 52, 2, 3; vi. 69, 4, 7; vi. 75, 19; vii. 22, 3, 9; vii. 28, 1, 2, 5; vii. 31, 11; vii. 33, 3, 4; vii. 35, 7, 14; vii. 37, 4; vii. 61, 2, 6; vii. 70, 6; vii. 72, 3, 4; vii. 83, 4; vii. 97, 3, 9; vii. 103, 8; viii. 4, 2; viii. 32, 27; viii. 51, 4; viii. 52, 2; viii. 55, 11; viii. 78, 3; viii. 87, 8; x. 13, 1; x. 54, 6;

¹ Sanskrit Texts, vol. iii. pp. 116–164.

x. 61, 1, 7; x. 80, 7; x. 89, 3; x. 114, 8. That in these passages *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 *brahma* is joined with the verb *gâyata* "sing," and in vi. 69, 7, where the gods are supplicated to hear it), 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 it, 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: "Soma not poured out does not exhilarate Indra; nor do libations without hymns (*abrahmāṇaḥ* = *stotra-hindāḥ*, Sâyana). 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."¹ Again in x. 105, 8: "Drive away our calamities. With a hymn (*ṛchā*) may we slay the men who are hymnless (*anṛchāḥ*). 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*.

¹ 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 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 Sâyana explains *abrahmāṇaḥ* by *stotra-hindāḥ*, "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," Sâyana understands it to mean "without a priest," but it may mean equally well or better, "without devotion."

Thus it is said, iii. 53, 12, "This prayer (*brahma*) of Viṣvâ-mitra protects the tribe of Bharata;" v. 40, 6, "Atri with the fourth prayer (*brahmaṇā*) discovered the sun concealed by unholy darkness;" vi. 75, 19, "Prayer (*brahma*) is my protecting armour;" vii. 33, 3, "Indra preserved Sudâs in the battle of the ten kings through your prayer, o Vasishṭhas." In ii. 23, 1, Brahmanâspati is said to be the "great king of prayers," and in v. 2 to be the "generator of prayers" (*janitâ brahmaṇām*); whilst in x. 61, 7, prayer is declared to have been generated by the gods.

Brāhmān in the masculine is no doubt derived from the same root as brāhmān neuter, and though differing from it in accent 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 neuter means a hymn or prayer, *brahman* 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 *brahman*, the name most commonly applied to them being *ṛshi*, though they are also called *vipra*, *vedhas*, *kavi*, etc. (see "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iii. 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 priest (*brahmā*) may perhaps 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 (or, perhaps, merely a new reciter) of hymns is spoken of under the appellation of *nutânasya brahmanyataḥ*; in ii. 19, 8, the Gr̥tsamadas are spoken of both as the fabricators of a new hymn (*manma navtyaḥ*) and as (*brahmanyantaḥ*) performing devotion; while in another place (x. 96, 5) Indra is said to have been lauded by former worshippers, *pūrvabhīr yajvabhīḥ*, a term usually confined (as brāhmān was frequently applied) in after times to the offerers of sacrifice. In three passages, vii. 28, 2; vii. 70, 5; and x. 89, 16, the *brahma* and *brahmāṇi* "prayer" and "prayers" of the *ṛshis* are spoken of; and in vii. 22, 9,

ṛshis are said to have generated prayers (*brahmāṇi*). In i. 177, 5, we find *brahmāṇi kâroḥ*, "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 speak of 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 *ṛshi*, *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 signification easily runs into another, as the same person may be at once the author and the reciter of the hymn.

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

(In order to save the repetition of the word *brāhmān* in parenthesis after *priest*, I have put the latter word in italics whenever it stands for *brahman*).

i. 80, 1.¹ "Thus in his exhilaration from soma juice the *priest* (*brahmā*) has made (or uttered) a magnifying² (hymn)."

i. 164, 34. "I ask thee (what is) the remotest end of the

¹ I have to acknowledge my obligations to Professor Aufrecht for the assistance which he has freely rendered to me in the preparation of this paper, and especially in the translation of the more difficult texts which occur in the course of it.

² *Varāddhanam = vṛddhi-kāram stotram* (Sāyana).

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 heaven¹ 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 *priest* is the highest heaven of speech.”²

ii. 12, 6. “He (Indra) who is the quickener of the sluggish, of the emaciated, of the suppliant *priest* who praises him,” etc.

vi. 45, 7. “With hymns I call Indra, the *priest*,—the carrier of prayers (*brahma-vâhasam*),³ the friend who is worthy of praise,—as men do a cow which is to be milked.”

viii. 16, 7. “Indra is a *priest*, Indra is a rishi,⁴ 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 *brahmâ* in v. 11 will depend on the meaning assigned to *jâta-vidyâ*).

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

x. 85, 3. “A man thinks he has drunk soma when the plant (so called) has been crushed. But no one tastes of that which the *priests* know to be soma (the moon). 16. The *priests* rightly know, Sûryâ, that thou hast two wheels; but it is sages (*addhâtayah*) alone who know the one wheel which is hidden. 34. The *priest* who knows Sûrya deserves the bride’s garment.”⁵

x. 107, 6. “They call him a rishi, him a *priest*, reverend, a chanter of Sâma verses (*sâma-gâm*), and reciter of *ukthas*,—he knows the three forms of the brilliant (Agni)—the man who first worshipped with a largess.”

x. 117, 7. “A *priest*⁶ who speaks is more acceptable than one who does not speak.”

¹ Compare R.V. iii. 32, 10; x. 109, 4, below, and the words, “the highest heaven of invention.”

² Compare R.V. x. 71 and x. 125.

³ Compare v. 19 and stoma-vâhasah, iv. 32, 12.

⁴ Different deities are called *rshi*, *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.

⁵ See Dr. Haug’s Ait. Br., vol. i., Introduction, p. 20.

⁶ The word here seems to indicate an order or profession, as the *silent priest* is still a *priest*.

(See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20; also the contexts of the two last passages in my article "Miscellaneous Hymns from the R. and A. Vedas," pp. 32 f.)

x. 125, 5. "I (says Vâch) make him whom I love formidable (*ugram*), him a *priest*, him a *rishi*, him a sage (*sumedhâm*)."

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

i. 10, 1. "The singers (*gâyatriṇaḥ*) sing thee, the hymnners (*arkināḥ*) recite a hymn, the *priests* (*brahmāṇaḥ*), O Śatakratu, have raised thee up like a pole."

(Compare i. 5, 8; i. 7, 1; viii. 16, 9. See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20).

i. 33, 9. "Thou, Indra, with the believers, didst blow against the unbelievers, with the *priests* thou didst blow away the Dasyu."

i. 101, 5. "Indra, who is lord of all that moves and breathes, who first found the cows for the *priest*, who hurled down the Dasyu."

i. 108, 7. "When, o adorable Indra and Agni, ye are exhilarated in your own abode, or with a *priest* or prince (*brahmaṇi rājāni vā*),¹ come thence, ye vigorous (deities), and then drink of the poured out soma."

i. 158, 6. "Dirghatamas, son of Mamatâ, being decrepit in his tenth lustre, (though) a *priest*, becomes the charioteer of (or is borne upon) the waters which are hastening to their goal."

(Prof. 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. "Ye (Aṣvins) are like two vultures on a tree; like two *priests* singing a hymn at a sacrifice."

¹ A distinction of orders or professions appears to be here recognized. In the following verse (v. 54, 7) a *rishi* and a prince are distinguished much in the same way as a *priest* and king are in i. 108, 7: "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 support." Compare v. 14, where it is said, "Ye, O Maruts, give riches with desirable men, ye protect a *rishi* who is skilled in hymns (*sâma-vipra*); ye give a horse and food to Bharata, ye make a king prosperous." In iii. 43, 5, reference is found to Viṣvâmitra, or the author, being made by Indra both a prince and a *rishi*.

iv. 50, 7 ff. "That king overcomes all hostile powers in force and valour who maintains Brihaspati 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,¹ to him the people bow down of themselves,—that king in whose house a *priest* walks first² (*yasmin brahmā rājani pūrva eti*). 9. Unrivalled, he conquers the riches both of his enemies and his kinsmen—the gods preserve the king who bestows wealth on the *priest* who asks his assistance."³

(The benefits resulting from the employment of a domestic priest (*purohita*) are also set forth in A.V. iii. 19, translated in my former article, "Miscellaneous Hymns from the R. and A. Vedas," in the volume of this Journal, p. 33).

iv. 58, 2. "Let us proclaim the name of butter (*ghrta*), let us at this sacrifice hold it (in mind) with prostrations. May the *priest* (Agni?) hear the praise which is chanted. The four-horned bright-coloured (god) has sent this forth."

v. 29, 3. "And, ye Maruts, *priests*, may Indra drink of this my soma which has been poured out," etc.

v. 31, 4. "The men⁴ have fashioned a car for thy (Indra's) horse, and Tvashtṛ a gleaming thunderbolt, o god greatly-invoked. The *priests*, magnifying Indra, have strengthened him for the slaughter of Ahi."

v. 32, 12. "I hear of thee thus rightly prospering, and bestowing wealth on, the sages (*viprebhyaḥ*). What do the *priests*, thy friends, obtain who have reposed their wishes on thee, O Indra?"

v. 40, 8. "Applying the stones (for pressing soma), performing worship, honouring the gods with praise and obeisance, the *priest* Atri placed the eye of the sun in the sky, and swept away the magical arts of Svarbhānu."

¹ Compare R.V. v. 37, 4 f.

² 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."

³ See on this passage Roth's Art. on Brahma and the Brāhmanas, *Journ. Germ. Or. Soc.*, i. 77 ff. See also Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii. 26.

⁴ Rbhus?

vii. 7, 5. "The chosen bearer (of oblations), Agni, the *priest*, having arrived, has sat down in a mortal's abode, the upholder."

vii. 33, 11. "And thou, o Vasishṭha, art a son of Mitra and Varuṇa (or a Maitravaruṇa-priest), born, o *priest*, from the soul of Urvaśi. All the gods placed in the vessel thee, the drop which had fallen through divine contemplation."

vii. 42, 1. "The *priests*, the Angirases, have arrived," etc.

viii. 7, 20. "Where now, bountiful (Maruts), are ye exhilarated, with the sacrificial grass spread beneath you? What *priest* is serving you?"

viii. 17, 2 f. "Thy tawny steeds with flowing manes, yoked by prayer (*brahma-yujā*),¹ bring thee hither, Indra; listen to our prayers. 3. We *priests*, offerers of soma, bringing oblations, continually invoke the drinker of soma."

viii. 31, 1. "That *priest* is beloved of Indra who worships, sacrifices, pours out libations, and cooks offerings."

viii. 32, 16. "There is not now any debt due by the active *priests* who pour out libations. Soma has not been drunk without an equivalent."

viii. 33, 10. "Look downward, not upward; keep thy feet close together; let them not see those parts which should be covered; thou, a *priest*, hast become a woman."

