

VEDISM and BRAHMANISM

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I. Introductory remarks.

§ 1. The terms Vedism and Brahmanism cover those forms of belief and thought as well as of ritual and magical practices in ancient India which have been preserved in the sacred literature called Veda. The terms are used in distinction not only from Buddhism and Jainism but also from Hinduism or Neo-Brahmanism in which the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva as central figures dominate the popular cult and worship and which is chiefly embodied in the Great Epic (Mahābhārata) and in the Purāṇas. The distinction between Vedism and Brahmanism is, however, a conventional one. The former is sometimes applied to the period represented by the Ṛksamhitā (RS.) and the latter to that of the other Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and principal Upaniṣads. In spite of many signs of difference, esp. those of language, the two periods can not be strictly distinguished in terms of time and space. It will suffice, therefore, to use the designation Vedism alone in order to cover the whole stage of religious and philosophical development described in the present article. The transition from Vedism to Hinduism was again an insensible one. It was rather a melting into a new form of faith preserving many survivals of the older time but gradually strengthened by popular elements which had been already latent in the higher phases of Vedic religion. We can not tell exactly when Vedism ended and Hinduism began.

§ 2. In the Veda we find in full growth the religion with its highly developed mythology of the early Indo-Aryans. A vast length of time, however, must have been necessary for its formation. In lack of written documents and archaeological evidence language is the only guide for us to reconstruct the prehistory of the Indo-Aryans before their arrival in the new abode, the so-called land of the Seven Rivers, that is, the Panjab and its environs. As is well known the linguistic similitude between the RS. and the oldest documents of the Iranians, the Avesta (Av.) and the inscriptions in Old Persian, is so outstanding that it is quite natural to assume that the ancestors of the Vedic Indo-Aryans and those of the Iranians led a common cultural life somewhere in the tableland of Central Asia not very far from both Iran and India perhaps until 2000 B.C. at the latest. Both peoples called themselves Aryans, Ved. ārya, Av. airya, OP. ariya. This linguistic unity thus recognized is commonly expressed by the term Indo-Iranian or Aryan, one of the branches which constitute the Indo-European family of languages comprising among others Greek and Latin, Germanic and Slavonic in Europe, Hittite in ancient Asia Minor and Tocharian in ancient Central Asia. A difficult problem where and when the Proto-Indo-European was spoken being still undecided, suffice it to say its important features are most faithfully reflected in the Vedic language, esp. in that of the RS. The Vedic language, richer in forms and more archaic in grammar and vocabulary than the classical Sanskrit, represents a more ancient phase of Old Indo-Aryan than the latter. Yet there

exist various types, partly chronological and partly stylistic, in Vedic itself, each type comprising in its turn several subdivisions and chronological strata: the hymnic language of the RS., a more popular form of the Atharvasaṃhitā, the prose style of the Brāhmaṇa-texts (II. § 2), a younger and suppler idiom of the Upaniṣads and a peculiar telegraphic Sūtra-style, thus merging imperceptibly into the classical form of Pāṇini.

§ 3. The Indo-Aryans, probably divided in many tribes, seem to have invaded the northwestern part of India by several waves in the course of the second millennium B.C. If the date of 2500–1500 B.C. (Wheeler) for the Indus civilization can be relied upon, the balance of probability is with the hypothesis that the Vedic Indo-Aryans, themselves still semi-nomads, with their war-god Indra, the fort-destroyer (*purandara*), were the devastators of that civilization of Harappā and Mohenjo-Daro with its fortified citadels. At any rate the Indo-Aryans on their arrival in India must have encountered the aboriginals (*dāsa*, *dasyu* of the RS.), most probably the forefathers of the Dravidians and of the Muṇḍā-speaking tribes who were subdued or banished by the stronger new-comers. Though their relation to the Indus-civilization is not clear, their influence on the Vedic Indo-Aryans can not be denied theoretically, and in fact some popular features of the Vedic belief and practices are traced to the contact with the aborigines. Moreover, a considerable number of Dravidisms and Muṇḍisms in the Vedic vocabulary have been pointed out by several competent scholars though unfortunately the majority of the cases adduced seem to lack a persuasive power. On the other hand, the existence of Aryans in Asia Minor and the Near East in the second millennium B.C. has left unmistakable traces in the contemporary documents. Apart from some isolated identifications as Šurīaš (=Ved. Sūrya) and Maruttaš (=Marut) in the documents of the Kassites ruling in Babylon (c. 1750–1170 B.C.) or Hitt. Akniš (=Agni, Hrozný), four important Vedic deities are named together in a treaty (c. 1350 B.C.) concluded between the Hittite king Suppiluliuma and the Mittani king Matiwāza (Skt. *Mativāja): Indara (=Indra), Mitra, Našatia (Nāsatya) and Uruvana (=Varuṇa). Besides, the rulers of the Mittani kingdom in North Mesopotamia during the period 1500–1300 B.C. had the names of a distinctly Aryan appearance, e.g. Artadāma (cf. Ved. Ṛtadhāman) and a Hittite treatise on the training of horses written by a Mittanian called Kikkuli contains some clearly Aryan words, cf. esp. aika 'one' =Skt. eka out of *aika, but OP. aiva, Av. aēva. As far as the linguistic evidence goes, nothing seems to hinder an assumption that they were more closely related to the Indo-Aryans than to the Iranians and they separated from the main body of the emigrating Aryans on their way to India.

II. Sources.

§ 1. The fundamental sources for the study of Vedism are what we

understand under a collective term Veda. The Veda primarily means 'sacred knowledge' and then the Brahmanical scripture containing the sacred lore (śruti) revealed to the inspired sages (ṛṣi). The Veda, however, is by no way a single compilation like the Bible or the Koran, but rather a great literature consisting of heterogeneous texts, and the Vedic India has never experienced such an event as the reputed Council at Rājagṛha or at Pāṭaliputra for collecting and establishing the Buddhist canon. The Veda meaning both sacred knowledge and the totality of the sacred texts, the Ṛgveda e.g. signifies in the first place the knowledge of the ṛc 'verse' and then all the revealed texts relating to it. Similarly the Sāmaveda is the Veda of the sāman 'chant' and the Yajurveda the Veda of the yajus 'sacrificial formulary'. The central or basic part of each Veda being called Saṃhitā, the Ṛksaṃhitā or Ṛgveda-saṃhitā (or briefly but less correctly also Ṛgveda) e.g. is a collection of ṛc's around which all other Ṛgvedic texts cluster. The same can be said of the Sāmasaṃhitā (SS.) and m. m. of the Yajuḥsaṃhitā (YS.). Thus we arrive at three kinds of the Veda-saṃhitās: 1. the RS., a collection of the hymns (sūkta) in praise of the gods recited by the officiant called hotṛ. 2. the SS., a collection of the verses and melodies chanted at the sacrifice by the officiants called chandoga's headed by the udgātṛ. The SS. is of two kinds: a. the Ārcika's, collections of texts (a kind of libretto), the verses of which are mainly derived from the RS.: Pūrvārcika, Āraṇyakasaṃhitā and Uttarārcika, b. the Gānā's, i.e., songbooks in which the texts given in the Ārcika's are technically arranged for singing with necessary modifications of sounds and with insertions of meaningless syllables (stobha): Grāmegeyagāna or Geyagāna (or Veyagāna), Āraṇyegeyagāna or Āraṇyagāna, Ūhagāna and Ūhyagāna. 3. the YS., a collection of the sacrificial formularies principally in prose muttered by the officiant called adhvaryu. If a YS. is accompanied by explanatory parts in prose (brāhmaṇa), it is called 'Black' (Kṛṣṇa-YS.) in contrast with the 'White' one (Śukla-YS.) which contains the yajus alone. The RS., the oldest text of the Vedic literature, already knows (X. 90. 9) the threefold division of the Vedic elements: ṛc, sāman and yajus, and this division is later referred to by a traditional expression trayī (vidyā) 'the triple knowledge'. To the above mentioned three kinds of the Veda-saṃhitās was later added as the fourth the Atharvasaṃhitā (AS.), essentially a collection of magical spells and incantations in a hymn-like form, but enlarged with a good deal of later additions (partly in prose: paryāyasūkta's) and entrusted to the charge of the superintendent officiant called brahman. Though it seems to have taken a long time till the sanctity of the AS. has been fully recognized, the text is second only to the RS. in importance for our Vedic studies.

§ 2. Beside the Saṃhitā each Veda has the following groups of texts: a. the Brāhmaṇa (Br.), a theological text in prose giving sacrificial injunctions (vidhi) and explaining the origin and meaning of rites (arthavāda), often enlivened by insertions of mythological, legendary and speculative materials.

As the independent Br.'s and the brāhmaṇa-parts in the Kṛṣṇa-YS. (§ 1) are of the same nature they can be conveniently put together as Br.-texts in distinction from the mantra's, that is, the ṛc's and yajus' put together. They are highly important as specimens of the oldest Vedic prose. b. the Āraṇyaka (Ār.), 'a text of the wood (araṇya)' too secret and dangerous to the living beings to be taught in the village. In reality the Ār.'s are of composite character containing mantra's, brāhmaṇa-like and speculative portions, or even sacrificial precepts. c. the Upaniṣad (Up.), also called Vedānta, that is, 'the end of the Veda'. The principal Up.'s, fourteen in number, being the products of certain Vedic schools, represent the climax of philosophical speculations in the Vedic age, but their contents are by no means unitary while older parts often resemble the speculative portions in the Br.'s and Ār.'s.

§ 3. So far the main division of the divine revelation (śruti, § 1), but the Vedic literature in a wider sense involves much more. Among the works attributed to human authors, the smṛti in contrast with the śruti, the first place, at least from the ritual point of view, should be given to the Kalpasūtra, briefly Sūtra (S.), a corpus of manuals composed in a characteristically concise prose (the S.-style). A complete Kalpas. consists of: a. the Śrautasūtra (ŚS), a work of aphorisms for the solemn rites based upon the śruti (whence the name śrauta) which require three sacrificial fires. The ŚS.'s are of great importance for our understanding the Vedic ritual. b. the Śulvasūtra (ŚvaS.), 'the S. of the string (śulva or śulba)', often attached to the ŚS. The ŚvaS.'s, containing the rules for measuring the sacrificial ground, the altar (vedi), the fireplaces, etc., are esteemed as the oldest documents of Indian geometry. c. the Gṛhyasūtra (GS.), a work of aphorisms for the domestic rites (gṛhya) accomplished on one fire. d. the Dharmasūtra (DhS.), an exposition on the law and usage (dharma) indispensable for the orthodox Aryan life. The DhS.'s are regarded as precursors of the later metrical law-books (Dharmaśāstra) such as Manusmṛti and Yājñavalkyasmṛti. The term Smārtasūtra is often used to comprise both GS. and DhS.

§ 4. Thus a perfect set of one Veda demands theoretically the following scheme: a Saṃhitā, a Br., an Ār. and an Up., followed secondarily by a complete set of the Kalpasūtra (ŚS. ŚvaS., GS., DhS.), but the actual state of affairs is indefinitely more complicated esp. through the manifold ramification of the Vedic schools (śākhā, caraṇa). According to the famous grammarian Patañjali (perh. 2nd cent. B.C.) the Ṛgveda had 21, the Sāmaveda 1000 and the Yajurveda 101 schools while the Atharvaveda was divided into 9 schools, but these numbers do not always agree with those given in the recensions of the Caraṇavyūha (Manual for the Vedic schools) or with the statements in Purāṇic and other traditions. In reality some of the Vedic schools make use of one and the same Saṃhitā in common, while others are distinct only on the Sūtra-level. The RS., for instance, is practically represented by the sole recension of the Śākala-school containing 1017 hymns plus

the less authoritative Vāḷakhilya-section consisting of 11 hymns and usually inserted after VIII. 48. The Vāṣkala- or Bāṣkala-text, on the other hand, is said to have differed from the vulgate in a few triple points: recognition of the full authority of seven Vāḷakhilya hymns and minor changes in the arrangement of the text. At any rate the Vāṣkala-school must have died out very early leaving slight traces of its own in later texts. Under these circumstances we are not entitled to speak of the Vāṣkala-recension of the RS. on an equality with the Śākala-rec., still less of the Āśvalāyana- or Śāṅkhāyana- or Māṇḍūkya-rec., though the Caranavyūha would have us believe these names as those of the five coordinate Ṛgvedic śākhā's. The Āśv.'s and the Śāṅkh.'s are best regarded as sūtra-carana's, the former attaching itself to the Aitareyins and the latter to the Kauṣītakins, while we know nothing exact about the Māṇḍ.'s. Generally speaking, moreover, Vedic texts are seldom uniform, and chronologically different strata are to be carefully discerned. Among the ten books (maṇḍala) of the RS. Books II–VII, being the family collections of the Vedic sages (: Gr̥tsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja and Vasiṣṭha respectively), form the nucleus to which a lesser collection of the Kāṇva-family (VIII. 1–66) and a group of still smaller family traditions (I. 51–191) must have been later annexed, while the first half of Book I (1–50) shows some remarkable affinities with VIII. 1–66 and the remaining part of Book VIII (67–103) is to be regarded as an appendix not only to the first half of the same maṇḍala but also to Books I–VII. On the other hand Book IX (with 114 hymns in all) is a collection of the hymns wholly dedicated to Soma Pavamāna (III. § 4) composed by many poets of various origin and age. Book X, lastly, together with some portions of Book I, represents the latest stage of the Ṛgvedic hymnology.

§ 5. As a full discussion of many a complicated problem concerning the interrelation between numerous schools, the textual history and stratification, the form and content of each work, etc. would require too much space, a survey of the important existent texts is given below in a tabular form.* * 'Table of the important existent texts' for II. § 5 is not found.

§ 6. As for the use of script in India nothing definite can be maintained until Aśoka's time (mid. of the 3rd cent. B.C.). For a long time the Vedic literature must have been transmitted orally, but the question when writing began to be used for recording Vedic texts remains still unsolved. This much, however, is certain that the RS. has been preserved as perfectly as an oral transmission permits. The text was early provided with a padapāṭha,—attributed to Śākalya, founder of the only authentic school of the Ṛgveda known by his own name (§ 4)—i.e., a method of recitation in which each word (pada) is given in its phonetically and accentually independent form and a compound is systematically analyzed into its components, a remarkable achievement in ancient times even though the padapāṭha does not enjoy, in the grammatical tradition, the same authority as the continuous,

that is to say, ordinary text (saṃhitāpāṭha). Out of the care for guarding a Saṃhitā against every possible error more complicated methods of recitation came later into existence. Further the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya,—attributed to Śaunaka, perhaps a phonetician of the Sūtra-period—defines in detail the relation between the Padapāṭha and the Saṃhitāpāṭha. Although most of the other Saṃhitās, following the model of the RS., are protected by their Padap. against errors and each Veda has its own Prātiś. (sometimes more than one), the transmission of any other Saṃh. has been far less successful than that of the RS. Various kinds of indices (anukramaṇī, § 7), moreover, have contributed to the fixation of texts.

§ 7. We have already referred to the importance of the Padap. as the beginning of phonetic and grammatical analysis of the Vedic language, and the nature the Kalpasūtra (§ 3), one of the six Vedāṅgas, 'auxiliary sciences of the Veda', has been explained above. The remaining Vedāṅgas are the Śikṣā 'phonetics', Vyākaraṇa 'grammar', Nirukata 'etymology and exegesis', Chandas 'metrics' and Jyotiṣa 'astronomy'. Curiously phonetics is here represented by the Śikṣā not by the Prātiśākhya (§ 6), but from the Vedic point of view the existent Śikṣās are much less important than the latter though perhaps produced later than the great grammarian Pāṇini (5th or 4th cent. B.C.). The representative of the Nirukta is Yāska's work (the priority to Pāṇini contested) which is a kind of commentary on the word-lists mainly of the RS. called Nighaṇṭu or Naighaṇṭuka and is the oldest of the kind, quite valuable if not for its etymologies but for its grammatico-linguistic discussions and philologico-mythological informations. The other reputed Vedāṅga-works: Pāṇini's grammar, Piṅgala's Chandaḥsūtra and Lagadha's Jyotiṣa, do not belong to a particular Vedic school and are certainly beyond the scope of Vedism proper. From among numerous works connected more or less closely with the Veda mention should be made of the Anukramaṇīs of various sorts, esp. indices of the seers (ṛṣi, § 1), metres (chandas) and deities (devatā) of hymns. Some of the sub-Br.'s of the Sāmaveda (Ārṣeya, Devatādhyāya) belong to this category, but the most systematic work is the Sarvānukramaṇī 'general index' of the RS. attributed to Kātyāyana. A precious book assigned to Śaunaka, the Bṛhaddevatā, is essentially a devatā-index of the RS. though it contains many valuable legends and mythologies. There exist further a great number of supplementary works (pariśiṣṭa) and commentaries of varying value.

§ 8. Neither an absolute nor a relative chronology of the Vedic texts can be given in definite terms since principal works are almost without exception composite in their formation and a considerable span of time lies between the oldest and the latest portions of one and the same text. A chronological scheme given here is, of course, to be regarded as a tentative one.

Indus civilization—c. 2500–1500 (Wheeler).

Invasion of the Indo-Aryans—c. 1500 as the centre.

Composition of the hymns of the RS.—c. 1200 as the centre.

Atharvasamhitā—c. 1000 as the centre.

Other Samhitās and chief Br.'s—c. 800 as the centre.

Principal Up.'s—c. 500 as the centre.

Older Kalpas. (Śrautas.) still later, spreading over several centuries.

III. Religion and philosophy.

§ 1. The religion of the Indo-Aryans of the Rgvedic age depended mainly upon their mythological views, a correct understanding of which makes us clear to a great extent the relations between gods and men, the human attitude towards divine beings and the forms of worship and ritual then prevailing. Somewhat coherent accounts of cosmogony and eschatology first appear in the latest stratum of the RS. (§ 14). The true nature of Vedic mythology does not submit itself to a clear-cut definition. It is essentially polytheistic in so far as it involves a great number of deities without forming a hierarchically organized pantheon, but pantheistic in the sense that there is no clear demarcation between divine and human and everything, even ritual instruments or abstract ideas, can be deified at a given moment, and yet not without an undeniable tendency towards monotheism since each god in turn, if a chance presents itself, is invested with the highest authority and eulogy: a peculiar phenomenon which was at one time denoted by the term henotheism or kathenotheism (M. Müller). The chief gods of the RS. are mostly deifications of natural phenomena, at least in the beginning. In mythology they are used to be strongly anthropomorphized and often even theriomorphized. While the deifying tendency brings up mundane occurrences to heaven, anthropomorphism brings down deities to the human level with its likes and dislikes. The chief war-god Indra, for instance, is represented as a dauntless fighter yet not without human traits of boorishness. In difference from men the gods are immortal and ever young, they need not to sleep, they do not care for progeny, though they have divine consorts and the kinship between individual deities is often referred to. Except in the case of Indra about whom some myths of discord and even a conjugal quarrel are reported, the gods get along on the whole in perfect harmony. The representatives of the divine world are alike extremely powerful, full of light, wise and graceful, benevolent and helpful, very liberal in giving treasure and fame to their worshippers. Human joys and sorrows depend upon the gods who pardon the sins of the pious, when expiated, but punish the impious and severely chastize the enemies of the Aryans. Men in distress resort to gods and ask them for rescue. As often pointed out a remarkable lack of individuality among the principal gods catches the eye. Even in ancient India some maintained that all the gods are only forms or manifestations of three deities, that is, Agni, the fire-god, on earth, Vāyu, the

wind-god, or Indra in air and Sūrya, the sun-god, in heaven, and one of the modern European scholars tried to reduce all the gods to the manifestation of Agni-Soma (Bergaigne). Certainly distinct in origin from one another but having some functions or qualities in common the gods were apt to be approximated so that they came to lose their individuality through the transference of attributes of one god to another. In some cases the attributes themselves gave rise to independent deities, e.g., in the case of Agni (§ 2). Monotheistic tendency too contributed to levelling the gods through the highest idealization of each one and the obliteration of individuality among the divine beings thus glorified. There is, however, a certain sphere of activity allotted to each of them. All the Vedic gods, alike obeying and guarding the divine law (ṛta), each of them holds fast to some or other aspect of this universal law regularizing natural, sacrificial and ethical phenomena. Each god is thus the highest authority or specialist in his own domain of the Ṛta and does not allow any infringement divine or human.

§ 2. The Vedic ṛṣi's or seers of the hymns (cf. II. § 1) who served as intermediaries between gods and men were no doubt already professional poets, and they, acting at the same time as sacrificial officiants, owed their livelihood mostly to the favour and reward (dakṣiṇā, IV. § 2) of ruling princes. They praised the gods in order to secure the divine grace for their patrons. Under an assumption that the god would also appreciate highly what secular rulers were fond of, the poet-priests did their best to exaggerate the dignity and greatness of divinities, to perform the solemn rites as perfectly as possible and to give the most exquisite flavour to the Soma, the favourite drink of the heavenly (§ 4). In this way the favour of the gods towards the princes and at the same time that of the princes towards the poets depended first of all upon the poetic skill in as much as the belief in the mystic power of speech (cf. § 17) was an integral part of the Vedic thought. Naturally enough each poet tried to surpass his rivals, and out of the poetic competition there resulted a wonderful development of the art and technique of hymnology. Artificiality and technicality led to a mystic, transcendental, symbolic, riddle-like and often obscure phraseology of the Ṛgvedic language. There is even a group of hymns called dānastuti 'praise of gifts' in which poet-priests, praising the virtue of liberality and citing extravagant precedents, endeavoured to awaken a feeling of generosity in their patrons. The recitation of beautiful hymns and the performance of faultless sacrifices provided with well seasoned offerings were believed to have an automatic force for inducing the gods to grant every wish of a worshipper. Thus a sacrifice became a businesslike exchange, a give and take (do ut des) between gods and men rather than a pious expression of gratitude. Here is already a germ of the belief in omnipotence of ritual, predominant in the later Vedism. In the Ṛgvedic period, however, man did not yet run to such an extreme. We can sufficiently perceive the feelings of piety, obedience and gratitude towards

the gods, and even a strong feeling of fear esp. before Varuṇa, the god of justice, and before Rudra, the terrible. On the whole the relation of gods and men was a friendly, even familiar one.

§ 3. The number of the gods is indefinite. Not speaking of a fantastic number 3,339 given in a verse of the RS. (III. 9.9=X. 52. 6), the traditional number thirty-three does not correspond to the real state of affairs, nor a classification according to the abodes referred to already in the RS. (I. 139. 11): 11 deities in heaven, 11 on earth and 11 in the waters, that is, in air, though adopted later by Yāska in his *Nirukta* (II. § 7). The expression *viśve devāḥ*, lit. 'all gods', serves sometimes to denote a particular troop of deities like the Āditya's or Vasu's (below § 6). The number of hymns dedicated to each of the gods or the relative frequency of their mentions in the RS. would not always warrant the real importance or greatness of the deities: the first places are, in this case, occupied by Indra, Agni and Soma, but the Āśvins, the twin-gods of obscure origin (§ 4) and the Maruts, companions of Indra, have to be put before Varuṇa whose importance has never been disputed. In fact no unitary principle of classification logical and practicable enough to cover the whole field of the R̥gvedic mythology is obtainable, so an eclectic method can not be avoided here.