"viii. 45, 39. "I seize these thy tawny steeds, yoked by our hymn (*vachō-yujā*) to a splendid chariot, since thou didst give (wealth) to the *priests*."

viii. 53, 7. "Where is that vigorous, youthful, large-necked, unconquered (Indra)? What *priest* serves him?"

viii. 66, 5. "Indra clove the Gandharva in the bottomless mists, for the prosperity of the *priests*."

viii. 81, 30. "Be not, o lord of riches (Indra), sluggish like a *priest*.² Be exhilarated by the libation mixed with milk."

viii. 85, 5. "When, Indra, thou seizest in thine arms the thunderbolt which brings down pride, in order to slay Ahi,

¹ Compare viii. 45, 39, below.

² Dr. Haug (Intro. 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.

the (aerial) hills and the cows utter their voice, and the *priests* draw near to thee."

ix. 96, 6. "Soma, resounding, overflows the filter, he who is *priest* among the gods, leader among poets, rishi among the wise, buffalo among wild beasts, falcon among kites, an axe among the woods."

ix. 112, 1. "Various are the thoughts and endeavours of us different men. The carpenter seeks something broken, the doctor a patient, the *priest* some one to offer libations.¹

ix. 113, 6. "O pure Soma, in the place where the priest, 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. (The word *brahmaṇah* occurs in this verse, but the sense is not clear).

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

x. 85, 29. "Put away that which requires expiation (?). Distribute money to the *priests*. 35. Behold the forms of Sûryâ. But the *priest* purifies them."

x. 141, 3. "With hymns we invoke to our aid king Soma, Agni, the Âdityas, Vishṇu, Sûrya, and Bṛhaspati, the *priest*."

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

ii. 1, 2 (= x. 91, 10). "Thine, Agni, is the office of *hotri*, thine the regulated office of *potri*, thine the office of *neshtri*, though art the *agnidh* of the pious man, thine is the office of *praśâstri*, thou actest as *adhvaryu*, thou art the *brahman*, and the lord of the house in our abode. 2. Thou, Agni, art Indra, the chief of the virtuous, thou art Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, the adorable, thou, o Brahmanaspati, art the *priest* (*brahmâ*), the possessor of wealth, thou, o sustainer, art associated with the ceremonial."

¹ 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 mother a grinder of corn." 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.

iv. 9, 3. "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 a master of the house in our abode, and he sits a *brāhmān*."

x. 52, 2. "I have sat down an adorable *hotri*; all the gods, the Maruts, stimulate me. Day by day, ye Aṣvins, I have acted as your *adhvaryu*; the *brahman* is he who kindles the fire: this is your invocation."

I shall now bring forward the whole of the texts in which the word *Brāhmāṇa*, meaning a son, or descendant, of a *brāhmān*, occurs in the Rig-veda.¹ They are the following:

i. 164, 45. "Speech consists of four defined grades. These are known by those *Brāhmans* 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. "May the *Brāhmān* fathers, drinkers of soma, may the auspicious, the sinless, heaven and earth, may *Pūshan* preserve us," etc. etc.

vii. 103, 1 (= Nirukta 9, 6). "After lying quiet for a year, those rite-fulfilling *Brāhmans*² 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-bowl³),

¹ There are two more texts in which the word *brāhmāṇa* is found, viz., i. 15, 5, and ii. 36, 5, on which see the following note. The word *brahmaputra*, son of a brahman, is found in ii. 43, 2: "Thou, O bird, singest a *sāma* verse like an *udgātri*; thou singest praises like the son of a *brahman* at the libations."

² In the *Nighantus*, iii. 13, these words *brāhmāṇa vrata-chārinah* 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 *Brāhmāṇa* 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 *brāhmāṇa* 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 *Brāhman'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.

³ *Saras*. See R.V. viii. 66, 4, quoted in Nirukta v. 11, where Yāska 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 Śāyana's explanations of all three passages).

you frogs surround (the pond) on this day of the year, which is that of the autumnal rains. 8. These soma-offering Brâhmans (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. "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 Brâhmans."¹

x. 71, 1.² "When, o Brhaspati, 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. = Nirukta iv. 10). "Wherever the wise,—as if cleansing meal with a sieve,—have uttered speech with intelligence, there friends recognize acts of friendliness; good fortune³ dwells in their speech.³

3. "Through sacrifice they came upon the track of speech, and found her entered into the rishis. Taking, they divided her into many parts:⁴ the seven poets celebrate her in concert."

4. (= Nir. i. 19.) "And one man, seeing, sees not speech, and another, hearing, hears her not;⁵ while to a third she discloses her form, as a loving well-dressed wife does to her husband."

5. (= Nir. i. 20.) "They say that one man has a sure defence in (her⁶) friendship; he is not overcome even in the

¹ Compare A.V. vii. 115, 1 ff—xii. 5, 6.

² I cannot pretend that I am satisfied with the translation I have attempted of this very difficult hymn. Verses 4 and 5 are explained in Sâyana's Introduction to the Rîg-veda, pp. 30 f., of Müller's edition.

³ I quote here as somewhat akin to this hymn another from the A.V. vi. 108, being a prayer for wisdom or intelligence. 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 Brahmacârins. 3. We introduce within me that wisdom which Rbhus know, that wisdom which divine beings (*asurâh*) 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" (*vachasâ*).

⁴ Compare x. 125, 3; i. 164, 45; (x. 90, 11); and A.V. xii. 1, 45.

⁵ Compare Isaiah vi. 9, 10; and Matthew xiii. 14, 16.

⁶ *Vāk-sakhya*, Yâska.

conflict (of discussion). But that person consorts with a vain delusion who has listened to speech without fruit or flower."

6. "He who abandons a friend who understands 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. (= Nir. xiii. 13.) "When Brâhmanas who are friends strive (?) together in efforts of the mind produced by the heart,¹ they leave one man behind through their acquirements, whilst others walk about boasting to be priests." (This is the sense Prof. Aufrecht suggests for the word *ohabrâhmanâḥ*. Prof. 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) Brâhmanas nor yet pious worshippers at libations,—these, having acquired speech, weave their web imperfectly, (like) a female weaver,² 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. (Nir. i. 8.) "One man possesses a store of verses (*ṛchâm*); a second sings a hymn (*gâyatra*) during (the chanting of) the *ṣakvaris*; one who is a priest (*brahman*) declares the science of being (*jâta-vidyâm*), whilst another prescribes the order of the ceremonial.³

R. V. x. 88, 19 (= Nir. vii. 31). "As long as the fair-

¹ Compare i. 171, 2; ii. 35, 2; vi. 16, 47.

² Such is the sense which Prof. Aufrecht thinks may, with probability, be assigned to *siris*, a word which occurs only here.

³ According to Yâska (Nir. i. 8), these four persons are respectively the *hotri*, *udgâtri*, *brahman*, and *adhvaryu* priests. The brahman, he says, being possessed of all science, ought to know everything; and gives utterance to his knowledge as occasion arises for it (*jâte jâte*). See Dr. Haug's remarks on this verse. Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20.

winged Dawns do not array themselves in light, o Mâtariṣvan, so long the Brâhman coming to the sacrifice, keeps (the fire), sitting below the hotri-priest."

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

x. 90, 11 (= A.V. xix. 5, 6; Vāj. S. xxxi.). "When they divided Puruṣa, into how many parts did they distribute him? What was his mouth? what were his arms? what were called his thighs and feet? 12. The Brâhman was his mouth, the Rājanya was made his arms, that which was the Vaiśya was his thighs, the Śûdra sprang from his feet."

(See the translation of this entire hymn in *Sanskrit Texts*, i. 6 ff.; and in my paper on "The Progress of the Vedic Religion," in *Journal Roy. As. Soc.* vol. i. new series, pp. 353 ff.).

x. 97, 22. "The plants converse with king Soma,¹ (and say), "for whomsoever a Brâhman acts (*kr̥noti*, officiates), him, o king, we deliver."

x. 109, 1. "These (deities), the boundless, liquid Mâtariṣvan (Air), the fiercely-flaming, ardently-burning, beneficent (Fire), and the divine primeval Waters, first exclaimed against the outrage on a priest (*brahma-kilbîshe*). 2. King Soma,² unenvious, first gave back the priest'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 priest'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.³ 4. Those ancient deities, the Rishis, who sat down to perform austerities, spoke thus of her, 'Terrible is the wife of the Brâhman; when approached, she plants confusion in the highest heaven.⁴ 5. The Brahma-chârin⁵ (religious student) continues to perform observances.

¹ Compare *oshadhîḥ Soma-rājñîḥ*, "the plants whose king is Soma," in *vv.* 18 and 19 of this hymn.

² Compare R.V. x. 85, 8 f., 40 f.; and my contributions to *Vedic Mythology*, No. ii., p. 2 f.

³ I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for this explanation of the verse.

⁴ See R.V. i. 164, 34, 35, above.

⁵ See my paper on the Progress of the Vedic religion, pp. 374 ff.

He becomes one member¹ of the gods. Through him Brhaspati 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 *priest's* wife. 7. Giving back the *priest's* wife, freeing themselves from sin against the gods, (these kings) enjoy the abundance of the earth, and possess a free range of movement."

This hymn is repeated in the Atharva-veda, with the addition of ten more verses, which I subjoin.

Atharva-veda, v. 17.

(*vv.* 1-3 = *vv.* 1-3 of R.V. x. 109).

4. "That calamity which falls upon the village, of which they say, 'this is a star with dishevelled hair,' is in truth the *priest's* wife, who ruins the kingdom which is visited by a hare attended with meteors."

(*vv.* 5-6 = *vv.* 5-4 of R.V. x. 109).

7. "Whenever any miscarriages take place, or any moving things are destroyed, whenever men slay each other, it is the *priest's* wife who kills them. 8. And when a woman has had ten former husbands not Brâhmanas, if a *priest* (*brahmâ*) take her hand (*i.e.* marry her), it is he alone who is her husband. 9. It is a Brâhman only that is a husband, and not a Râjanya, or a Vaisya. That (truth) the Sun goes forward proclaiming to the five classes of men (*panchabhya mananebhya*."

(*vv.* 10-11 = *vv.* 6-7 of R.V. x. 109).

12. "His (the king's) wife does not repose opulent (*śata-vâhî*) and handsome upon her bed, in that kingdom where a *priest's* wife is foolishly shut up. 13. A son with large ears (*vikarna*) 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 (?)² 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

¹ See A.V. x. 7, 1 ff., 9, 26.

² The word here in the original is *sânânâm*, with which it is difficult to make any sense. Should we read *senânâm*?

no pond with blossoming lotuses 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 Brâhman passes the night wretchedly without his wife."

I will now refer to a number of texts in which liberality to the authors of the hymns is mentioned with approbation.

Of these passages i. 125; i. 126; v. 27; v. 30, 12 ff.; v. 33, 8 ff.; v. 61, 10; vi. 27, 8; and vi. 47, 22 ff., may be consulted in Prof. Wilson's translation; and a version of R.V. x. 107 will be found in my article, "Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig and Atharva Vedas," p. 32 f. The following are further instances:¹—

vii. 18, 22 ff. "Earning two hundred cows and two cars with mares, the gift of Sudâs the grandson of Devavat and son of Pijavana, I walk about, as a priest does round a house, offering praises. 23. The four robust richly caparisoned brown² horses of Sudâs, the son of Pijavana, standing on the earth, carry me, son to son,³ onward to renown in perpetuity." (See the translation of these verses in Roth's Litt. u. Geschichte des Weda, p. 100.) In i. 126, 3, and vi. 27, 8, also, the word *vadhûmantah* is used as here, and is probably to be taken in the first of these passages of mares, and in the latter of cows, *vinṣatiṃ gâ vadhûmanto*, being "twenty bulls with their cows." The same sense of cows or mares is probably to be understood in viii. 19, 36. That the preced-

¹ The fourth volume of Professor Wilson's Rig-veda, edited by Mr. Cowell, having been published since this paper was written, the reader may compare his version of such of the following passages as are included in it with mine.

² The word here rendered is *smaddishṭayah*. In his explanation of this passage Sâyana considers it to mean *praṣastâsarjanasraaddhâdîdânâṅgayutkâh*, i.e. "possessing the approved constituents of a gift, viz., generosity, faith," etc. It occurs in three other texts, viz., in iii. 45, 5, as an epithet of Indra, where Sâyana takes it to signify *bhadravākya*, "speaking auspicious words;" in vi. 63, 9, where he takes it as = *praṣasta-darśanân*, "of approved look;" and in x. 62, 9, Prof. Aufrecht considers the word to mean "strong," "robust," a sense which suits the context of iii. 45, 5 (where it cannot possibly bear the interpretation assigned by Sâyana on vii. 18, 23), and apparently also that of x. 62, 9. From the etymology (apparently *smat* for *sumat*, "good" or "well," and *dishṭi*, "pleasure" or "good luck,") one would suppose it ought to mean "blessed" or "fortunate," a sense which might also suit the context of iii. 45, 5.

³ *Tejanî tokaya*. The sense is obscure.

ing passages refer to the females of bulls or horses is made likely by comparing viii. 57, 17, which will be quoted below. In viii. 46, 37, however, reference is distinctly made to the gift of a woman (*yoshanā*).

viii. 3, 21. “(The horse?) which Indra, the Maruts, and Pākasthāman, the son of Kurayāna, gave to me, the most brilliant of all, like (the sun) careering in the sky. 22. Pākasthāman gave me a tawny (horse) well broken in, and filling his traces, an indication of riches. 23. Like to which other ten swift steeds also bear the yoke, like those which carried the son of Tugra to his home. 24. Soul, food, body, raiment, the giver of vigour, and ornament—(all this Pākasthāman is). I celebrate him as the fourth liberal bestower of a tawny horse.”

viii. 4, 19. “We have celebrated among the Turvaṣus the profuse riches, consisting of hundreds of horses (bestowed) at the festivals of Kuranga, at the distributions made by this powerful and fortunate king. 20. After sixty thousand pure cows,¹ I, a rishi, have driven away herds of cattle obtained by the Priyamedhas with faces upturned to heaven, through the prayers of the sacrificing son of Kaṇva. 21. Even the trees² rejoiced at my arrival, (exclaiming), ‘they have obtained cows in abundance, they have obtained horses in abundance.’”³

viii. 5, 37. “May ye, Aṣvins, take notice of my new gifts, how Kaśu, of the race of Chedi, has bestowed on me a hundred camels and ten thousand kine. 38. The people are prostrate beneath the feet of the descendant of Chedi, and the men about him are but leather-workers (before him), who presented to me ten kings brilliant as gold. 39. Let no one try to walk in the path which these Chedis tread. No sage is regarded as a more bountiful man (than this prince.”⁴

viii. 6, 46. “I have received a hundred from Tirindara, a

¹ Sāyaṇa explains *nirmajām* as *niḥśeṣhena śuddhānam gavām*. Roth leaves the word unexplained; and Prof. Aufrecht suggests *nirṇijām*, “garments,” as perhaps the true reading.

² Compare Psalm xcvi. 12.

³ This verse is translated in Benfey's Glossary in the Sāma-veda, s.v. *meha*.

⁴ Or, “No one, (as) the sage expects, will (prove to be) a more munificent person.”

thousand from Parṣu, the riches of the Yādvas. 47. They gave three hundred horses, ten thousand cows, to Sâman the Pajra. 48. The exalted prince overpassed the sky, giving a yoke of four camels; he (overpassed) the Yādva tribe by his renown."

viii. 19, 36. "Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, the bountiful lord, the patron of the virtuous, gave me fifty females (cows or mares).¹ 37. And while I was travelling at the ford of the Suvâstu, Śyâva, the wealthy lord of the Diyas (or of gifts) brought three seventies."

viii. 21, 17. "Was it Indra who gave to me, the worshipper, all this wealth? or was it the blessed Sarasvatî who gave this riches, or was it thou, Chitra? 18. King Chitra and other kings who (dwell) along the Sarasvatî, diffused himself (over us) like Parjanya, in a shower, bestowing a thousand and tens of thousands."

viii. 24, 29. "May the gift of Nârîya reach the Vyaṣnas, offerers of Soma-libations, together with abundant wealth, in hundreds and thousands. 30. If any one, sacrificing, enquire of thee (o, Ushas), wheresoever thou art engaged, where (he is), reply, 'This Vala dwells remote on the banks of the Gomatî.'"²

viii. 46, 21. "Let the ungodly man come forward³ who has received as large a present as this which Vasa, the son of Aṣva, has received at the break of to-day's dawn from the Pṛthuṣravas, the son of Kanîta. 22. I have received the sixty thousand and ten thousand (appropriated to) the son of Aṣva, two thousand camels, ten hundreds of brown (mares), ten of (mares) with three ruddy spots, and ten thousand cows. 23, 24. Ten brown, impetuous, irresistible, swift, overbearing steeds of the bountiful Pṛthuṣravas, son of Kanîta, cause the circumference of the chariot wheel to whirl round. Bestowing a golden chariot, he has shewn himself a most bountiful sage, and acquired the most extended renown 30. As oxen approach the herd, so they

¹ See in note above the remarks on vii. 18, 22.

² Compare the similar expressions in R.V. v. 61, 19.

³ This challenge seems to mean that no ungodly man had received such gifts.

draw near to me. 31. Then when he had called for a hundred camels from amongst the grazing herd, and two thousand among the white cattle, 32. I, the sage, received a hundred from the Dâsa¹ Balbûtha, the deliverer. These men of thine, O Vâyu, protected by Indra, rejoice ; protected by the gods, they rejoice. 33. Then that large woman is led away, covered with jewels, towards Vasa, son of Aṣva."

viii. 54, 10. "May the opulent prince, who bestows on me speckled cows with golden housings, never perish, o gods. 12. Over and above the thousand speckled cows, I received a bright, large, broad, shining piece of gold. 13. Men have exalted to the gods the renown of the grandson of Durgaha,² who was bountiful to me in (bestowing) a thousand (cows)."

viii. 57, 14. "Near me stand six men in pairs, in the exhilaration of the Soma juice, bestowing delightful gifts. 15. Of Indrota I received two brown horses, from the son of Ṛksha two tawny, and from the son of Aṣvamedha two ruddy horses. 16. From the son of Atithigva (I received) horses with a beautiful car, from the son of Ṛksha horses with beautiful reins, and from the son of Aṣvamedha horses of beautiful form. 17. Along with Pûtakratu, I obtained six horses with mares³ from Indrota, the son of Atithigva. 18. Among these brown horses was perceived a bay mare with a stallion, and with beautiful reins and a whip. 19. May no mortal, however desirous of reviling, fasten any fault upon you, o ye possessors of food."

x. 33, 4. "I, a rishi, have solicited king Kuruṣravaṇa, descendant of Trasadusyu, the most bountiful of sages. 5. Let me celebrate, at the (sacrifice), attended with a thousand gifts, (that prince) whose three tawny mares convey me excellently in a car. 6. Of which father of Upamaṣravas, the agreeable words were like a pleasant field to him who uttered them. 7. Attend, o Upamaṣravas, son (of Kuruṣravaṇa), and grandson of Mitrâthithi—I am the encomiast of thy father.

¹ Roth, *s.v.* *dâsa*, conjectures that instead of *dâse*, the proper reading is here *dâsân*, which would alter the sense to, "I received a hundred slaves from Balbûtha."

² Langlois *in loco* refers for illustration of this to R.V. iv. 42, 8.

³ Sâyana here understands *vadhûmatah*, of mares, *vaḍavâbhis tadvatah*.

8. If I had power over the immortals, or over mortals, my magnificent (patron) should still be alive. 9. The man even of a hundred years lives not beyond the period ordained by the gods;¹ so hath (everything) continually revolved."

x. 62, 6. "The Virûpas, who sprang from Agni, from the sky, Navagva, and Daṣagva, who perfectly possesses the character of an Angiras, is elevated to the gods. 7. The sages (princes) in concert with Indra lavished a herd of cows and of horses. Men have exalted to the gods² the renown of me, Aṣṭakarnî, who bestowed a thousand. 8. Let this man³ now multiply; may he shoot up like a sprout, he who at once lavishes a thousand hundred horses for a gift. 9. No one equals him, as no one succeeds in grasping the summit of the sky.⁴ The largesses of the son of Savarṇa have been diffused as widely as the sea. 10. Yadu and Turva gave two robust bondmen to serve (me) with abundance of kine. 11. Let not this man, the leader of the people, who lavishes thousands, suffer calamity. Let his largesses go on vying with the sun. May the gods prolong the life of the son of Savarṇa, from whom we, without fatiguing labour [or without cessation], have received food."

x. 93, 14. "I have spoken this (in praise) of Duhsîma, Pr̥thavâna, Vena, and Râma,—a god among the magnificent,—who, having yoked five hundred (horses) for our benefit,—their (liberality) became renowned by (this) course. 15. Over and above this, Tânva straightway assigned, Pārthya straightway assigned, Mâyava straightway assigned (to us) here seventy-seven."