§ 4. There is, first of all, a group of gods whose physical substrate is transparent: Dyaus and Pṛthivī 'Heaven and Earth', often put together in a compound *Dyāvāpṛthivī*, Sūrya 'the Sun' (and his daughter Sūryā) and other solar deities, esp. Savitr̥, lit. 'stimulator', Vivasvat, lit. 'brilliant', less probably Pūṣan, a guardian god of the roads, and Viṣṇu characterized by his three wide steps by which he traverses the universe, usually referred to the course of the sun, although his outstanding eminence in Hinduism, however, is hardly discernable from the hymns. To this group belong further Uṣas 'Goddess Dawn', Vāyu or Vāta 'the Wind' and Parjanya 'the Rain'. More important is Agni 'the Fire', revealing himself in heaven as the sun, in air or waters as lightening and above all on earth as the sacrificial fire, thence his intimate relation to human beings as a priestly and domestic god. Some deities are his manifestations or aspects: Vaiśvānara, lit. 'belonging to all men', Tanūnapāt, lit. 'son of himself', Narāśaṃsa, lit. prob. 'praise of men', Apām Napāt, lit. 'son of the waters', and Mātariśvan, lit. prob. 'one who swells in his mother', whose fame consists in his having brought the hidden fire from heaven to earth: the Indian Prometheus. Bṛhaspati or Brahmanaspati 'Lord of prayers' is originally Agni's doublet. In the case of the twin-gods Āśvin's alias Nāsatya's (cf. I. § 3) the natural basis is variously interpreted not only by modern mythologists but also by ancient native scholars whose views fluctuated between 'heaven and earth', 'day and night', 'sun and moon' and 'two virtuous kings' (*Nirukta* XII. 1), but according to some of the modern investigators rather the morning star in connection with the evening star. Not less disputed is the origin of two most important gods

of the RS.: Varuṇa and Indra. The former is the god of justice, the most eminent protector of the divine law (ṛta, § 1) and the chastiser of sinners. Being called asura (§ 7) he is usually equated with Ahura Mazdāh of the Avesta. In lack of persuasive etymology and naturalistic explanation Varuṇa would be best regarded as the sovereign-god with magical and sinister traits, while Mitra, constantly associated with him and originally the personification of contract, represents the benevolent side of sovereignty. Varuṇa is the chief of a troop of deities called Āditya's including, beside Varuṇa and Mitra, Aryaman, the god of hospitality, Bhaga, lit. 'dispenser', etc. Taken together the Ādityas are described as bright and pure and they are chiefly concerned with morality, while their mother Aditi, interpreted as 'boundlessness', is perhaps a back formation from the name of her sons. On the other hand Indra, doubtless the most eminent figure in the RS., is the hero-god often accompanied by Marut's, a troop of bright young gods. Famous as the dreadful wielder of the thunderbolt (vajra), killer of the demons and mighty drinker of the Soma, he is highly anthropomorphized and richly adorned by myths and legends. Formerly Indra was often regarded as the god of thunderstorm but now he is rather taken for the warrior-god par excellence. The father of Marut's is Rudra, closely connected with storm and lightening. Armed with the terrible weapons: a bow and arrows, quite dangerous to men and cattle, he is the most feared among the gods, yet on the other hand he bestows healing remedies. Etymologically his name means perhaps 'roarer' but his natural substrate is quite uncertain. His importance lies in the fact that he is the precursor of Śiva, the highest god of Hinduism beside Viṣṇu (s. above). Trita Āptya, lit. perhaps 'the third one dwelling in the waters', though belonging to the Indo-Iranian stratum but of an obscure origin, is, as far as the RS. is concerned, almost identical with Indra and may be considered as a minor doublet of the latter. From among the important gods there remains still Soma, personification of a plant of the same name, no more identifiable, from which an intoxicating drink, the divine beverage of immortality (amṛta) was prepared. The drink itself is again called Soma and forms the very centre of the Vedic ritual (IV. § 3). The plant is not only terrestrial but also celestial so far as it is brought down from heaven by an eagle. The whole ninth maṇḍala of the RS. being dedicated to Soma Pavamāna 'S. purifying himself' (II. § 4), all the details of preparation of the divine drink: pressing the stems by stones, purifying the juice by a woolen strainer, pouring it in wooden vats, mixing it with water, adding milk, etc. etc. are described hyperbolically and mythologically. The later meaning 'Moon' is no doubt discernable from the latest stratum of the RS.

§ 5. The next group consists of the deities whose names are sought (1) in the agent-nouns: e.g. Savitr (§ 4), Tvaṣṭr, lit. 'fashioner', the divine artisan of miraculous skill, Dhātṛ 'Ordainer', (2) in the appellations of function: e.g. Bṛhaspati or Brahmanaspati (§ 4), Prajāpati 'Lord of creatures',

Vāstoṣpati, the tutelary deity of the house, Kṣetrasya Pati, the tutelary deity of the field, Viśvakarman, lit. 'all-creating', and (3) in the abstract nouns: e.g. Ṛta 'Ordo rerum' (§ 1), Aditi (§ 4), Vāc 'Speech', Śradhā 'Faith', Śrī 'Beauty', Purandhi 'Plenitude', Manyu 'Anger', Nirṛti 'Destruction' (§ 13). Moreover, rivers: Āpaḥ 'the Waters', Sindhu and esp. Sarasvatī (V. § 1), mountains (Parvata), animals, esp. the mythical horses (solar symbolism?): Dadhikrā (van), Tārṣya, Paidva, Etaśa, (the cow, however, not directly deified until the AS., so also the serpent,) plants (beside Soma § 4) in the form of trees and forests, instruments of the priests, warriors and farmers and even dakṣiṇā, the sacrificial rewards (IV. § 2) are all objects of deification.

§ 6. Apart from Uṣas and Aditi (§ 4) the female deities do not play an important rôle in the Ṛgvedic mythology. Beside those already mentioned: Pṛthivī (§ 4), Āpaḥ and Sarasvatī (§ 5), Vāc and other personifications of the feminine abstract nouns (§ 5), worth mentioning are Rātrī, goddess of the starlit Night, and Aranyānī, spirit of the Wood. Such names as Indrānī and Varuṇānī, divine consorts of Indra and Varuṇa respectively, are only seldom mentioned and do not belong to the central figures of the RS. A good example of apotheosis is given by the case of the three Ṛbhu's who are admitted in the heavenly world by dint of their wonderful craftsmanship. Among other deities to be mentioned are the Apsaras's, the water-nymphs, and the Gandharva's, the guardians of the Soma. Mythical priests or priest families and heroes also appear as deified, e.g. Aṅgiras's, Atharvan's, Bhṛgu's, Virūpa's, Navagva's, Daśagva's, Sapta Ṛṣi's 'the Seven Sages', later identified with the seven stars in the constellation of the Great Bear, Dadhyac with a horse's head, Kutsa, Atri, Kaṇva, Kāvya Uśanā, esp. Manu(s), son of Vivasvat (§ 4) and ancestor of the human race (§ 13). The Vedic gods are often put together (1) in pairs, apart from such a fixed type as Dyāvapṛthivī, Mitrāvaruṇā (§ 4) or Aśvinau (inseparably amalgamated, *ibid.*): Indrāgnī 'Indra and Agni', Indrāvaruṇā, Agniṣomā, etc., or (2) in groups: Marut's, Āditya's (§ 4), and further Rudra's, Sādhyā's, Vasu's, Viśve Devāḥ (§ 3).

§ 7. In contrast with the world of the celestials that of the demons is less complicated: the Asura's, antagonists of the gods, but the word asura preserving an older and favourable meaning 'bearing of the magico-mystic force' (cf. Av. Ahura) in earlier parts of the RS. and being applied as an epithet esp. to Varuṇa (§ 4), the Paṇi's (: Πάνοι Strabon), enemies of the Brahmanical cult, the Dāsa's (: Δάσαι, Dahae, cf. Av. dānha, fem. dahī, name of a people, non-Aryan nomads) and Dasyu's (cf. Av. dasyu, name of a land in the sphere of the Vayu-cult), originally non-Aryans, black, flat-nosed and speaking an unintelligible language, the Dānava's, sons of Dānu, more generically the Rakṣas's, the Yātu's or Yātudhāna's, dangerous sorcerers, the Piśāca's, eaters of raw flesh, etc. Among many individual demons the first place is to be given to Vṛtra, one of the Dānava's, meaning originally 'resistance, obstacle', an avowed enemy of Indra (whence the latter's

epithet *vṛtrahan* 'V-killer'), imagined in the form of a dragon blockading the waters, then *Vala*, another adversary of *Indra*, who encompasses cows in prisoners. *Indra* conquers also *Śambara*, *Arbuda*, *Viśvarūpa*, *Namuci*, *Śuṣṇa*, etc. Behind some of the names mentioned may be concealed historical tribes or personalities. The demon of the solar eclipse is known as *Svarbhānu*, the forerunner of the later *Rāhu*, while the merit of restoring the eye of the sun is attributed to *Atri* (§ 6).

§ 8. The AS. not only affords us plenty materials for widening our knowledge of minor spirits and demons who cause diseases and other evils but also contains hymns to great gods known from the RS.: *Varuṇa*, *Indra*, *Agni*, etc. The most remarkable feature, however, of the younger *Samhitā* consists in the fact that many names are elevated to the position of the primary principle of the universe: *Rohita* 'the Red', that is, the sun, *Prāṇa* 'Breath', that is, the vital force, *Bhūmi* 'Earth', *Skambha* 'Pillar', *Kāla* 'Time', *Kāma* 'Desire', *Anadvān* 'Draft-ox', *Rṣabha* 'Bull', *Gavya* 'Ox', *Vaśā* 'Cow', etc.; on other more curious ones s. § 15. More or less coherent myths and legends are inserted in the Br.-texts which sometimes advantageously supplement cursory or fragmentary references in the RS., but they serve without exception to illustrate theological expositions of the ritual and are often destitute of authenticity. Speaking generally the gods of old have become mere puppets of the almighty sacrifice. Cosmic constituents such as heaven, air and earth, the sun, moon and stars, the quarters, the elements: earth, water, fire, wind and ether, year and seasons, and further animate and inanimate objects or concepts such as animals, plants and minerals, sacrificial instruments, metres, physical and spiritual organs and functions, abstract ideas, numerals, are all believed to be endowed with a supernatural or magical power and are, often directly deified, spoken of in the same breath as of *Varuṇa* or *Indra*. The deities are by preference classified in groups, e.g., eight *Vasu*'s, eleven *Rudra*'s or twelve *Āditya*'s (cf. § 6) and are coordinated with the names of metres, melodies, seasons or social classes (V. § 3). Identification takes place in every direction almost without any restriction. Another feature of this period consists in the opposition of the gods (*deva*) against the demons (*asura*) en bloc, and the victory depends mainly on the superior knowledge of sacrifice. The honour of being the highest god is bestowed on *Prajāpati*, a deity not very important in the RS. (§ 5), but here, under a guise of personification, foreshadows the position to be occupied by *brahman-ātman*, the primary principle of the Up. Further in the course of time *Rudra* (= *Śiva*) and *Viṣṇu* (§ 4), these two foci of Hinduism, have added to importance and prepared a theistic tendency even in the abstruse doctrine of the Up.

§ 9. Some of the Vedic gods have a long history behind them. Though the Proto-Indo-Iranian elements of mythology and ritual, esp. those of the fire-cult and the Soma-sacrifice, have been much obscured by the religious

reform of Zarathuštra, the identity of a number of technical terms proves that the Indo-Aryans and the ancient Iranians had once a common form of worship: *yajña*, the very term meaning sacrifice, corresponds exactly to Av. *yasna* 'worship, prayer', *hotṛ* designating the reciter par excellence is the same word as Av. *zaotar* '(chief) priest', Soma: Av. *Haoma*, Av. *ātar* in *āthravan* 'priest': Ved. *Atharvan* (§ 6), the so-called *āgur*-formula *ye yajāmahe* has its counterpart in Av. *yazamaide* 'we worship'. A remarkable result of the reformation is no doubt the meaning change of the word **daiva*: Ved. *deva* 'god', but Av. *daēva* 'devil', consequently *Indra* and *Nānhaithya*: Ved. *Nāsatya*=*Aśvin* (§ 4) are demons in the Av., while *Vərəθragna* corresponding to *Indra*'s epithet *vṛtrahan* (§ 7) has become an independent deity of victory. As noted above (*ibid.*) the term *asura* has undergone a change of value during the *Ṛgvedic* period but the original meaning is better kept in Iran, cf. esp. *Ahura Mazdāh*, the highest god of Zoroasterism, to whom corresponds in essence *Varuṇa* often characterized as *asura* in the RS. (§ 4). The latter's companion *Mitra* (*ibid.*) is the same as *Mithra* of the Avesta. *Varuṇa* has a group of followers called *Ādityas* (*ibid.*) just as *Ahura Mazdāh* is surrounded by *Aməša Spənta*'s. *Aryaman* and *Bhaga* (*ibid.*) of the former group correspond to *Airyaman* of the latter and to Av. *baga* 'god', cf. Old Slav. *bogŭ* 'god', and Av. *Aša* 'Righteousness', the most important of the *Aməša Spənta*'s, is etymologically identical with *Ṛta* (§§ 1 and 5), while the counterpart *Drug* 'Lie' can be compared with Ved. *Druh*'s, a group of injurious demons. Cf. further *Yama Vaivasvata* (§ 13): Av. *Yima Vivanhvat*, name of an ideal ruler, *Manu(s)*, lit. 'man' (§ 6 and § 13): *Manuścithra*, lit. 'a descendant of *Manuś*', name of a believer, *Vāyu* (§ 4): *Vayu*, *Āpaḥ* (§ 5): *Āpo*, *Apām Napāt* (§ 4): *Apām Napāt*, *Narāsaṃsa* (*ibid.*): *Nairyōsanha*, messenger of *Ahura Mazdāh*, *Trita Āptya* (*ibid.*): *Thraētaona*, son of *Āthwya* and *Thrita*, father of *Kərəśāspa*, both being dragon-killers, *Gandharva* (§ 6): *Gandarəwa*, name of a demon, *Kṛṣānu*, an archer protecting the Soma: *Kərəśānu*, an enemy of *Haoma*, *Puraṇdhi* (§ 5): *Pārəndi*, ahi 'serpent', esp. said of *Vṛtra* (§ 7): *Azi* (*Dahāka*), etc.