If we consider that the various texts which have just been quoted are the productions of the class whose pretensions they represent and whose dignity they exalt, and further, if we take into account the indications, supplied by various

¹ Compare R.V. viii. 28, 4: "As the gods desire so it comes to pass; no one—no mortal, however hostile—can hinder that (will) of theirs."

² Compare viii. 54, 12, above.

³ In my article on "Manu, the progenitor of the Aryan Indians," Jour. R. A. S., xx. p. 416, note, I translated this word *manu* as a proper name, perhaps wrongly.

⁴ Comp. Ś. P. Br. xiii. 5, 4, 14: "Neither former nor later men of the five races have reached this great work of Bharata (performed) to-day, as no mortal has reached the sky with his arms."

other passages which I shall cite below, of indifference to the gods and to their ministers manifested by the other sections of the community, we may think it necessary to make some deduction from the impression which we had at first received of the estimation in which the priestly order was held at the time when the hymns of the Rigveda were composed. But after every such allowance has been made, it will remain certain that the *brahman*, 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 was considered an important condition of the efficacy of the ceremonial. Thus, in i. 164, 35, the priest is described as "the highest heaven of speech;" in x. 107, 6, a liberal patron is called a *rishi* and a priest, as epithets expressive of the greatest eulogy; in x. 125, 5, the goddess Vâch is said to make the man who is the object of her special affection a priest and a *rishi*; in vi. 45, 7; vii. 7, 5; viii. 16, 7; and ix. 96, 6, the term "priest" is applied honorifically to the gods Indra, Agni, and Soma; in iv. 50, 8, 9, great prosperity is declared to attend the prince by whom a priest 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 priests.

Again, although the commendations which are passed in the hymns on liberality to priests have been composed by interested parties, and though the value of the presents bestowed has no doubt been enormously exaggerated, 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.¹

¹ It is to be observed that, in these eulogies of liberality, mention is nowhere made of Brâhmanas 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 *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, on the contrary, the presents are distinctly connected with Brâhmanas. Thus it is said in that work, ii. 2, 2, 6: "Two kinds of gods are gods, viz., the gods (proper), whilst those Brâhmanas 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

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, 1,¹ 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.² 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.³ 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 eighth mandala 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" (*kshattrāṇi vardhayan*), as if the former contained a reference to the functions of the priest, and the latter to those of the prince.

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 one (x. 90, 12) which will

(*dakṣiṇā*) that offered to the human gods, the Brāhmans, 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 Brāhmans, who possess the Vedic tradition, and are learned. Both these two kinds of gods, when gratified, place him in a state of happiness" (*sūdhāyām*); (or "convey him to the heavenly world," as the expression is varied in the parallel passage of the same work, iv. 3, 4, 4.)

¹ See also i. 94, 6, where it is said: "Thou (Agni) art an *adhvaryu*, and the earliest *hotri*, a *praṣṭri*, a *potri*, and by nature a *purohita*. Knowing all the priestly functions (*ṛtvijyā*) wise, thou nourishest us," etc.

² 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.

³ In regard to the great importance and influence of the priests, see Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 485 ff.

be further adverted to below, do not contain anything which necessarily implies that the priests formed an exclusive caste, or, at least, a caste separated from all other by insurmountable barriers, as in later times.¹ There is a wide difference between a profession, or even a hereditary order, and a caste in the fully developed Brahmanical sense. 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 words *brāhmaṇa* and *rājanya* in the Rig-veda does not disprove this. The former word, derived from *brahman*, “priest,” signifies, as already intimated, nothing 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 latter (*rājanya*) means nothing more than the descendant of a king or chief (*rājan*).

The paucity of the texts (and those, too, probably of a date comparatively recent) in which the word *brāhmaṇa*

¹ Dr. Haug, in his tract on the “Origin of Brāhmanism,” p. 5, 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 quite so insurmountable as in later times.” This view he supports by a reference to the Zend Avesta, from which he deduces the conclusion that the people had been divided into three classes even before the separation of the Indian from the Iranian Aryans, and adds: “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.” As thus stated, the difference between Dr. Haug and other European scholars is one of degree and age, not of principle, for none of them assert any distinction of race, or congenital difference, between the castes or classes.

occurs, when contrasted with the large number of those in which *brāhmān* is found, seems to prove conclusively that the former word was but little used 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) the Brāhmān is merely alluded to as a priest, and in vii. 103, the comparison of frogs to Brāhmāns may seem even to imply a want of respect for the latter and their office.¹ In other places (i. 164, 45, and x. 71, 8, 9) a distinction appears to be drawn between intelligent and unintelligent Brāhmāns, between such as were thoughtful and others who were mere mechanical instruments in carrying on the ceremonial of worship,² which, however, certainly points to the existence of a sacerdotal class. In another passage (x. 97, 22) the importance of a Brāhmān to the proper performance of religious rites appears to be clearly expressed. In x. 109, where the words *brāhmān* (*passim*) and *brāhmaṇa* (in v. 4) seem to be used interchangeably—the inviolability of Brāhmāns' 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 claims set up by the Brāhmāns on their own behalf, and to prove that these pretensions were frequently disregarded by the nobles. In x. 16, 6, the Brāhmāns are spoken of as inspired by Soma, and in vi. 75, 10, the manes of earlier Brāhmāns are reckoned among those divine beings who have power to protect the suppliant. But in none of these texts is any reference made to the Brāhmāns constituting an exclusive caste or race, descended from an ancestor distinct from those of the other classes of their countrymen. In fact, it is proved by one of the additions (cited above) which have been made in the Atharva-veda (v. 17, 8 f.) to one of the hymns just referred to (x. 10, 9), that, even at that later period when that addition was made, Brāhmāns had but little regard to the purity of the sacerdotal blood, as they did not intermarry

¹ See Müller's remarks on this hymn in his *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 494.

² 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."

with women of their own order only, or even with women who had previously lived single, but were in the habit of forming unions with the widows of Rājanyas or Vaiśyas,¹ if they did not even take possession of the wives of such men while they were alive.² 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 quite unknown, or only beginning to be introduced among the Indians of the earlier Vedic age. That, agreeably to ancient tradition, Brāhmins intermarried with Rājanya women at the period in question, is also distinctly shewn by the story of the Rishi Chyavana and Sukanyā, daughter of king Śaryāta, narrated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and quoted in my former paper, “Contributions to a Knowledge of Vedic Mythology,” No. ii., pp. 11 ff. See also the stories of the

¹ 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 former paper on Yama, p. 299

² 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 Śūdras as a class with which Brāhmins intermarried. Śūdras were not Āryas, like the three upper classes. This distinction is not 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 Śūdra 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 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva Śākhā (Adhvara Kāṇḍa, i. 6), the same thing is clearly stated in these words, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller:—*Tan na sarva eva prapadyeta na hi devāḥ sarveṇaiva sangachhante | ārya eva brāhmaṇo vā kshattriyo vā vaiśyo vā te hi yajniyāḥ | no eva sarveṇaiva samvadeta na hi devāḥ sarveṇaiva samvadante āryeṇaiva brāhmaṇeṇa vā kshattriyeṇa vā vaiśyeṇa vā te hi yajniyāḥ | yady enam śūdreṇa samvādo vindet “ittham enam nichakṣeva” ity anyam brūyād eṣha dikṣhitasyopachārah.* “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 every body (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 Śūdra, 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 Śākhā (p. 224 of Weber's Edition) this passage is differently recorded.

From Manu (ix. 149–157 ; x. 7ff.) it is clear that Brāhmins intermarried with Śūdra women, though the offspring of these marriages were degraded.

Rishi Śyāvâśva, who married the daughter of king Rathavîti, as told by the commentator on Rig-veda, v. 61, and given in Prof. Wilson's translation, vol. iii. p. 344.

We have, however, still to consider the single text of the Rig-veda, x. 90, 11, 12, which seems at first sight to prove the existence of a belief in the separate creation of the four castes at the time when it was composed. A careful examination of the context in which these verses are found,¹ or even of the verses themselves, will, however, I think, lead to the conclusion that the representation is allegorical, and implies no opinion regarding the literal origination of the four classes. It is not even said that the Brâhman was produced from the mouth, the Râjanya from the arms, or the Vaiśya from the thighs of Purusha; but that these classes formed respectively those members of his body. It is the Śûdra alone who is asserted to have sprung from the part of the body with which he is associated—the feet.

It is further to be noticed that as this hymn probably belongs to the close of the Vedic age, no conclusion can, on any interpretation of its meaning, be drawn from it in regard to the opinion regarding the different classes which prevailed in the earlier portion of that era. Dr. Haug, it is true, denies that the hymn is comparatively modern. He thinks that there is no sufficient evidence to prove this, but that, "on the contrary, reasons might be alleged to shew that it is even old." He is of opinion that the hymn had been used at human sacrifices, which he considers to have been customary in the earliest Vedic period, though they were afterwards abandoned as revolting to human feelings ("Origin of Brâhmanism," p. 5). Notwithstanding what is here urged by Dr. Haug, I cannot help agreeing with the opinion stated by other scholars, such as Colebrooke (Essays, i. 309, note; or p. 197 of Williams and Norgate's edition) and Max Müller (Ancient Sansk. Lit., p. 570 f.), that this hymn is of a later date than the great bulk of the collection in which it is found. As compared

¹ The entire hymn is translated in my paper on the Progress of the Vedic Religion, pp. 353 ff., and also in "Sanskrit Texts," vol. i. pp. 6 ff., where some remarks are made on it.

with by far the larger part of the hymns, it has every character of modernness both in its diction and ideas.

It is not denied that the hymns which we find in the Rig-veda collection are of very different periods. They themselves speak of newer and older hymns. So many as a thousand compositions of this sort could scarcely have been produced within a very short space of time, and there is no reason to imagine that the literary activity of the ancient Hindus was confined to the age immediately preceding the collection of the hymns. But if we are to recognize any difference of age, what hymns can we more reasonably suppose to be the oldest than those which are at once archaic in language and style, and naive and simple in the character of their conceptions; and on the other hand, what compositions can more properly be set down as the most recent than those which manifest an advance in speculative ideas, while their language approaches to the modern Sanskrit? These latter conditions seem to be fulfilled in the Purusha Sūkta, as well as in hymns x. 71; x. 72; x. 81; x. 82; x. 121; and x. 129. The pantheistic character of the opening parts of the Purusha Sūkta alone would suffice to demonstrate its comparatively recent date.

That even the legendary genealogies of the Purāṇas frequently assign to members of the four so-called castes a common origin, has been shown in my Sanskrit Texts, vol. i. chap. ii.; and for the evidence discoverable, both in the Rig-veda itself and in the epic poems and Purāṇas, that hymns were composed, and sacerdotal functions exercised, by persons who in later ages were called Rājanyas or Kshattriyas, as well as by Brāhmins, I may refer to the same volume, pp. 86–151 where the stories of Viṣvāmitra and Devāpi are told.

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 Brāhmins—an inconvenient circumstance, that priestly functions should have been recorded as exercised by 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 Brâhmanas, as the reward of their superhuman merits and austerities (see Sanskrit Texts, vol. i., pp. 95 ff., 148 ff.). The very existence, however, of such a word as *râjarshi*, or "royal rishi," proves that Indian tradition recognized as rishis or authors of Vedic hymns persons who had belonged to Râjanya families. A number of such are named (though without the epithet of *râjarshi*) in the Anukramanikâ or index to the Rig-veda; but Sâyana, who quotes that old document, gives them this title. Thus, in the introduction to hymn i. 100, he says: "Rjârâsha and others, sons of Vṛshâgir, in all five râjarshis, saw this hymn in a bodily form (*sadeham sūktam dadṛṣuh*). Hence they are its rishis (or seers)." The 17th verse of this hymn is as follows: "This hymn the Vârshâgiras, Rjârâsha, with his attendants Amvarîsha, Sahadeva, Bhayamâna, and Surâdhas, utter to thee, the vigorous, o Indra, as their homage;" on which Sâyana repeats the remark that these persons were râjarshis. Ambarîsha is also said to be the rishi of ix. 98. Again, "Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, a Râjarshi," is said by Sâyana on R.V. iv. 42, to be the rishi of that hymn. In the 9th verse Trasadasyu is thus mentioned: "Purukutsânî worshipped you, o Indra and Varuṇa, with salutations and obeisances; then ye gave her king Trasadasyu, a slayer of enemies, a demigod." Similarly Sâyana says on v. 27: "Tryarūṇa son of Trivṛshṇa, Trasadasyu son of Purukutsa, and Aṣvamedha son of Bharata, these three kings conjoined, are the rishis of this hymn; or Atri is 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. However, the Hindu tradition of their being so, is good proof that kings could, in conformity with ancient opinion, be rishis. Trasadasyu and Trayarūṇa are also mentioned as the rishis of ix. 110.¹ The rishis of iv. 43 and iv. 44 are declared by Sâyana, and by the Anukramanikâ, to be Purumîlha, and Ajamîlha, sons or descendants of Suhotra. Though these persons

¹ In the Vishṇu Purâṇa, Trayyârūṇa, Pushkarin, and Kapi are said to have been sons of Urukshaya, and the last of them to have become a Brâhman. In the Matsya P., Trayyarūṇi, Pushkarârūṇi, and Kapi are said to have all become Brâhmanas. (Wilson, V. P., p. 451, and note.)

are not said by either of these authorities to be kings, yet in the Vishṇu Purāṇa they are mentioned as being of royal race, and as grandsons of Suhotra, and according to the Bhāgavata P. a tribe of Brāhmanas is said to have been descended from the son of Ajamīlha. In the sixth verse of iv. 44, the descendants of Ajamīlha are said to have come to the worship of the Aṣvins. The following hymns are said by tradition to have had the following kings for their rishis, viz.: x. 9, Sindhudwīpa, son of Ambarīsha (or Trīṣiras, son of Tvashtṛ); x. 75, Sindhuکشیت, son of Priyamedha; x. 133, Sudās, son of Pijavana; x. 134, Māndhātṛ, son of Yuvanāśva; x. 179, Sibi, son of Uśīnara, Pratardana, son of Divodāsa and king of Kāśī, and Vasumanas, son of Rohidaśva; and x. 148 is declared to have had Pṛthī Vainya as its rishi. In the fifth verse of that hymn it is said: "Hear, o heroic Indra, the invocation of Pṛthī; and thou art praised by the hymns of Venya." In viii. 9, 10, also, Pṛthī Vainya is mentioned among rishis: "Whatever invocation Kakshīvat has made to you, or the rishi Vyaśva, or Dirghatamas, or Pṛthī, son of Vena, in the places of sacrifice, take notice of that, o Aṣvins." Here Sāyaṇa refers to Pṛthī as the "royal rishi of that name."¹

I have observed above that the contents of R.V. x. 109 not only display the high pretensions of the priestly order, but also indicate clearly that those pretensions were often disregarded by the ruling class. In fact, the hymns of the Rīgveda contain numerous references to persons, apparently of different descriptions, who were either hostile or indifferent to the system of religious worship which the rishis professed and inculcated. We find there a long list of condemnatory epithets applied to these persons, such as *adeva*, *adevayu*, *anindra*, *abrahman*, *ayajyu*, *ayajvan*, *anyavrata*, *apavrata*, *avrata*, *devanid*, *brahmadvish*, etc., etc.; i.e., "godless," "destitute of Indra," "without devotion," "unsacrificing," "following other rites," "averse to religious rites, or to law," "without rites, or lawless," "revilers of the gods," "haters of

¹ Even females are said to be authors of hymns or parts of hymns, as Romaśā, "daughter of Bṛhaspati, an utterer of hymns" (i. 126), Lopamudrā (i. 179, 1), and Viśvavārā, of the family of Atri (v. 28).

devotion," etc. (i. 33, 3, 4; i. 51, 8, 9; i. 101, 2, 4; i. 121, 13; i. 131, 4; i. 132, 4; i. 147, 2; i. 150, 2; i. 174, 8; i. 175, 3; ii. 12, 10; ii. 23, 4, 8, 12; ii. 26, 1; iii. 30, 17; iii. 31, 9; iii. 34, 9; iv. 16, 9; v. 2, 9, 10; v. 20, 2; v. 42, 9, 10; vi. 14, 3; vi. 49, 15; vi. 52, 2, 3; vi. 61, 3; vi. 67, 9; vii. 6, 3; vii. 61, 4; vii. 83, 7; vii. 93, 5; viii. 31, 15 ff.; viii. 45, 23; viii. 51, 12; viii. 53, 1; viii. 59, 7, 10, 11; ix. 41, 2; ix. 63, 24; ix. 73, 5, 8; x. 22, 7 f.; x. 27, 1 ff.; x. 36, 9; x. 38, 3; x. 42, 4; x. 49, 1; x. 160, 4; x. 182, 3.) In most of these passages, no doubt, the epithets in question are connected with the words *Dāsa* or *Dasyu*, which—whether we understand them of barbarous aboriginal races, then partially occupying the Punjab, or of the evil spirits with which the darkness was peopled by the lively imagination of the early Indians—certainly did not ordinarily designate tribes of Aryan descent. But there are other texts containing denunciations of religious hostility or indifference, where no express reference is made to *Dasyus*, which may with more or less probability be understood of members of the Aryan community. Such are the following:—

i. 84, 7. "Indra, who alone distributes riches to the sacrificing mortal, is lord and irresistible. 7. When will Indra crush the illiberal (*arādhasam*) man like a bush with his foot? when will he hear our hymns?"

i. 101, 4. "Indra, who is the slayer of him, however strong, who offers no libations."

i. 122, 9. "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. 124, 10. "Wake, o magnificent Dawn (*Ushas*), the men who present offerings; let the thoughtless niggards (*paṇayāḥ*)¹ sleep." (Comp. iv. 51, 3.)

1. 125, 7. "Let not the liberal suffer evil or calamity; let not devout sages decay; let them have some further term; let griefs befall the illiberal (*apṛṇantam*)."

¹ This sense of the word is confirmed by i. 33, 3, where the rishi says to Indra,

"*mā paṇīr bhūr asmad adhi*," "Be not niggardly towards us."

i. 147, 2. "One man contemns (*piyati*), whilst another praises, thee. Reverent, I adore thy manifestation, o Agni."

i. 176, 4. "Slay every one who offers no oblations—though difficult to destroy¹—who is displeasing to thee. Give us his wealth; the sage expects it."

i. 182, 3. "What do ye here, o powerful (*Aṣvins*)? Why do ye sit in the house of any man who offers no sacrifice, and yet is honoured? Assail, wear away the breath of the niggard (*paṇer asum*), and create light for the sage who desires to praise you."

i. 190, 5. "Those persons who, flourishing, but wicked, regarding thee, o god, as a feeble being, depend upon thee who art gracious—thou bestowest nothing desirable upon the malignant, thou, o *Bṛhaspati*, avengest thyself on the scorner (*piyārum*)."

ii. 23, 4. "By thy wise leadings thou guidest and protectest the man who worships thee: no calamity can assail him who hates devotion (*brahma-dvishah*), and the queller of his wrath: this, o *Bṛhaspati*, is thy great glory."

ii. 26, 1. "The upright worshipper shall slay those who seek to slay (him); the godly shall overcome the ungodly; the religious shall slay in battle even him who is hard to conquer; the sacrificer shall divide the spoils of the unsacrificing."

iv. 24, 2. "In battle *Indra* bestows riches upon the man who offers prayers (*brahmanyate*) and libations. 5. Then some men worship the mighty (*Indra*); then the cooker of oblations will present his offering of meal; then *Soma* will abandon those who offer no libations; then (the impious) will be fain to worship the vigorous (god)."

iv. 25, 5. "Dear is the righteous man, dear to *Indra* is the man who reveres him, dear is the worshipper, dear to him is the offer of soma. 6. This impetuous and heroic *Indra* regards as peculiarly his own the cooked oblation of the devout soma-offerer; he is not the relation, or friend, or kinsman, of the man who offers no libations; he destroys the prostrate irreligious man. 7. *Indra*, the soma-drinker, approves not

¹ Roth, *s.v.* understands *dināsam* to mean "continually."

friendship with the wealthy niggard (*revatā paninā*) who offers no libations. He deprives him of his riches, and destroys him when stripped bare, whilst he is the exclusive favourer of the man who offers libations and cooks offerings."

iv. 51, 3. "The magnificent dawns, appearing, have to-day aroused the liberal to the bestowal of wealth. Let the niggards (*paṇayah*) sleep in gloom, and the regardless in the midst of darkness." (Compare i. 124, 10.)

v. 34, 3 (= Nirukta vi. 19). "Whoever offers soma-libations to Indra, either in sunshine or darkness, becomes glorious. The mighty god drives away the ostentatious; the opulent god (drives away) the man who decks out his person, and is the friend of the degraded. (Yâska adds to these epithets of the objects of Indra's enmity that of *ayaj-vānam*, 'one who does not worship.') 5. Indra desires no support from five or from ten (allies); he consorts not with the man who offers no libation, however flourishing; but overwhelms, and at once destroys such a person, whilst he gives the godly man a herd of kine as his portion. 6. . . . The enemy of him who makes no libations, the promoter of him who offers libations, Indra, the terrible subduer of all, the lord, brings the Dâsa into subjection. 7. He gathers together the goods of the niggard (*paṇeh*) to be spoiled; he allots to the sacrificer wealth beneficial for men. Every one who provokes his fury is deeply involved in difficulty."