§ 10. If we ascend further to the Proto-Indo-European period, the direct and assured correspondences become quite scanty. The concept of a god as a shining one connected with the idea of day and that of the luminous sky is no doubt traced to that remote age, cf. Ved. *deva* from a radical *div* 'to shine', Lat. *deus*, etc. So also the worship of Father Heaven, Ved. *Dyaus pitā*, Gr. *Ζεὺς Πατὴρ*, Lat. *Juppiter* (orig. voc.). As far as the names of deities are concerned, etymology does not help us further. On the other hand, however, the assumption that some fundamental mythico-religious ideas may be of the Indo-European heritage can by no means be refused. The Proto-Indo-Europeans must have been worshippers of Heaven and Earth, celestial luminaries, and natural elements such as fire, as the centre of a joint family life, wind and water. The concepts of a sovereign god (cf. *Varuṇa*

§ 4) and of a mighty warrior-god (cf. Indra *ibid.*) may have roots in the same age, while some myths widely spread among various peoples of the IE. tongue, e.g. the motif of a dragon-killer (cf. Indra *vṛtrahan* § 7), that of the descent of fire to earth (cf. *Mātariśvan* § 4), or that of the celestial origin of ambrosia (Ved. *amṛta*=the Soma-juice § 4) as well as the cult of Mother Earth might be of remoter origin or borrowed from other peoples.

§ 11. Dravidian or Pre-Dravidian influences on the Vedic religion, although very difficult to account for with certainty, are theoretically possible. Not a few theories have been proposed in this direction and various phenomena which can not easily be set in an Aryan frame are often explained away as of aboriginal genesis, e.g. the doctrine of *samsāra* (§ 19). An extreme care, however, should be taken in these evasive problems, esp. when the Veda itself seems to afford a more natural solution. Taking all in all the Vedic religion has a double visage facing towards the remote past as the accumulation of the IE. and Indo-Iranian heritage as well as towards the time to come as the starting point of the later religious development in India. Having absorbed manifold elements it is in a sense on the way of evolution and systematization, and above all it is to be regarded as a unique product of the Brahmanic spirit.

§ 12. Next we have to turn our attention to more speculative contents of the Veda. The universe, the scene of all mythological happenings and actions, was conceived by the Vedic poets as divided in two or three zones, in the latter case the intermediate space or the region of air coming between heaven and earth. Above the vault of the sky there was the third or highest heaven full of light but concealed from the human vision, the abode of the gods and the Fathers (§ 13). The solar phenomena took place on the vault of the sky, while lightening, rain and wind belonged to the atmosphere. In the mythological accounts, however, there is no clear line between heaven and earth: terrestrial affairs are often transferred to heaven and on the contrary the clouds are spoken of as mountains. The earth was regarded as circular like a wheel, and heaven and earth were likened once (RS. III. 55. 20) to two great bowls turned towards each other. If the earth is said to be four-cornered (X. 58. 3), it certainly refers to the four quarters. Other numbers of directions are also known in the RS. and later. As to the sun's course a rudimentary view prevailed during the Vedic time: the sun, having two faces bright and dark, looks at the earth by the bright one during the daytime but on its return travel it inverts itself and traverses the same way with its light turned away from the earth. One of the Br.-texts asserts us that "the sun never really sets or rises." The distance between heaven and earth is variously and fantastically given in the AS. and the Br.-texts, while the mythical mountain Meru appears only in a later text (Taitt. Ār.). On the whole, the cosmological knowledge of the Br.-texts remained still in a crude condition, and a complicated description about the structure of the universe,

as accomplished by Buddhists and Jinas, will be first found in later texts of Hinduism.

§ 13. Manu or Manus (§ 9) is regarded in the RS. as instigator of sacrifice and ancestor of the human race. His regular patronymic Vaivasvata (AS., cf. Manu Vivasvat RS. VIII. 52. 1) shows that he was a son of Vivasvat (§ 4) just as Yama who was also Vaivasvata (s. below). How the human race originated from Manu is not clear from the RS. The Indian version of the flood-legend in which Manu is the hero is first alluded to in one of the YS.'s and told in details in a later Br.-text and repeated often in Hinduistic works, while Manu's fame as legislator is a product of the post-Vedic age. Yama Vaivasvata (§ 9), on the other hand, has a more important connection with eschatology. He, although not expressly called a god but only a king, is frequently associated with the principal deities on equal terms. His achievement of primordial importance and originality lies in the fact that he died as the first of mortals and thus became the lord of the dead, while his doublet Manu was confined to being the first of men living on earth. Moreover, a dialogue between Yama and his twin sister Yamī (RS. X. 10, yama means 'twin') in which Yama endeavours to avoid the sin of incest, seems to reveal us a common concept then existing for accounting for the origin of mankind. Yama's abode in the highest heaven is idealized and described as a real paradise in the RS., and the way to his realm is said to be guarded by two dogs (cf. the four-eyed dog watching the Cinvat-bridge in the Av., and Greek analogies). According to the common Vedic belief, however, Yama is Death (mr̥tyu), and in spite of the optimistic views of the RS. there is a reason to believe that the realm of the dead was placed not in heaven but under the earth. The hell is not expressly mentioned in the RS., but there are passages in which the wicked are spoken of as being thrown into an abyss or bottomless darkness. Infernal torments as punishments of the evil-doers (esp. against Brahmans) are mentioned first in the AS. and described more in detail, along with various ways of ordeal, by some Br.-texts. In this connection another sinister figure appearing already in the RS. and oftener in the AS. is to be mentioned: Nirṛti, goddess or mistress of 'Annihilation' (§ 5), who is symbolized by the black colour and whose messenger is a pigeon just as in the case of Yama-Mr̥tyu. Closely connected with Yama are further the Pitr's 'Fathers' denoting in a restricted sense the blessed dead, that is, the first ancestors or founders of the human race, esp. the members of early priest-families, but in a more general sense the whole of the dead. In the Ṛgvedic phraseology the Pitr's are often hardly distinguishable from the gods, but there is a distinction between these two categories when the way of the former (pitṛyāna) is put in contrast with that of the latter (devayāna). The antithesis becomes clearer in the Br.-texts where the world of the Fathers (pitṛloka) is confronted with that of the gods (svargaloka). Already to the Ṛgvedic poets was known a certain distinction

between the body and the animating principle which would survive corporal death, the latter finding its expression in the terms such as *asu* 'vital force' or *manas* 'mind' though the full working out of the doctrine of soul (*puruṣa*, *ātman*) was left to the hands of the Upaniṣadic philosophers (§ 17). Several parts of an individual after death are deemed to go to the corresponding cosmic elements: the eye to the sun, the breath to the wind, or the *manas* is said to go to the waters or plants—a germ, though very faint, of the later theory of transmigration (*saṃsāra*) (§ 19). This doctrine, the origin of which has been much disputed, is taking shape perhaps in the AS., and it is in the oldest Up. that its clear-cut form combined with the theory of deeds (*karman*) rises to the surface. The survival of a soul-like principle being taken for granted, the dead, at least those who practised asceticism, sacrifice and gift during their life-time were believed to ascend to heaven and to be rewarded there in the society with Yama and *Pitr*'s with a delectable life full of pleasures and free from imperfections,—an ideal rather too simple from the Upaniṣadic point of view which would declare even the life of boundless bliss in heaven to be after all transient and the gods themselves to be subject to rebirth (§ 20). In spite of the optimistic tendency the Indo-Aryans of the oldest time had no strong desire for the future world. They were certainly afraid of death and their ideal was a long life of a hundred years. In some Br.-passages glimmers a fear for the repeated death (*punar-mṛtyu*) even in the yonder world. Further it is worth mentioning that a rather popular idea of the revival of the father in his son is met with here and there in the Br.-texts.

§ 14. As for the creation of the universe the RS. has no uniform view. In its older parts the creation is described metaphorically in terms of building by a carpenter, of birth or of projection, and the exploit is assigned to various gods while heaven and earth are at the same time spoken of as parents of the gods. Cosmogony here depends largely on the naturalistic interpretation of deities and on the trend of equalizing a god with another (§ 1). On the other hand, however, a serious effort to seek unity in manifoldness or a unitary principle in diversity comes gradually to the fore. Apart from fragmentary statements the tenth Book of the RS. comprises some six hymns which try to explain the origin of the universe somewhat systematically, though often confusingly and not always of the same drift. Two of them (X. 81 and 82) based on the old view of construction praise *Viśvakarman* (§ 5) as founder (*dhātṛ*) and disposer (*vidhātṛ*) of the world. In another hymn (X. 72) *Brahmaṇaspati* (§ 5) appears as the highest god who forges together the world like a smith, while the origin of the whole creation (: the quarters, gods and the sun) is explained by the help of a mystic theory of circular birth: *Dakṣa* 'Capacity' from *Aditi* (§ 4) and *Aditi* from *Dakṣa*, that is, perhaps the materialization of an immaterial principle. Another hymn (X. 121) sets *Hiraṇyagarbha* 'Golden embryo' at the top as creator

and superintendent of all, but the poet, not able to identify him with any known deity, repeats at the end of each verse: "who is the god whom we should adore by offering?" although this unknown god is named Prajāpati (§ 5) in a later additional verse. Much more important is the hymn of Puruṣa 'Man' (X. 90) in which the primordial sacrifice performed by the gods with Puruṣa as victim is celebrated as creation. From the parts of Puruṣa's body come out various elements of the universe: among others the four social classes (V. § 3), a clear sign of the lateness of this hymn. Yet the idea of the sacrifice of a primaeval giant is very old and the influence of the Puruṣa-motif on later thoughts can not be too overrated. Lastly the hymn of creation par excellence (X. 129), getting clear of every affectation of a personal deity, explains the evolution of the phenomenal world from 'That One' (*tad ekam*), indescribable and absolute. The hymn represents the climax of abstraction at that time and foretells the coming of the Upaniṣadic monism.

§ 15. The AS., whose proper province is magic, has a number of speculative hymns, perhaps in accordance with its mystifying tendency, and we perceive here even a progress of monistic thought. The number and variety of the objects regarded as fundamental principle (§ 8) supersede those of the RS., and physical as well as psychological observations are much more developed. Some of the names of the fundamental principle seem to be rather curious: e.g. Brahmacārin 'the Vedic student' (V. § 6), Vrātya 'a member of a non-Brahmanic mystic group', Vena 'the Lovely', Virāj 'the Brilliant, a name of metre', Uccīṣṭa 'ritualistic leavings'. But an effort to incorporate all important principles known at that time into one is discernable from the hymns of Skambha 'Pillar' of the universe (X. 7 and 8). Especially when the Skambha is identified not only with Prajāpati but also with the highest brahman and the unaging ātman (§ 17) we have an impression of closely approaching the Upaniṣadic doctrine. Next in the Br.-texts Prajāpati, Lord of creatures (§ 5), stands as the highest god in the centre of the myths and legends of creation. Although a few fixed types of cosmological speculation have developed and creation is generally conceived as an emanation from the highest deity, the stage of thinking remains on the whole at the same level as that of the AS. and a remarkable lack of logical consistency still prevails here. On the other hand, philosophically important concepts such as prāṇa 'the vital force', puruṣa (§ 14) 'the man', later an individual soul, brahman and ātman, are gradually attaining full growth and the so-called teaching of Śāṇḍilya in the Śatap. Br. almost predicts the dawn of the Up.-philosophy,—in fact a version of it in a slightly altered form is found in one of the oldest Up. (Chāndogya).