v. 42, 7. "Praise the first depositary of gems, Br̥haspati, the bestower of riches, who is most propitious to the man that hymns and lauds him, who comes with abundant wealth to the man that invokes him. 8. Those who are attended by thy succours, Br̥haspati, are unharmed, affluent, rich in men. The possessions of those who bestow horses, cows, and raiment, are blest. 9. Make unblest the wealth of those who enjoy themselves while they do not gratify (thee) with our hymns.¹ Drive away from the sunlight those haters of devotion (*brahma-dvishah*) who are averse to religious rites, while they increase in progeny. 10. Hasten, o Maruts, with-

¹ Or, according to Sâyana, "who do not satisfy us who are possessed of laudatory hymns."

out wheels¹ against the man who attends at the sacrifice of a Rakshas (or sinner).² He who reviles the man who celebrates your service secures but contemptible pleasures, however much he may sweat."

vi. 13, 3. "That lord of the virtuous by his power destroys Vrittra (or the enemy); o wise Agni, offspring of the ceremonial, that sage whom thou in concert with the son of the waters prosperest with wealth, divides the spoil of the niggard (*paneḥ*)."

vi. 44, 11. "Abandon us not, o vigorous god, to the destroyer; let us not suffer injury whilst we live in the friendship of thee who art opulent. Thy former bounties to men (are known); slay those who offer no libations; root out the illiberal (*apṛnataḥ*)."

vi. 52, 1. "By heaven or by earth I approve not that, nor by (this) sacrifice, nor by these rites.³ Let the strong mountains crush him; let the priest (*yashṭā*) of Atiyāja fall. 2. Whoever, o Maruts, regards himself as superior to us, or reviles our worship when performed, may scorching calamities light upon him; may the sky consume that hater of devotion (*brahma-dvisham*).⁴ 3. Why, o Soma, do they call thee the protector of devotion, or our preserver from imprecations? Why doest thou see us reviled? Hurl thy burning bolt against the hater of devotion (*brahma-dvishē*)."

(These verses perhaps refer to the struggles of rival priests. Professor Aufrecht renders the words *atiyājasya yashṭā*, by "he who tries to outdo us in sacrifices." Sāyana, who is followed by Professor Goldstücker, makes *atiyāja* the name of a rishi. Professor Roth takes it to mean "very pious.")

vi. 53, 3. "Impel to liberality, o burning Pūshan, even

¹ *Achakrebhiḥ*, easily, swiftly, noiselessly, suddenly. Compare the phrase *achakrayā svadhayā varitamānam* in x. 27, 19, and *nichakrayā*, viii. 7, 29.

² This latter rendering of the words *ya ohate rakshaso devavītau*, is suggested by Professor Aufrecht. Compare the words *mā no martāya ripave rakshasvine*, etc., viii. 49, 8, and *yo naḥ kaśchid ririkshati rakshastvena martyaḥ*, etc., viii. 18, 13. Sāyana renders the words under consideration by "who brings Rakshases to the sacrifice,—by irregular observances, etc., makes it demoniacal (*āsura*)."

³ The sense of this is not very clear, unless, as Professor Aufrecht proposes, we understand the words as an oath.

⁴ This verse occurs in a modified form in the A.V. ii. 12, 6, but without any perceptible difference of sense.

the man who wishes to give nothing. Soften¹ the soul even of the niggard (*pañeh*). 4. Open up paths by which we may obtain food ; slay our enemies ; let our ceremonies be successful, o terrible god. 5. O wise deity, pierce the hearts of the niggards (*pañinām*) with a probe ; and then subject them to us. 6. Pierce them with a goad, o Pûshan ; seek (for us) that which is dear to the heart of the niggard (*pañeh*) ; and then subject them to us. 7. Penetrate and tear the hearts of the niggards (*pañinām*), o wise deity, and then subject them to us. 8. With that prayer-promoting probe (*brahmachodinâm ârâm*) which thou holdest, o burning Pûshan, penetrate and tear the heart of every (such man)."

vii. 83, 4. "O Indra and Varuṇa, unrivalled with your weapons, slaying Bheda, ye preserved Sudâs ; ye listened to the prayers of these men in the battle ; the priestly office of the Tritsus proved efficacious. . . . 6. Both invoke you, Indra and Varuṇa, for the acquisition of spoil (as) in the conflicts where ye protected Sudâs with the Tritsus, when he was assailed by the ten kings. 7. Ten unsacrificing (*ayajyavah*) kings did not, o Indra and Varuṇa, vanquish Sudâs. The praises of the men who partake in the sacrificial feast were effectual ; the gods were present at their invocations. 8. O Indra and Varuṇa, ye gave succour to Sudâs when surrounded in the battle of the ten kings, where the devout white-robed Tritsus, with knotted hair, worshipped you with reverence and prayer."

[In the first verse of this hymn Indra and Varuṇa are said to have slain both the Dâsa and Ârya enemies of Sudâs. His enemies were therefore in part Âryas, and the ten kings alluded to in the verses I have quoted were no doubt of this race. And yet it is to be observed that in v. 7 they are described as *ayajyavah*, "unsacrificing." If, therefore, this expression is to be taken literally, it would follow that these Aryan kings were not worshippers of Indra and Varuṇa. Perhaps, however, the epithet is only to be understood in a general way, as meaning "ungodly." If we are to take the indefinite word "both" (*ubhayâśah*) in verse 6, as meaning

¹ Or, "crush" (*vi mrada*).

"both the contending hosts," it would, indeed, result that not only Sudâs but also the ten kings who were fighting against him offered supplications to the same gods; but this would seem to be in contradiction to the literal sense of the word "unsacrificing" in the following verse; and Sâyaṇa understands "both" to refer to Sudâs and the Tritsus who were his helpers].

vii. 19, 1. "Who (Indra) bestows on the man who offers many libations the wealth of the family which does not worship (him)."

viii. 2, 18. The gods love a man who offers oblations; they do not approve sleep. The active obtain delight." (Compare viii. 86, 3).

viii. 14, 15. "Thou, o Indra, a drinker of soma, who art supreme, hast scattered and destroyed the hostile assembly which offers no oblations."

viii. 31, 15. "Impetuous is the chariot of the godly man, and he is a hero in every battle. The sacrificer who seeks to please the gods overcomes the man who does not sacrifice. 16. Thou dost not perish, o sacrificer, nor thou, o offerer of libations, nor thou, o godly man."

viii. 45, 15. "Bring to us the wealth of the man who, being rich, but no sacrificer, refuses to present offerings. . . . 23. Let not violent fools, let not deriders insult thee. Love not the haters of devotion (*brahmadvishah*)."

viii. 51, 12. "Let us praise Indra truly, not falsely. Great destruction overtakes the man who offers no libations, whilst he who offers them has many lights."

viii. 53, 1. "Let our hymns exhilarate thee; give us wealth, o Thunderer. Slay the haters of devotion (*brahmadvishah*). 2. Crush with thy foot the niggards (*panin*), who bestow nothing;¹ thou art great; no one equals thee."

viii. 59, 7. "O long-lived god, the ungodly man shall not obtain food. . . . 10. Thou, Indra, lovest our rites; thou satiatest (? ironically) those who revile thee. . . ."

Perhaps these expressions may refer to the Dâsas and Dasyu, who are mentioned in the context.

viii. 86, 2. "Bestow, o Indra, upon the worshipper who offers libations and gives presents, and not upon the niggard (*panau*), the horse and cow which thou possessest, as an undecaying portion. 3. Let the godless man who performs no rites, and sleeps an incessant sleep, destroy by his own acts¹ the wealth which sustains him; sever him from it."

x. 27, 1. "The impulse comes upon me (says Indra) to bestow (blessings) on the sacrificer who offers libations. I slay the man who utters no praises, who is an enemy of truth, a sinner, and empty."²

x. 32. "May the (worshippers) who constantly bring thee to the sacrifices slay the boasters (or talkers) who give no presents" (*vagvanân arâdhasah*).

x. 38, 3. "Whatever godless man (*adevah*), whether Dâsa or Ârya, o much-lauded Indra, seeks after us to vanquish us, let these enemies be easy for us to overcome; through thee may we slay them in the conflict."

[This passage shows that Âryas as well as Dâsas were charged with being deniers of the Aryan gods (compare vii. 83, 7); unless we are to consider the term "godless" as employed, as in modern times,³ to describe persons who were practically, though not theoretically, unbelievers. This latter view is confirmed by A.V. v. 8, 3, where an enemy plotting against the worshipper, and employing a *priest* (v. 5), is yet described as "godless."]

x. 42, 4. . . "Here the hero (Indra) takes for a friend the man who brings offerings; he desires no friendship with the man who pours out no libations."

x. 49, 1. . . "I (says Indra) bestow the earliest riches on the man who praises me: I have made for myself a hymn which magnifies me. I am the encourager of the man who sacrifices. I overwhelm in every conflict those who do not sacrifice."

x. 160, 4. "Whoever, loving the gods, offers libations of soma to Indra with an ardent soul, with his whole heart,—Indra does not give up his kine (to spoliation), but makes for

¹ Compare viii. 18, 13.

² "Empty-handed," *âbhum*, as explained by Böhlingk and Roth s.v.

³ e.g. in the case of the Government Colleges in Ireland.

him (the soma-libation) approved and pleasing.¹ 4. That man is observed by Indra who, though rich, offers to him no libations of soma. Maghavat grasps him in his fist,² and slays the haters of devotion (*brahmadvishah*) though unsolicited.”

That the wealthy man here referred to is an Âryan is rendered probable by the tenor of the following text, where the rich man there alluded to, after contemning Indra during a period of security, concludes by invoking the god when he has been terrified into devotion by the manifestations of his power and anger :

viii. 21, 14. “Thou takest not a rich man for thy friend. Drunkards contemn thee. When thou utterest a sound, and mustertest (thy hosts), then thou art invoked as a father.”³

¹ Prof. Aufrecht suggested that the words “the soma libation,” should be understood in this verse, and compares vii. 84, 3, and x. 39, 2. The blessings which attend a devout worshipper of Indra are also described in vi. 28, 2 ff.

² See Prof. Goldstücker's Sanskrit Lexicon s.v. *aratni*. Sâyana's interpretation of this verse, as there quoted and translated by Prof. G., is as follows : “Indra manifests himself (to the pious) ; (the sacrificer), who, though not wealthy, offers him the soma libation,—him, Indra, the wealthy, holds in his hand (lit. *fist*, i.e. he protects him), after having defeated (*nih* scil. *krshya*) his enemies; even unsolicited he slays the foes of the Brâhmans.” I am, I confess, bold enough to consider the rendering I have given in the text as preferable to Sâyana's in the parts where mine differs from his. His connection of the negative particle *na* which follows *revân* with that word (so as to make it = *arevân*), instead of with the verb *sunoti*, seems forced and unnatural, especially as rich men are often censured as non-sacrificers (as in iv. 25, 7; v. 34, 5; v. 42, 9; viii. 45, 15). Prof. Roth conjecturally interprets *aratnau niradadhâti* as meaning “he finds him out in a corner.” Prof. Aufrecht would render, “holds him at arm's length, despises him.”