§ 16. The monistic thought which has steadily grown since the RS. through the AS. and Br.-texts is finished up in outline by the Up. The original meaning of the word, much disputed, is not quite clear: perhaps

'a secret doctrine imparted to close attendants' or 'mystical identification of a sensuous object with a supersensuous concept, whence secret knowledge'. Among a great number of Up.'s, say three hundred in all, those belonging more or less definitely to a particular Vedic school, fourteen in number, are called the old Up.'s (II. § 2, cf. the table ib. § 5), and the older a text, the more closely resemble its language and style those of the Br.-prose. The first group consists of the prose Up.'s headed by two most important texts: *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya*. The former exhibits Yājñavalkya's idealistic monism while the latter contains Uddālaka Āruṇi's realistic views. Both, having several passages in common, offer us an outline of the early Upaniṣadic philosophy in its purest form. To the same group belong further the *Aitareya*, *Kauṣītaki*, *Taittiriya* and *Kena* (the first half in verses), and a short metrical text, *Īśā*, is often added to this group. The second group is made up of the so-called metrical Up.'s, each possessing its own characteristics: *Kaṭha*, *Śvetāśvatara*, *Muṇḍaka* and *Mahānārāyaṇa* (partly in prose), to which may be added also the *Praśna* in prose with many inserted verses. The third group, returning again to prose, includes the *Māṇḍūkya*, a short text but renowned by *Gauḍapāda*'s *Kārikā* and the latest outcome of the Vedic Up.'s but not insignificant *Maitri*. Although almost all teachings generally known as Upaniṣadic philosophy are comprised in these texts, the composition of the Up.'s has lasted for a long time thereafter and the existent texts in verse and prose are labeled generically as new Up.'s. According to the chief subject they may be classified as follows: 1. the *Sāmānyavedānta*-Up.'s, directly continuing the monistic or Vedāntic theme, 2. the *Yoga*-Up.'s, recommending the meditative practice (*yoga*) as the best means of deliverance, 3. the *Samnyāsa*-Up.'s, emphasizing the importance of renunciation and of a mendicant life, and lastly the theistic Up.'s, esp. 4. the *Śaiva* and 5. the *Vaiṣṇava*, which exalt the highest god in popular belief, *Śiva* or *Viṣṇu* respectively, identifying him with the fundamental principle. The new Up.'s do not, however, belong to Vedism proper.

§ 17. From the philosophical point of view and without being cumbered by the mythical remnants of earlier cosmogony we are allowed to assume that two terms *brahman* and *ātman* stand in the centre of the Upaniṣadic metaphysics. The former, expressing originally the magico-religious power inherent in Vedic prayers, the essence of the *Veda*, and then the all-pervading mystic power, has ascended, after the preparatory period referred to above (§ 15), to the position of the fundamental principle of the universe, while the latter, meaning among other things the vital force, the essential part, and then, in a close connection with *prāṇa* and *puruṣa* (§ 15), an individual soul, has been at last extended cosmically to the universal soul. Correspondences between parts and functions of an individual body and those of the universe, e.g. the breath and the wind, the eye and the sun, having been early recognized (§ 14), *brahman*, starting from macrocosmic

considerations, and ātman, starting from microcosmic observations, are now declared to be perfectly identical in essence,—the doctrine of the oneness of brahman-ātman, the very basis of the Upaniṣadic philosophy. The universal soul, however, is not the sum total of individual souls, it exists eternally and unchangingly in spite of the emanation from it of innumerable individual souls. Even the oldest Up.'s presuppose the identity of brahman-ātman as if it were already verified beyond any doubt and do not hesitate to use both terms as synonyms. In short brahman is ātman, and thus the famous maxims such as "I am brahman" (Bṛhad.) or "Thou art that" (Chānd.) come to have a special significance. Beside these two terms we meet, of course, with other traditional names of the basic principle: prāṇa, puruṣa, sat 'reality', akṣara 'the indestructible', etc., but the difference in nomenclature is no more of value, as the historical nuance of each term has retreated far in the background and each has become another way of expressing the absolute and ultimate principle of which brahman-ātman is the most efficient and stable terminology. Upaniṣadic philosophers greatly endeavour to define the essential nature of brahman-ātman, not seldom making use of pithy metaphors and allegories, but in vain. Since the highest truth lying beyond the confrontation of subjectivity and objectivity transcends every empirical knowledge and rejects every opposition of relative concepts brahman-ātman can not be compared to any known thing or identified with any known idea. It exceeds the limits of the human language so that one has to resort to Yājñavalkya's negative definition "not so, not so" (neti neti). A more positive definition of later Vedāntins: sac-cid-ānanda 'reality-intelligence-bliss', if each member is taken separately, has its echoes in the old Up.'s. A special form of inquiry into the nature of brahman-ātman is afforded by the doctrine of waking and sleep: between the state of an individual soul in waking time and that of its absolute existence is placed the state of sleeping which is further divided in two: the state of dreaming and the dreamless sleep. Although not placed under restraint as in the state of waking, the ātman in that of dreaming, acting as a creator and shedding its own light, constructs and destructs freely but it experiences sometimes danger and fear. In the dreamless sleep, on the contrary, the ātman enjoys absolute tranquility and realizes its original state, that is, the unity with the universal soul. This is indeed an anticipation—the only possible one in human existence—of the blissful deliverance. The final liberation, which is ordinarily considered as attainable only after death, is added later as the fourth state (turya, turiya, caturtha). So far brahman-ātman has been presented as neutral, but in some passages even of the oldest Up. it appears highly personified looking like a successor of Prajāpati, the supreme god of the Br.-texts (§ 15) or even superseding him. Later on the perfectly personified Brahman (masc.) is put beside the neuter brahman and helps to introduce theistic elements into the Up.'s.

§ 18. It is repeatedly asserted in the Up. that brahman-ātman is All (though it would be more pertinent to say that All is in b.-ā.), while the reality of the external world is by no means denied. The relation, however, between the basic principle and the world is not clearly explained. According to Uddālaka Āruṇi, from the primary and unitary principle Sat 'reality' is emitted first fire (=heat), red in colour, whence water, white in colour, whence food (=earth), black in colour, and from the mixture of these three elements, into which Sat has entered as the living soul (jīva-ātman), proceeds the whole phenomenal creation. If we take away all mythical embellishment from it, this realistic doctrine is very important as it foretells the guṇa-theory of the Sāṃkhya (§ 22). On the whole the phenomenal world seems to have been believed as emanated from the fundamental principle, while the latter, being immanent and transcendental at the same time, does not diminish in the least its greatness and completeness.

§ 19. About the fate after death the Br.-texts render us no exact indication (cf. 13). It is just in the old Up.'s that the doctrine of metempsychosis (saṃsāra) caused by good and bad deeds (karman) makes its appearance in a clear-cut form. Some beliefs preceding it are also preserved for us, first the 'knowledge of the five fires' (pañcāgnividyā): the process how the soul, amounting the funeral smoke, goes up to heaven, is brought back again to earth by rain and is conceived as an embryo, is likened to five successive fire-offerings; next the 'teaching of two ways', of independent origin but secondarily connected closely with the pañcāgnividyā. This latter doctrine distinguishes the way of the gods (devayāna) from that of the Fathers (pitṛyāna) (cf. § 13): by the former a man of faith, going through the intermediate stages of the flame of the cremation-fire, the day and light divisions of the year, the world of the gods, the sun and the lightning-fire, reaches at last the world of brahman whence he never returns again; by the pitṛyāna, on the other hand, a man, having practised sacrifice and charity, arrives at the moon after passing through the stages of the funeral smoke, the night and dark divisions of the year, and the world of the pitṛ's. But then he comes back to earth on the exhaustion of the fruits of his deeds by the same process as taught in the pañcāgnividyā, and in this case the form one assumes on earth extends from a human being of various social classes to an animal. Further those who are excluded from both ways owing to their bad deeds fall in the third place and are reborn as minute worms. Although a high importance attached to karman and indications as to the extent of transmigration show a progress in comparison with the pañcāgniv., the doctrine is not quite Upaniṣadic in as much as the true knowledge of brahman-ātman is not required as an indispensable condition for the devayāna,—a point amended in one of the Up.'s (Prašna). There is further another view according to which all the dead go to the moon and those who are successful in an oral test which takes place there are allowed to proceed to the world

of brahman by the devayāna, while those unable to pass the test have to descend to earth and to be born as insects, fishes, animals or human beings in accordance with the grades of their knowledge and action. At any rate the confirmation of saṃsāra and karman is characteristic of the Upaniṣadic eschatology. Yājñavalkya himself, when initiating one of his colleagues into the secret knowledge of karman, was afraid of publicity. The karman-saṃsāra doctrine based on moral requirements has become henceforward the keynote of Indian religion and philosophy.

§ 20. The Upaniṣadic thought has completely subverted the old ideal of the post-mortem existence which consisted in a happy life in heaven. The world of the gods being nothing more than a scene of transmigration, liberation (mokṣa, mukti) means now the union of an individual ātman with the highest brahman, and for that a complete knowledge concerning the true nature of brahman-ātman is absolutely necessary. This super-knowledge essential to deliverance, however, can be acquired neither by experience nor by erudition, but by intuition or rather by enlightenment. Such knowledge is invaluable, because it alone enables one to set oneself free from the bonds of karman and to attain the ultimate liberation. In this sense the Upaniṣadic philosophy is at the same time a religion with deliverance as its final goal. Vedic gods have lost their dignity and the sacrifice its absolute value. Study of the Veda, generosity, etc., it is true, are still regarded as meritorious deeds, but they, even put together are powerless in the matter of mokṣa. The greatest hindrance to this highest aim is desire, and as means of destroying it are recommended abstinence, asceticism, etc. The word śramaṇa 'religious mendicant', beside tāpasa 'ascetic', being attested in the old Up.'s, not a few (incl. Yājñavalkya) must have renounced the world and resorted to an anchoretic or vagrant life, though the later theory of the four stages of life (āśrama, V. § 6) has not yet been systematized (cf. the Saṃnyāsa-Up.'s, § 16). Meditation being recommended all the time, the regulated practice of yoga, a method of self-concentration (§ 22), becomes later quite popular. Since liberation is theoretically attainable simultaneously with enlightenment, it is possible that one may be emancipated during one's life on earth. It is, however, commonly believed that the ultimate integration of an individual ātman in the absolute brahman is consummated only after bodily death. Moreover, according to the purest representation of the Upaniṣadic doctrine there exists no consciousness of individuality after death (Yājñav.). As usual in religious matters, a kind of compromise was unavoidable here too, and a mixture of popular belief began to take place very early: the texts refer here and there to the continuance of individuality after death or even the exquisite luxury and enjoyment in Brahman's world (cf. § 17 in fine).

§ 21. As stated above (§ 20), the Upaniṣadic view of life has caused a great change not only in eschatology but also in the domain of ethics. One,

assimilated essentially to the nature of brahman-ātman in consequence of enlightenment, becomes perfectly pure and stands aloof beyond good and evil, while the moral law of the secular world loses its control over such a person. But as preparatory means for liberation the ordinary morals are still encouraged or recommended by the texts: Vedic study, chastity, sacrifice, gift, asceticism, fasting, control of the senses, truthfulness, etc., and, on the other hand, ignorance, avarice, negligence, falsehood, theft, drinking, adultery are condemned as vices. In short everything that contributes to attaining liberation is a virtue and everything that hinders it is a vice.

§ 22. So far the exposition chiefly depends on the Bṛhad. and the Chând., but the other old Up.'s too, esp. the Kaṭha, Śvetāśvatara, Muṇḍaka and Maitri (§ 16), supplement or develop the doctrinal side and often add new elements. They contain more precise statements as to the relation of the fundamental principle to the individual soul or to the phenomenal world and distinguish various aspects of brahman-ātman. In connection with the later Indian religion and philosophy the following points are to be mentioned here. We have already seen in God Brahman an early theistic tendency (§ 17 in fine, § 20), but the Śvet., which identifies the primary principle with Rudra (=Śiva), can be called the earliest of the theistic Up.'s (§ 16), prior even to the Bhagavadgītā. The same Up. first uses the remarkable expressions devaprasāda 'grace of the god' (VI. 21) and bhakti 'devotion' (ib. 23), while an important term of the Śāṅkarian Vedānta māyā, having not yet acquired the technical sense of 'illusion', is used as a synonym of prakṛti, the material principle of the Sāṃkhya, Maheśvara (=Rudra) being māyin 'one who presides māyā' (IV. 9 and 10). No remark is necessary on an intimate relation to the Vedānta which claims to be the direct descendant of the Upaniṣadic philosophy. The yoga-practice, as has been pointed out (§ 20) becomes widely favoured, and the development of its orderly exercises and of its technical terms is reflected esp. in the Kaṭha, Śvet. and Maitri, and the meditation of the sacred sound om is also strongly recommended, cf. the Yoga-Up.'s (§ 16). On Uddālaka Āruṇi's teaching in the Chând. containing germs of the Sāṃkhya s. above § 19. Moreover, the above-named Up.'s abound in the Sāṃkhyan doctrines and terminology, and noteworthy is the fact that the Śvet. mentions Kapila (V. 2), the traditional founder of that system and uses a compound sāmkhya-yoga (VI. 13).

§ 23. Although much discussed, a relative chronology of Buddhism and the Up.'s esp. the second group headed by the Kaṭha (§ 16), can not be briefly disposed of. In fact there is nothing definite which may speak for the priority of Buddhism to this group. Buddhism recognizes from the outset the doctrine of saṃsāra and karman (§ 19) and seems to presuppose, just in its refusal of a fixed entity such as soul, the existence of a highly developed ātman-theory. There is, however, few passages in the Pāli-canon which clearly refer to the Upaniṣadic teachings, for one can not make much

of a detached statement in the Tevijjasutta relating to the unification with the unknown and unseen being which no doubt reminds us of brahman-ātman. On the other hand, the nairātmyavāda 'denial of ātman' blamed by the Maitri (VII. 8) seems to refer almost certainly to the Buddhist tenet. In some cases the same technical term is used differently in Up. and Buddhism, e.g. nāmarūpa 'name and form' (Br., Up.): 'mental and material factors' (Buddh.). To sum up, notwithstanding many points of contact both must have developed on parallel lines, each drawing from the older sources and building on the common basis of ancient Indian thought.

IV. Ritual and magic.

§ 1. The Vedic religion is characterized by an extraordinary development of ritual, both solemn (śrauta) and domestic (grhya). Man is accompanied from birth to death—or rather from the while in the mother's womb to the time post mortem—by a series of various sacraments and ceremonies: birth, naming, initiation and graduation, marriage and funeral, etc., afford each an occasion for a special rite. Further the periodic rites (nitya) with manifold offerings (haviryajña), the numerous forms of the Soma-sacrifice (somasamsthā) and the extra rites including those performed whenever an occasion presents itself (naimittika) or those when one intends to obtain a wish (kāmya) have all to be executed in accordance with the fixed precepts. The Vedic sacrifice (yajña) can be defined as a form of homage to a deity consisting in a gift or an oblation done in view of obtaining certain advantages: prosperity, health, longevity, riches in cattle, male posterity. There is, however, no clear demarcation between the most sublime Soma-sacrifice and a magical rite for getting the better of a rival in love. In both cases it is the magico-mystic power (brahman) inherent in a sacred formula accompanying a ritual act that moves or rather impels a deity or a deified object to fulfil a human wish. Vedic sacrifices as taught in the YS. and Br. are not mere actions of thanksgiving but supplications for the most part. No wonder that we meet with many a magical element in the midst of the śrauta-rites, and that the wish-rites (kāmyeṣṭi), in their essence not differing from the Atharvanic magic, are performed after the pattern of the new and full moon sacrifice, the fundamental form of the haviryajña's.

§ 2. As in the case of mythology the Vedic ritual takes root in the Indo-Iranian period. Notwithstanding Zarathuṣtra's reform in Iran some fundamental terms are common in both domains (s. III. § 9). But much has been changed in the course of time and the Indo-Aryans have moved on their own way. The primary sources for our knowledge of the Vedic ritual are, beside the YS. and Br., the ŚS.'s and GS.'s (II. § 3), and for that of magic the AS. and the Kauśikasūtra. We know little about the actual

state of the ritual in the Ṛgvedic age which must have differed in minor points from that of the later times represented in the Sūtras, but judging from the terminology the main lines have not changed much since the AS. Theoretically the śrauta-rites are divided in two main categories: the offerings of materials other than the Soma (haviryajña or iṣṭi) and the Soma-sacrifices (somasamsthā), each divided again in seven kinds. A distinction is made also between the basic type (prakṛti) and its varieties (vikṛti): e.g. the new and full moon sacrifice being the prakṛti of the haviryajña's and the agniṣṭoma that of the one-day somasamsthā's. Each sacrifice consists of the 'members' (aṅga) and the principal part (pradhāna): the former repeating themselves invariably so that they constitute the frame (tantra) common to the sacrifices while the latter varies from sacrifice to sacrifice. In the śrauta-ritual the verses usually taken from the RS. serve as an invitational verse (puro'nuvākyā or anuvākyā) and a sacrificial verse (yājyā) recited by the hotṛ before and at the time of an oblation offered by the adhvaryu standing in the south of the altar (: the yajati-type in contrast with the juhoti-type in which an offering is done by the adhvaryu sitting in the north of the altar without the accompaniment of the yājyānuvākyā). In the Soma-sacrifices an important part is assigned to the stotra 'cantata' executed by the Sāmavedic officiants headed by the udgātṛ. Three (tṛca) or less usually two verses (pragātha), chosen from the SS. and arranged for chanting in a particular way according to complicated rules as to the number (stoma) and combination (viṣṭuti) of verses, are sung by the already mentioned officiants (chandoga) on a melody (sāman) fixed for each rite. To each stotra corresponds a śastra, that is, a recitation of a series of verses taken from the RS. performed by the hotṛ. Besides each ritual action is usually accompanied by a sacrificial formulary (yajus) muttered by the adhvaryu and others. The Soma-sacrifice is preceded by the dikṣā 'consecration' and followed by the apabhṛtha 'the final purificatory bath'. The former involves a series of observances: seclusion in a hut, wearing a skin of a black antelope, silence, fasting, sleeping on the ground, sexual abstention, etc., theoretically, in short, preparations for accessing to the superhuman state. The fee or gift (dakṣiṇā) to the officiants is variable according to their rank as well as to the kind of the rite, the half of it, however, being said to be due to the brahman (§ 6). From the earliest times the dakṣiṇā par excellence has been the cow, but many other things are mentioned in ritual texts: food (anvāhārya) for simpler sacrifices, then gold, garments, etc. The actual performance of the simplest of the Vedic sacrifice is, of course, far more complicated than an outline sketched here and is apt to lead us into a labyrinth of technicalities.

§ 3. Substances (havis) used for offerings are of various kinds: melted butter (ghṛta, ājya), milk (payas) and its transformed varieties, caru (a kind of rice porridge with milk or butter), puroḍāśa (a cake of flour baked on a fixed number of potsherds or kapāla), agricultural products, etc., and in the

case of the animal-sacrifice (paśubandha) usually a he-goat. The somasaṁsthā's distinguish themselves by the use of the Soma (III. § 4), an intoxicating drink prepared from a plant of the same name which, however, can no more be identified because the original plant early became unobtainable and various substitutes were allowed in later times. The details about the ceremonial buying of the plant, its hospitable treatment, the pressing of its stems by means of stones, the clarifying and seasoning of the juice and the solemn way of offering it to several deities, etc. are symbolically explained and systematically described in ritual texts. The rest of the Soma (ucchiṣṭa) is drunk by the officiants and by the sacrificer (if he is a Brahman), perhaps in order to absorb the divine power. In special rites, esp. the sautrāmaṇī (§ 8. h), a popular drink, surā (V. § 5), Av. hurā, is used. Among numerous utensils mention should be here made of the sacrificial spoons of various form and use: sruva, juhū and upabhr̥t important for śrauta-oblations, and a series of cups (camasa) for the libation and drinking of the Soma. For the gṛhya-ritual s. below § 9.

§ 4. While the gṛhya-ritual demands only one fire (āvasathya, vaivāhika) which is to be sustained throughout a householder's life, three sacred fire-places are necessary for the śrauta-rites: a. gārhapatya 'the domestic fire' in the west on the sacrificial ground, circular in form and serving for preparing the havis, the name known already in the RS., a reminiscence of the ancient domestic hearth or the fire of the paterfamilias, b. āhavanīya 'the oblatory fire' in the east, quadrilateral and serving for oblation, c. dakṣiṇāgni, 'the southern fire' in the south, semicircular and serving for the offerings to evil spirits and for boiling rice to be given to the officiants as gift (dakṣiṇā), whence called also anvāhāryapacana. Two additional fires, the sabhya and the āvasathya, play no important part.

§ 5. Ordinary śrauta-rites take place in a shed (śālā, prācīnavamśa) specially erected in accordance with the precepts. Roughly speaking it is the quadrangular premises, supported by posts and covered with mats, which comprise the three sacred fires (§ 4), the altar (vedi) to the west of the āhavanīya, rectangular with its sides inwardly curved with the surface lightly lowered and covered with grass (barhis, cf. Av. barəsman 'a bundle of branches for a sacrificial use' and barziš 'cushion, bolster') on which are placed offerings, and further the seats (sadana) for the brahman, hotṛ, āgnīdhra, the sacrificer and his wife (§ 6). For the Soma-sacrifices a larger trapeziform space, called mahāvedi 'the great altar' is to be prepared to the east of the prācīnavamśa. The middle part of its eastern side is occupied by the uttaravedi 'the upper altar' provided with the uttaranābhi, i.e., the hearth taking place of the ordinary āhavanīya which then functions as the gārhapatya and is called śālāmukhiya. On the rest of the mahāvedi are placed a shed for two wagons of the Soma (havirdhāna), two new hearths: the āgnīdhriya and the mārjanīya, an oblong shed called sadas containing

lesser hearths (dhiṣṇya) of several officiants and other necessary equipments. The animal-sacrifice demands a special altar (pāśukī vediḥ) and one or many sacrificial posts (yūpa) for fastening the victim(s). For the elaborate construction of the Vēdi prescribed for the agnicayana s. below § 8. c.

§ 6. The officiants (ṛtvij) are ceremonially elected each time for the rite to be performed. The number varies according to the rite in view, e.g., one (adhvaryu) for the agnihotra (§ 7. 6), four for the new and full moon sacrifice (adhv., āgnīdhra, hotṛ, brahman), six for the animal-sacrifice (beside the above mentioned, pratiprasthātṛ, maitrāvaruṇa), but 16 (or 17) are necessary for the Soma-sacrifices, theoretically divided in four groups under the leadership of the brahman, hotṛ, udgātṛ and adhvaryu, in practice, however, the brahman stands alone and the adhv. has only two assistants while the hotṛ disposes of seven. Among these officiants the most important are the chiefs of each group: the hotṛ (cf. § 2 init.), one of whose assistants the āgnīdhra, older agnīdh 'fire-kindler', is of the Indo-Iranian origin, cf. Av. ātrəvaṣš, the adhvaryu who, assisted by the pratiprasthātṛ, undertakes all sorts of manipulation, the udgātṛ who controls the other chandoga's (cf. § 2) and lastly the brahman who, mostly sitting, superintends the whole course of the sacrifice and cures its faults whenever they occur. The yajamāna 'sacrificer', i.e., the institutor of a sacrifice who pays the cost of it, plays a part laid down for him in ritual texts and so also his wife (patnī) though to a lesser extent. In the gṛhya-matters, as a rule, the householder assisted by his wife (who can also replace him if necessary) executes the rites though he is allowed, in most cases, to employ a Brahman who acts in his stead.