³ Compare the following additional passages :—i. 110, 7; i. 113, 18; i. 121, 13; i. 131, 4; i. 132, 4; i. 133, 7; i. 151, 7; i. 152, 2; i. 174, 6; vi. 22, 8; vi. 23, 2, 3, 9. We read in i. 51, 8 : “Distinguish between the Âryas and those who are Dasyus; chastising the men who are destitute of rites (or lawless), subject them to the sacrificer. Be a strong supporter of thy worshipper,” etc.; and in i. 130, 8 : “Indra preserved the sacrificing Ârya in battle.” But it does not follow from such texts that the Âryas are always identifiable with the worshippers of the gods, though the two classes would generally include the same persons.

As the people named in the following verse (iii. 53, 14), the Kîkatas, seem to have lived on the outskirts of Âryan civilization, no conclusion can be drawn from it in reference to the point before us. “What are thy cows, (o Indra) doing among the Kîkatas? (These people) neither draw (from these cows) milk to mix with the soma, nor do they heat the sacrificial kettle. Bring to us the wealth of Pramaganda (or the usurer); subject to us the degraded people.” The Kîkatas, according to Yâska (Nir. vi. 32), are a non-Âryan race; though he and Sâyana give *nâstikas* or atheists as an alternative sense. Prof. Weber (Indische Studien, i. 186) thinks that as Kîkâta is an old name for Magadha or Behar, we may understand the word *anâryya* used by Yâska as meaning an Âryan tribe which

(See "Contributions to Vedic Theogony," etc., p. 101, note 1.) In vi. 47, 16, Indra is said to be the enemy of the prosperous man (*edhamânadvit*), probably an Ârya who rendered him no service.¹

In two other passages we are even told that doubts were entertained by some in regard to Indra's existence; ii. 12, 5: "Have faith in that terrible being of whom men ask 'where is he?' and declare that he is not. He destroys the possessions of the foe, etc. . . . 15. Thou art true, who being irresistible, continually providest food for him who pours out libations and cooks oblations."

viii. 89, 3. "Seeking food, present a hymn to Indra, a true hymn, if he truly exists. 'Indra does not exist,' says some one; 'who has seen him? whom shall we praise?' 'This is I, o worshipper (exclaims Indra), behold me here, I surpass all beings in greatness.'"

It seems evident from the preceding texts that the *parcus deorum cultor et infrequens* was by no means a rare character among the Âryas of the Vedic age, and that the priests found no little difficulty in drawing forth the liberality of their lay contemporaries towards themselves, and in enforcing a due regard to the ceremonials of devotion. It would even appear that the ministers of religion had to encounter a considerable amount of contempt and hostility from the ungodly, for such words as *brahmadvish*,² "hater of devotion," and *piyâru*,

did not follow Âryan rites, but were in the same condition as the Vrâtyas described by him in p. 33, and by Prof. Aufrecht at pp. 138 f. of the same volume, who were admissible by a particular rite within the Brahmanical pale. From Atharva Veda, v. 22, 14, however, it would appear that the Magadhas were regarded by the writer with enmity, and the people designated in the verse before us as Kîkaṭas, are described as hostile or indifferent to Âryan rites. (See Sanskrit Texts ii. 362 ff. and Wilson's note *in loco*.)

¹ As however it is said in the same verse that Indra subdues the terrible, and brings forward others, it is possible that these expressions may be meant merely to declare Indra's absolute control over the destinies of men, and to describe the Nemesis that overtakes pride, with an indication of the Herodotean idea τὸ θεῖον φθονερόν. (Herod. iii. 40; vii. 10, and 46.)

² This word *brahma-dvish* might mean either "hater of priests," or "hater of devotion," but in the R.V. it seems to have the latter sense. Sâyaṇa, on ii. 23, renders it *mantrāṇāṃ brāhmaṇānāṃ vā dveshṭuḥ*, "hater of mantras (hymns), or of Brāhmans;" and similarly, on v. 42, 9, *brāhmaṇa-dveshṭrīṇ mantra-dveshṭrīṇ vā*, "hater of Brāhmans or of mantras;" whilst on iii. 30, 17, he explains it by *brāhmaṇa-dvesha-kārine*, "hater of Brāhmans;" and the same on vi. 22, 8; vi.

“despiser,” which seem to be sometimes applied to irreligious Âryas, express something more than passive opposition. It may perhaps be further gathered from a few passages, which I shall now cite, that the recognized Âryan worship of the national gods, Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., was not kept free from a certain admixture of demonolatry borrowed most probably from the aboriginal tribes; and it is indeed easy to conceive, or even a thing to be assumed as natural and necessary, that the religion as well as the language, manners, and customs of the Âryans should, in process of time, have undergone some modification from the close contact into which they must have been brought with these barbarous neighbours.¹

From the first text which I shall quote, and which is ascribed by tradition to the rishi Vasishṭha, it seems that that distinguished personage himself had been accused, whether truly or falsely, of worshipping false gods, of familiarity with evil spirits, and the practice of devilish arts. A charge of this kind could scarcely have been made with any chance of being credited, unless such demonolatry was commonly known to have been practised either by him, or by other members of the same community. The passage referred to (R.V. vii. 104, 12 ff.) is as follows: “The intelligent man can easily discern, (when) true and false words contend together, which of them is true, and which of them is correct. Soma protects the former, and destroys untruth. 13. Soma does not prosper the sinner, nor the man who wields royal power deceitfully.

52, 3; vii. 104, 2; viii. 45, 23; and viii. 53, 1. The context of ii. 23, 4; v. 42, 9; vi. 52, 2, 3; x. 160, 4, seems to be in favour of the sense “haters of devotion,” and the other passages contain nothing inconsistent with this interpretation. No use can therefore be made of this word to prove the importance of priests in the Vedic age.

¹ The demons mentioned in the Rig-veda are called by various names, such as *Rakshas*, *Yātu*, *Yātudhāna*, of which the feminine *Yātudhāni* is also found, and apparently also *Dasyu* and *Dāsa*. The word *piśāchi* (masculine) also occurs in R.V. i. 133, 5, and *piśācha* frequently in the A.V. The *Yātus* are conceived as of different kinds, *śva-yātu*, *ulūka-yātu*, *susulūka-yātu*, *koka-yātu*, *suparna-yātu*, *grāhṛa-yātu*, the dog-, owl-, vulture-, etc. etc. formed *Yātus* (vii. 104, 22); and *śaphāruj yātus*, perhaps, such as wound with their hoofs (x. 87, 12). Indra and Agni are the destroyers of the *Yātus* who seek to disturb and vitiate the sacrifices and to slay these deities (vii. 104, 18, 20 f.; x. 87, 9 ff.). The *Yātus* are described as devouring, insatiable, eaters of raw flesh, of the flesh of men and cattle, drinkers of milk, haters of devotion, maleficent, glaring-eyed, furious, the offspring of darkness (vii. 104 and x. 87 passim).

He slays the Rakshas, he slays the liar, they both sleep in the fetters of Indra. 14. If I am either one whose gods are false,¹ or if I have conceived of the gods untrue;—why art thou angry with us, o Jâtavedas; let slanderers fall into thy destruction. 15. May I die to-day if I am a Yâtudhâna, or if I have injured any man's life. Then let him be separated from his ten sons, who falsely addresses to me (the words) 'o Yâtudhâna.' 16. He who addresses to me who am no Yâtu² (the words), 'o Yâtudhâna,' or who (being) himself a Rakshas says, 'I am pure';³ let Indra slay him with his mighty bolt; let him sink down the lowest of all creatures." Sâyaṇa in his note on v. 12 refers to a legend according to which a Râkshasa had taken the form of Vasishṭha, and killed a hundred sons of that rishi, and that these verses were uttered by Vasishṭha to repel the charge of his having been possessed by the demon. This legend, however, which was no doubt manufactured to explain the verses, does not in reality answer this purpose. And it would seem, as I have above assumed, that Vasishṭha, or the speaker in these verses, whoever he may have been, had been charged with worshipping false gods, and with being under the influence of demons; and that while repelling the accusation, he here, retorts upon his accuser by calling *him* a Rakshas.

Again in vii. 34, 8, the rishi says: "I who am no Yâtu (undemoniacal) invoke the gods; fulfilling (the ceremony) in due form, I offer a hymn." In another place⁴ (vii. 21, 5) it is said: "Neither, o Indra, have Yâtus inspired⁵

¹ *Anṛta-devaḥ*: i.e. *asatya-bhūtā devā yasya*, "one whose gods are untrue, or unreal" (Sâyaṇa). Prof. Goldstücker *s.v.* interprets the word as meaning, "one to whom the gods are untrue." Prof. Max Müller renders the phrase, "If I had worshipped false gods." Prof. Roth who had originally *s.v.* taken the word to mean "a false prayer," withdraws this sense, and adheres to that given by Sâyaṇa, at the close of his article on *deva*.

² Roth *s.v.* explains the word *ayātu* as meaning, "not demoniacal, free from demoniacal (magic)." Goldstücker *s.v.* defines the word, "a no-demon, a being different from, or the reverse of, a fiend."

³ See Prof. Goldstücker's Dict. *s.v.* *ayātu*.

⁴ Quoted with its context in Sanskrit Texts, iv. 345.

⁵ Or, "impelled," *jūjuruḥ*. This is the sense given by Roth *s.v.* who explains the words thus: "Demons do not impel us:" i.e. "We are not in league with demons." Compare *deva-jāta* "god-inspired" or "god-impelled" applied to

us¹ Let the lord (Indra) triumph over the hostile race ; let no priapic (or long-tailed) demons,² approach our ceremony."

In vi. 62, 8, a person characterized as *rakshoyuj* is devoted to the vengeance of the gods. The commentator explains the term as either "the lord, or the instigator, of demons, or a priest possessed of, or by, demons" (Rakshases).

In vii. 85, 1, the word *arakshas* is used in a sense perhaps akin to that of *ayātu* : "I consecrate (or polish, *punishe*) for you twain an undemoniacal (*arakshasam*) hymn, offering a libation of soma to Indra and Varuṇa." The same word is also employed in viii. 90, 8, where the Aṣvins are thus addressed : "Since we offer to you an undemoniacal gift (*rātim arakshasam*)," etc. Compare ii. 10, 5 ; v. 87, 9.