§ 7. To the haviryajña-class (§ 2) belong: a. Agnyādheya, the first establishment of the sacred fires (§ 4) kindled by friction or by transfer from a rich person or a great sacrificer, preliminary to all the śrauta-rites; the punarādheya, the re-establishment, takes place when a special cause necessitates it and follows in the main the scheme of the first ādheya. b. Agnihotra 'the oblation to the Fire', the simplest form of the śrauta-rites, namely, the daily offerings of milk immediately before or after the sunrise in the morning and after the sunset or the appearance of the first star in the evening, obligatory for life to all the members of the Aryan society, at least to the Brahmins and the Vaiśyas. Attached to this rite is the agnyupasthāna 'adoration of the Fire'. c. Darśapūrṇamāsa 'the new and full moon sacrifice', the basic type (prakṛti, § 2) of the haviryajña's, the principal offering being a puroḍāśa (§ 3) dedicated to Agni and Soma in the case of the full moon, and the same dedicated to Indra and Agni in the case of the new moon, while the Moon himself is not mentioned as receiver of it. d. Cāturmāsya 'the fourmonthly rites' celebrating the beginning of three seasons: the vaiśvadeva in spring, the varuṇapraghāsa in the rains and the sākamedha in autumn. The rites comprise many traits of popular origin, e.g. the question put to the patnī as to the number of her lovers and the offering of dishes

of groats-gruel (*karambhapātra*) by her in the second, the cakes for *Rūdra Tryambaka* (*traiyambhakahoma*) offered at a crossroad in the third. e. *Āgrāyaṇa* 'the rites of first fruits': the offering of rice in autumn and that of barley in spring, less usually that of millet in autumn or in the rains and that of seeds of bamboo (*veṇuyava*) in summer. f. *Paśubandha* 'the animal sacrifice'. Beside the *paśub.* interwoven in the Soma-sacrifices (*saumya-paśu*) there is an independent one (*nirūḍhapaśu*) performed yearly or half-yearly. Though the *agniṣomīyap.*, one of the *saumyap.*, is theoretically regarded as the basic type, in reality the *nirūḍhap.* furnishes the model to the other animal sacrifices. The treatment of the sacrificial post (*yūpa*) and of the victim, a he-goat being usually slaughtered by suffocation, plays an important part. The roast epiploon or the great omentum (*vapā*) and a part of numerous portions of the animal boiled together in a vessel are offered to Indra and Agni or to *Sūrya* or to *Prajāpati*, the rest being eaten by the officiants and the *yajamāna*. g. *Kāmyeṣṭi* 'the wish-rite'. A great number of rites performed after the model of the *darśapūrṇamāsa* but quite Atharvanic in intention, aiming at health, longevity, victory, prosperity, male posterity, happy travel, etc. (cf. § 1), are prescribed in ritual texts. h. *Prāyaścitta* 'expiation'. Every, even a slight, error or accident in the course of a rite, either a *haviryajña* or a *somasamsthā*, should be immediately expiated by the brahman (§ 6) or the *adhvaryu*. The *prāyaścitta*'s, ordinarily addressed to *Varuṇa*, approach veritable sacrifices and a number of them make, in fact, part of the *kāmyeṣṭi*'s.

§ 8. According to the duration the *somasamsthā*'s (§ 2) are traditionally classified in three groups: 1. *ekāha*'s or one-day Soma-sacrifices, seven chief forms of which being known generically as *jyotiṣṭoma* 'the praise of light'; 2. *ahīna*'s or those lasting from 2 to 12 days, in fact a combination of several *ekāha*'s attended with modifications and ending necessarily with the *atirātra*. The *rājasūya* and the *aśvamedha* (s. below) belong to this group. 3. *sattra*'s or 'sessions' lasting at least 12 days, more usually a year (cf. the *gavāmayana* below c), admitting no lay *yajamāna* nor the *dakṣiṇā*, but performed under the leadership of the *gṛhapati*, that is, an officiant chosen as such by his participating colleagues. a. *Agniṣṭoma* 'the praise of fire' named after the last stotra, the basic type of the *ekāha*'s and the first of the *jyotiṣṭoma*'s of the theoreticians, taking place annually in spring on a new or full moon day. The pressing day (*sutyā*) is preceded by a day of preparations including the *dikṣā* (§ 2) of the *yajamāna* and three *upasad*-days on each of which the *pravargya* (s. below b) together with the special offerings is performed in morning and afternoon. Three pressings of the Soma: the first in the morning (*prātaḥsavana*), the second in midday (*mādhyandina-savana*) and the third in the evening (*tṛtīyasavana*), followed by the libations, distribution of the *dakṣiṇā* (§ 2) and drinking up of the rest by officiants, are the pivots of the ceremony around which other rites cluster. The

agniṣṭoma comprises altogether 12 stotra's and 12 śastra's (§ 2) and the other jyotiṣṭoma's differ from it chiefly in the total number of the stotra's and śastra's: atyagniṣṭoma with 13 st. and 13 ś., ukthya with 15 st. and 15 ś., soḍaśin with 16 st. and 16 ś., vājapeya with 17 st. and 17 ś. (s. below d), atirātra with 29 st. and 29 ś., accompanied by an all-night carousal of the Soma, survival of a popular orgy, and aptoryāma with 33 st. and 33 ś. Besides, there are ekāha's which are of ethnological interest, e.g. the gosavana with immoral elements, the vrātyastoma for adopting a non-Aryan in the Brahmanic society. b. Pravargya, originally an independent rite but in fact annexed to the Soma-sacrifice (s. above under a), characterized by the oblation for Aśvins of milk of goat and cow boiled in a pot called mahāvīra covered with a plate of gold and symbolizing the sun. A great mystic value is attached to the rite. c. Gavāmayana 'the march of the cows', the basic type of the one year sattra's (§ 8 init.), ended by the mahāvratā, originally a festival of the solstice and intended as a fertility-rite. It contains many popular traits: music, dance, a vulgar dialogue, etc. d. Vājapeya 'the beverage of victory', an ekāha (s. above a) preluded by at least 16 dikṣā- and upasad-days, rich in popular elements: a chariot race during which a Brahman, climbing up a post, turns a wheel to the right, the yajamāna's climbing to the top of a sacrificial post (yūpārohaṇa) which symbolizes his mounting to the heaven, the popular drink surā (§ 3) playing a part beside the Soma. e. Rājasūya 'the royal consecration'. The king is sprinkled and anointed with water and other substances by the adhvaryu and by the representatives of the people, he sits on the throne covered with a tiger-skin, performs a mimic and victorious raid against a troop of cows belonging to one of his kinsfolk, symbolizing his acquisition of sovereignty, and plays, of course formally, with dice winning the game against the adhvaryu. The dakṣiṇā is exaggerated beyond measure. f. Aśvamedha 'the horse-sacrifice', known already in the RS. though perhaps in its rudimentary form, the highest manifestation of the royal authority and the most famous of the Vedic sacrifices. No less than a year is necessary for preparations, and the immolation of the horse, first set free under the protection of 400 youths and led back at the end of a year, slaughtered and offered on the scale of the paśubandha (§ 7. f), is the centre of the whole ceremony. Though a royal rite on a great scale, the aśvam. abounds at the same time in episodes of popular origin: the chief queen lying beside the dead horse and imitating a copulation, an exchange of obscene words between officiants and women, a dialogue by riddles between officiants and the yajamāna, the exorbitative dakṣiṇā. The intentions are quite clear throughout: winning of the royal prosperity and sovereignty, victory and fertility. g. Puruṣamedha 'the human sacrifice', an imitation of the preceding, the chief victim here being a Brahman or a kṣatriya purchased by 1000 cows and 100 horses, though reminiscent of an ancient practice of magical nature no sure evidence of actual occurrences in the Vedic period obtainable. To a

higher degree fictive seems to be the sarvamedha 'the sacrifice of all', theoretically a ten-days rite, resulting in a complete giving up of property and a retirement from the world. h. Sautrāmaṇī, theoretically a haviryajña (§ 7) dedicated to Indra sutrāman, either an independent rite of magico-medical character or an appendix to the rājasūya (above e), characterized by the oblation of surā here replacing the Soma and intended esp. as curing a man suffering from an excessive drinking of the Soma. The rite basing on a myth involves the offering of animals: a bull to Indra, a sheep to Sarasvatī and a goat to the Aśvins. i. Agnicayana 'the piling of the fire-altar'. The preliminaries comprised once the immolation of five victims including a man and the walling in of their heads in the first layer of bricks, in later times, however, the immuring of a golden figure of a man and a tortoise in the lowest layer served as a substitute for that. The preparation of a fire-pan of clay (ukhā) and of a tremendous amount of bricks is minutely regulated in ritual texts. The central point of the ceremony, that is, the piling of the uttaravedi (§ 5) with five layers, requiring 10,800 bricks and arranged in various forms, often in the figure of a bird with extended wings, may take a year or be accomplished in a few days. The elaborate rite dedicated to Agni may accompany optionally the Soma-sacrifice in theory, but it, surpassing the power of an ordinary sacrificer, can not perhaps have taken place very often in reality.

§ 9. The grhya-rites, generically called pākayajña, contain a wide variety. The sacrificial substance (havis) is not always poured or thrown in the fire but sometimes placed on earth as in the case of the bali, or even put in the mouth, i.e., eaten as in the case of the manuṣyayajña (s. below). The havis is principally ājya 'melted butter', but also milk, barley gruel, porridge, curds, rice, barley or sesame, rarely an animal. Indispensable are a ladle called darvī or sruva for drawing ājya and offering the havis, blades of grass for purifying purposes, water and the kindling sticks. The process of oblation, much simpler than that of the śrauta-ritual, is exempt from many ceremonial elements recurring in the paradigm of the latter, and the havis is offered in the fire (§ 4 init.) maintained in the house of a householder or in a special place outside the actual dwelling. As for the sacrificer s. above § 6 in fine. As daily rites to be mentioned are: the offering usually of rice or barley in the morning (to Sūrya-Prajāpati) and in the evening (to Agni-Prajāpati) and the five mahāyajña's 'grand sacrifices' consisting of 1. devayajña 'the sacrifice for the gods' made in fire morning and evening, 2. bhūtajajña or bali 'the s. for all kinds of beings', various sorts of food being offered on the ground, very interesting for a comparative study of religious practice, 3. pitṛyajña 'the s. for the Fathers' consisting in throwing the rest of the bali sprinkled with water, 4. brahmayajña 'the s. for brahman', i.e., the repetition of some limited portions of the Veda and 5. manuṣyayajña 'the s. for men', i.e., the feeding of Brahmans, guests and beggars. Next

come periodic rites, e.g., the oblations of the syzygies corresponding to the darśapūrṇamāsa of the śrauta-ritual (§ 7. c) but much simplified, the sarpabali for the serpents, performed at the beginning of the rains for keeping away the danger of serpents, in which not only various gods but the serpents themselves have their share, and the offerings on the full moon day of several months. Prescribed are further occasional rites such as the arghya 'reception of the (distinguished) guest', involving sometimes a slaughter of a cow, the ceremonies concerning the erection of a house, etc. There are many other rites related to cattle-breeding and agriculture, some of which are of remote origin and of ethnological significance.