If we should assign to the words *Rakshaso devavitau* in R. V. v. 42, 10 (a passage quoted above), the sense of "the sacrifice offered to a Rakshas," the preceding conclusions would be still further confirmed.

If such demonolatry really existed to any extent among the Âryas, it is quite conceivable (I throw this out as a mere conjecture), that the intense hatred of the evil spirits whom, under the appellations of Yâtudhânas, Rakshases, Asuras, etc., Agni, Indra, and other deities, are so frequently represented in the R. V. (i. 133 ; iii. 15, 1 ;

Viṣvâmitra in iii. 53, 9 ; and, on the other hand, *dasyujâtaya* in vi. 24, 8, where it is said : "Indra does not bow to the strong nor the firm, nor to the bold man impelled by a *Dasyu* (or evil spirit)."

¹ The sense of the following words *na vandanâ vedyâbhih* is obscure.

² *Ṣiṇadevâh*. The same word occurs in x. 99, 3 : "When, irresistible, he conquered by his force the treasures of the (city) with a hundred gates, slaying the priapic (or long-tailed) demons." (See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 346). If this word *ṣiṇadeva* is correctly rendered as above, the demons in question may have some affinity with the Gandharvas, who are represented as objects of apprehension in A. V. iv. 37, in consequence of their propensity for women, whom, though themselves hairy like dogs or monkeys, they attempted to seduce by assuming an agreeable form (vv. 11, 12). The author of the hymn accordingly wishes that they may be emasculated (v. 7). [Professor Aufrecht thinks that *ṣiṇadevâh*, being a *bahuvrīhi* compound, must mean "lascivious" (*ṣiṇam devo yeshâm*).] These Gandharvas are also described (vv. 8, 9) as *haviṛ-adân*, "eaters of oblations." In A. V. xviii. 2, 28, the *Dasyus* (who must here be demons) are spoken of as mingling with the Pitris under the appearance of friends, though they had no right to partake in the oblations ; and Agni is besought to drive them away from the sacrifice. Compare the disputes regarding the admission of Rudra to a share in sacrifices. Sanskrit Texts, iv. 203, 241, 312 ff.

vii. 13, 1; vii. 15, 10; vii. 104; viii. 23, 13; viii. 43, 26; x. 87; x. 187, 3, etc.) as destroying or chasing away from the sacrifices which they disturbed and polluted (vii. 104, 18; x. 87, 9, 11), may not have been inspired by the dread which the superstitious worshippers entertained of those goblins, so much as by the fact that they were rival objects of adoration for whom their votaries claimed a share in the oblations, whilst the adherents of the gods described their patrons as triumphing by their superior power over the hostile intruders, and their magical arts (vii. 104, 20, 21, 24; x. 87, 19).¹

Is it possible to look upon Rudra as having been originally a demon worshipped by the aborigines as the lord of evil spirits, and subsequently introduced into the Aryan worship? And that he was then, as well as originally, supplicated to abstain from inflicting those evils of which he was regarded as the author, and flattered by being addressed as the great healer of those sufferings which had their origin in his malevolence? (See the reference made to the late Rev. Dr. Stevenson's paper on the "Ante-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus," and to Lassen's *Ind. Antiq. in Sanskrit Texts*, iv. 344). His malignant, homicidal, and cattle-destroying character (*R.V.* iv. 3, 6; *i.* 114, 10, *Sanskrit Texts* iv. 339), assimilates him to the Rakshasas and Yâtudhânas (though it is true that they are not, as he is, specifically described as the inflictors of disease and death); and he is described in the *Ṣatarudriya* (*Vâj. S.* xvi. 8, 20), as having attendants (*satvânaḥ*), while in *A.V.* xiii. 4, 27, all the Yâtus are said to obey his commands, and in *v.* 25 of the same hymn he is declared to be death, and immortality, vastness (*abhvam*), and a Rakshas (*sa eva mṛtyuḥ so 'mṛtaṁ so 'bhvaṁ sa rakshaḥ*); and in xi. 2, 30 f., reverence is offered to his wide-mouthed howling dogs, and to his shouting, long-haired, devouring armies. It is true that in the 11th verse of the same hymn he is asked to drive away dogs and shrieking female (demons) with dis-

¹ Perhaps, however, it is unnecessary to resort to this supposition in order to account for the dread and hatred of Rakshases which prevailed in the Vedic age. Such horror and hatred of demons appear to be natural to men in a certain stage of civilization. See Lecky's *History of the Rise and Progress of Rationalism*, i. 17 f.

hevelled hair ; that in A.V. iv. 28, 5, Bhava (a deity akin to, or identical with, Rudra) and Śarva are solicited to destroy the Yātudhâna who uses incantations (compare x. 1, 23) and makes men mad ; that in Vaj. 16, 5, Rudra is besought to drive away Yātudhanîs ; that in A.V. xi. 2, 28, Bhava is asked to be gracious to the sacrificer who has faith in the existence of the gods, and in v. 23 is said to destroy the contemners of the deities who offer them no sacrifice ;—all of these latter traits being common to him with the other Vedic gods. If, however, Rudra really represents a god or demon borrowed by the Âryas from the aborigines, it was to be expected that when adopted by the former he would be invested with the general characteristics which they assigned to their other deities, and that his connection with the evil spirits, of whom he was originally the chief, should as far as possible be kept out of sight and ultimately forgotten.

It is true that this theory leaves unexplained the connection of Rudra with the Maruts, in conformity with which he ought to be the god of tempests. (See the extract from Weber's Ind. Stud. in Sansk. Texts, iv. 334 ff.). But Rudra may be a composite character, and modified by the addition of heterogeneous elements in the course of ages.

There is no proof in the Rig-veda that the introduction of the worship of Rudra, even if it was more recent than that of the other Vedic gods, was met with any opposition. But we find there are hints that the adoration of the Rudras or Maruts was regarded as an innovation. These deities are described in many places (see my paper, "Contributions to a Knowledge of Vedic Theogony," etc., p. 110), as the sons of Rudra and Pṛṣṇi, and might, therefore, be supposed to have had some connection with Rudra. In one passage, too, (R.V. vii. 56, 17), a cattle-destroying and homicidal character (*gohâ nrhâ vadho vah*), akin to his, is ascribed to them. On the other hand, they are frequently represented as in close relation with Indra ; and in fact it is almost inevitable that these deities of the tempest should be associated with the Thunderer, who could scarcely fulfil his function as dispenser of rain without their co-operation. But there are some hymns,

viz., the 165th, the 170th, and the 171st, of the first Maṇḍala, in which Indra is introduced as regarding them with jealousy, and as resenting the worship which was paid to them. Thus in i. 160, 6 ff., he boasts that he is quite independent of their aid, while they reply that their assistance had been of importance to his success in battle. (Compare viii. 7, 31, and viii. 85, 7; iv. 18, 11). Again, in i. 170, Indra, who complains (*v.* 3) that the rishi Agastya was despising him and neglecting his worship, is besought (*v.* 2) to come to terms with the Maruts, and to associate with them at the sacrifice (*v.* 5); and in i. 171, 4, the rishi asks forgiveness from the Maruts, because, through dread of Indra, he had discontinued the sacrifice which he had begun in their honour. From all this it would seem as if the worshippers of Indra had entertained some objection to the adoration of the Maruts, and ascribed to the god the aversion to it which they themselves entertained. If there is any truth in the hypothesis that Rudra may have originally been a deity or demon who was introduced from the worship of the aborigines into that of their Aryan conquerors, the same may have been the case with the Rudras or Maruts, the sons of Rudra. Only, if this be the fact, these gods have been transformed in character in the course of their reception into the Indian pantheon, and rehabilitated by the ascription to them of different functions and milder attributes than those which belonged to them as deities, or demons of the aborigines.

The supposition which I have here made of the gradual transformation of Rākshasas into deities, is illustrated by the story told in the Mahābhārata of the Rākshasī Jarā, who is called a household goddess, and is represented as seeking to requite by benefits the worship which was paid to her. (See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 247).

I have already quoted from the Atharva-veda (*v.* 17) some evidence of the greater development which the Brahmanical pretensions had received subsequently to the age when the greater part of the Rig-veda was composed. Farther illustration of the same point may be found in the two hymns which follow the one just referred to, viz., A.V. v. 18, and

v. 19, which have been already translated in my former paper, "Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig and Atharva Vedas," pp. 34 ff.). 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: "4. Prayer (*brāhmān*) is the chief (thing); the Brāhman is the lord (*adhipati*). 5. From the Kshattriya who takes the priest's cow, and oppresses the Brāhman, (6) there depart piety (*sūnṛta*), valour, good fortune, (7) force, keenness, vigour, strength, speech, energy, prosperity, virtue, (8) prayer (*brahman*), royalty, kingdom, subjects, splendour, renown, lustre, wealth, (9) life, beauty, name, fame, inspiration and expiration, sight, hearing, (10) milk, juice, food, eating, righteousness, truth, oblation, sacrifice, offspring, and cattle;—(11) all these things depart from the Kshattriya who takes 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 taken, 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 of the Atharva-veda in which reference is made to priests (*brāhmān*) and Brāhmans, and as I suppose these two words had by this period become nearly synonymous, there will no longer be any sufficient reason for separating the passages in which they respectively occur.

iv. 6, 1. "The Brāhman was born the first, with ten heads and ten faces. He first drank the soma; he made poison powerless."¹

In xix. 22, 21 (= xix. 23, 30) it is similarly said: "Powers are assembled, of which prayer (or sacred science, *brahman*) is the chief. Prayer in the beginning stretched out the sky.

¹ I may mention for the benefit of any Indian Student who may see this article that this hitherto undiscovered variety of Brāhman, who was never anything but a "sky-flower," created by the prolific imagination of the author of this verse, was not again heard of, as far as I am aware, till he was resuscitated as Rāvana by the author of the Rāmāyana and his followers, who describe the enemy of Rāma and ravisher of Sītā as a monstrous Brāhman with ten heads.

The *priest* (*brāhmān*) was born the first of beings. Who, then, ought to vie with the *priest*?"

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

xix. 9, 12. "May a prosperous journey be granted to me by prayer, Prajâpati, Dhâtri, the worlds, the Vedas, the seven rishis, the fires; may Indra grant me felicity, may the *priest* (*brahman*) grant me felicity."

xix. 43, 8. "May the *priest* conduct me to the place whither the knowers of prayer (or of sacred science) go by initiation and austerity. May the *priest* impart to me sacred science."

The wonderful powers of the Brahmachârin, 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 was seeking by his ceremonies to effect the ruin of the worshipper.

v. 8, 5, "May the *priest* whom these men have placed at their head (as a *purohita*) for our injury, fall under thy feet, o Indra; I hurl him away to death" (compare A.V. vii. 70, 1 ff.).