§ 10. The saṃskāra's 'consecrations', that is, a series of sanctifying ceremonies, mainly magical, which accompany step by step the life of an Aryan, form the essential and characteristic part of the gṛhya-ritual. In the case of a girl the rites are simplified or altogether discarded. The GS.'s usually begin with the pūṃsavana but it may be more natural to put ahead 1. garbhadhāna 'conception' and then to proceed to 2. pūṃsavana the rite for 'begetting a male child' in the third or fourth month of conception; 3. sīmantonayana 'the parting of the hair' of the pregnant woman by a quill of a porcupine in the fourth month of conception or later, prescribed only for the first pregnancy; 4. jātakarman 'the ceremonies of birth': when a child is born alive, a special fire is kindled for oblations and kept until the twelfth day, also the ceremonies for securing a long life (āyusya) and for giving intellect (medhājanana) take place, the first nourishment is given to the child (prāśana), and two names, one secret, known only to the parents and the other secular, are given to the child on the tenth or twelfth day (nāmakaraṇa), the form of each name complying with the fixed rules; 5. niṣkramaṇa the rite of 'taking the child out of the house' in the fourth month, the child being made to look at the sun (sūryadarśana); 6. annaprāśana 'the feeding of the child' with the first solid food in the sixth month, its kind depending on the qualities to be given to the child; 7. cūḍākarman or caula 'tonsure' usually in the third year (for a Brahman, but varying according the social class), consisting in the first formal cutting of the child's hair by a barber, its burying or casting away and thus providing the child with a mode of the hair-dress peculiar to the family, while the godāna or keśānta, taking place mostly in the sixteenth year, follows the model of the cūḍākarman but includes the cutting or shaving of the hair, beard, hair of the body as well as of the nails; 8. upanayana 'initiation', the most important saṃskāra taking place in the eighth year for a Brahman and in the eleventh and the twelfth year for a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya respectively, through which the boy is received as a student by a teacher. The ceremony is carried out very solemnly: endowment of a stick, investiture of the youth with a sacred cord which is worn over the left shoulder and hanging under the right armpit (yajñopavīta), etc. The boy becomes now a 'twice born' (dvija) and begins to live in the

teacher's house a life of a Vedic student (brahmacārin) which is beset by a number of duties and observances (vrata). The beginning (upākaraṇa) and the end (utsarga) of each term are marked by certain ceremonies. The period of studentship is not rigidly fixed and it can theoretically extend to 48 years. Its end (samāvartana, lit. 'return' to the family life) is accompanied with a ceremonial ablution and the youth is thenceforward a snātaka 'one who has bathed'.

§ 11. After the return home a 'twice born' has the duty to marry. The Dharmasāstra's (Manusmṛti, etc.) and a few GS.'s enumerate the eight traditional forms of marriage (vivāha), but the GS.'s presuppose a normal type based essentially on a contract approved by the parents of both families concerned though some traces of irregular types (rapture, purchase) are detectable even behind normalized regulations. The type of free love (the gāndharva-marriage) is met with in poetical works of the classical period. The nuptial ritual, full of magical symbolisms, is characterized by a series of significant actions: the bride's standing on a stone (aśmāropana), the bridegroom's taking the hand of his bride (pāṇigrahaṇa, dextrarum conjunctio), the stepping around the sacred fire by the new pair turning their right side to it (agniparikramaṇa), the taking of the 'seven steps' by the bride guided by her bridegroom, the nuptial procession towards the bridegroom's house, the first entering of the bride in her future abode without touching the threshold, the rite of pointing the polar star to the bride, the first ceremonial eating together, etc. After a period of chastity, at least three nights, the marriage is consummated. Marriage being one of the chief occasions for kindling the domestic fire (§ 4 *imit.*), the sacred fire used for the nuptial ceremony which takes place in the bride's house is to be carried back to the bridegroom's home and to be sustained by him for life,—one of the most important duties of a householder (gṛhastha, V. § 6). No trace of the so-called child-marriage is discernable from the Sūtra-texts.

§ 12. Cremation is the only mode of disposing the dead prescribed in the Sūtras, though there are not only references to burial in the RS. but also some traces of it in the ritual texts when burning alone became practically the sole method. As marriage the funeral ceremony (antyeṣṭi, pitṛmedha in a wider sense) is dominated by magical symbolisms, but in this case cautions are taken for sending the dead safely to heaven and for warding off evil influences of the deceased upon the living, and purificatory motives, esp. by means of fire, are likewise eminent. Every action is to be done in the inverse way in contrast with the propitious rites, e.g., the sacred cord worn over the right shoulder (prācīnāvīta, cf. § 10. 8), all movements directed from right to left, recitations and doings taking place only once (not thrice), an oblation being accomplished with the svadhā-call (instead of svāhā). Some practices may go back to the Indo-European period though it is difficult to determine the extent. After having been carried to the burning place the

corpse is placed on a pyre surrounded by three fires. Cremation (upoṣaṇa) itself is prescribed in detail. The widow, first lying beside the departed husband, is called back to among the living in order to marry with her brother-in-law (levirate),—a proof that the widow-burning was a custom in the remote past which will be revived later in the notorious usage known as satī. The collection of the bones of the dead (asthisamcayana) takes place on the third or fourth day after death or on other days (texts greatly varying as to the time), and the remains are gathered in an urn which is buried under a tree or elsewhere. After a period of impurity (aśauca), usually lasting ten days, several purificatory rites (śāntikarman) are to be performed. In special cases a kind of monument (śmaśāna) is erected long after death. The rite for it, called loṣṭaciti 'pilement of lime' or pitṛmedha in a narrower sense, consists mainly in transferring the remains, if any, or the dust of the spot to a place far from village and street, depositing them in a hole or a ploughed furrow and covering over with stones and earth in order to make a memorial mound.

§ 13. Beside a rite for the Manes inserted in the sākamedha, the third of the cāturmāsya-sacrifices (§ 7. d) and the pitṛyajña already mentioned among the daily obligations (§ 9) there are a number of rites immediately connected with the newly deceased (ekoddiṣṭa and sapinḍikaraṇa 'reception of the newly dead among the Fathers') and numerous periodic rites for worshipping the Fathers (śrāddha, lit. 'connected with faith'). Here the Fathers, that is, the direct ancestors, at least three in number, are represented by the carefully chosen Brahmins and the ritual is characterized by the use of piṇḍa's 'balls of flour' and sesame-grains. To this kind belong the monthly śrāddha on the new moon day afternoon and likewise the piṇḍapitṛyajña expounded mostly in the ŚS.'s but perhaps invented after the model of the grhya-ritual, and further the aṣṭakā performed thrice yearly in winter and in the cool season on the eighth of the dark half of the month (taiṣa=pauṣa, māgha, phālguna) in which flesh is demanded and the anvāṣṭakya following the aṣṭakā and showing many peculiarities. Moreover, special occasions such as the birth of a son, the nāmakaraṇa (§ 10. 4), marriage furnish a chance for ancestor-worship. In such cases everything proceeds in a propitious way: the waxing half of the month before the midday is chosen, performances take the direction from left to right, the number of the Brahmins chosen amounts to seven, these are addressed as nāndimukha 'joyful in countenance', barley is used instead of sesame, etc.

§ 14. As has been pointed out (§ 1) there is no essential difference between ordinary ritual and magic. We owe our knowledge of Vedic magic chiefly to the AS. (esp. I–VII) supplemented by the Kauśikasūtra, but the RS. contains already hymns of Atharvanic character, e.g., VII. 103: a hymn of frogs intended as a charm of rain, X. 145: against the husband's sweetheart, VIII. 47. 14–18: against an evil dream, I. 50. 11–12: against jaundice, X. 165:

against inauspicious birds, pigeon and owl as Yama's messengers. The wish-rites (§ 7. g) in Br.-texts are of the same nature. One of the sub-Br.'s of the Sāmaveda, Sāmavidhāna by name, is nothing but a book of incantations, and to the same category belongs the Ṛgvidhāna, a late versified text attached to the Ṛgveda. Magic is thus authorized by the Brahmans as far as it is placed under their control and manipulated by them. On the other hand the RS. speaks of demons of sorcery (yātu, yātudhāna, III. § 7) and condemns sorcerers and sooceresses who practise black magic, but the measures taken against them are again of magical nature. The oldest appellation of the AS. is atharvāṅgirasah (pl.) based upon two family-names, Atharvan and Aṅgiras, and the native tradition refers atharvan to the auspicious (śānta) and aṅgiras to the hostile and terrible practices (ābhicārika, ghora). Roughly speaking the bulk of the magical hymns in the AS. may be classified into these two groups. To the former group belong the 'charms to cure diseases and posession by demons of disease' (bhaiṣajyāni, Bloomfield's terminology reproduced here and in the following), those 'for long life and health' (āyusyāni), those 'to secure prosperity in house, field, cattle, business, gambling and kindred matters' (pauṣṭikāni), and those 'to secure harmony, influence in the assembly and the like' (sāmmanasyāni), while to the latter group belong the 'imprecations against demons, soocerers, and enemies' (ābhicārikāni and kriyāpratiharāṇāni). From a different point of view and in consideration of their importance, however, the 'charms pertaining to women' (striakarmāni), esp. love-charms, those 'pertaining to royalty' (rājākarmāni) and the 'prayers and imprecations in the interest of Brahmans' may each constitute an independent class comprising in itself both kinds of magic. Lastly the 'charms in expiation of sin and defilement' (prāyaścittāni, cf. above § 7. h) can stand apart. At the root of all these practices lies a concept that there is a magical force in everything. No distinction is noticed between demons causing diseases, dangerous sorcerers and noxious animals on one hand and on the other various inanimates objects and causes bringing evils, sin and defilement (including ritual faults which require expiation, s. above). In order to get rid of all hostile influences a great many things, animate or inanimate, are set in motion as instruments. The choice depends upon the purpose to be accomplished: principles of homeopathy and heteropathy, and the practitioner of magic is at the same time a sort of medicine man. Mantra's and sāman's (II. §§ 1 and 2) are, of course, of great efficacy. Mystic force in speech is always highly valued not only in benedictions but also in maledictions and oaths. As purificatory means water and fire, as usual, belong to the most effective. Food plays an important part and amulets are also in use. In the case of hostile magic the time preferred is night and the place employed by choice is a cemetery, a forest or a cross-road, and the dominating colour is black. In other cases a special time of the day or the year is indicated and any place, field or house, is also used.

Magical practices are sometimes positive: ablution and washing, burning and smoking, wiping and shaking off, transferring an evil upon another being (often a bird) and chasing far away, and sometimes negative or preventive: silence and retreat, avoiding contact with impurity or with a thing filled with a mystic power, and effacing ominous marks, e.g., foot-prints of a funeral procession. The process taken is not always aggressive but not rarely propitious and even deprecatory. Magical rites, as the *Sāmavidhānabr.* shows, serve even to gain supernatural powers and to attain the immediate liberation from the mundane world. Closely connected with magic is divination various kinds of which are known from the texts: interpretation of dreams, happenings during a sacrifice, natural phenomena, cries of animals, flight of birds. The prediction concerning the fortune of a battle is important for a king and that by the features of the body or hand plays a part in the case of betrothal. Ordeal seems to have been known since the AS., and it, being practised by means of fire or water, serves to prove religious or legal innocence.

V. Civilization and society.

§ 1. In a late hymn of the RS. (X. 75) dedicated to the praise of the rivers (*nadistuti*) the knowledge of the river-systems in northern India is exhibited. A great importance is laid on the Sindhu (Indus), and four of the tributaries of this mighty stream are expressly mentioned: Vitastā (Jhelam), Asiknī (Chenāb), Paruṣṇī (later Irāvati, mod. Rāvi) and Śutudrī (Satlaj), the fifth being the sister-stream of the last mentioned: Vipāś (Beās, cf. RS. III. 33). These five rivers, whence the geographical name Panjab, the earliest scene of the Indo-Aryan civilization, together with the Sindhu and the Sarasvatī (Sarsuti between the Satlaj and the Jamnā?), the most celebrated among them and a veritable river-goddess, might have given rise to the appellation of the Seven Rivers (*sapta sindhavaḥ*) in Vedic texts. The vast space drained by the river-system of the Gaṅgā (Ganges) and Yamunā (Jamnā), esp. the land of the Kuru-Pañcālas or the Madhyadeśa 'Middle Country' of the classical period, that is, the modern Doāb, is the area of the later Vedic culture. The names of both rivers, however, are quite seldom mentioned in the RS. An exact knowledge of the ocean (*samudra*) is first attested in the Br. texts. The chain of the Himālayas, the northern boundary of India, is in all probability referred to by the word *himavat* 'snowy' but the Vindhya-range in the south is not met with in the Vedic texts. The names of eastern countries gradually Brahmanized and gaining in importance with the rise of Buddhism such as Kosala, Videha, Magadha, Aṅga or Vaṅga as well as the town-names such as Kāśī (Benares), Kauśāmbī appear in post-Ṛgvedic texts.

§ 2. Apart from conquering fights against the aborigines, esp. Dāsas and Dasyus (III. § 7), told under a mythical guise, a piece of history is re-

ported in the RS.: the so-called *dāśarājña* 'war against the ten kings' in which Sudās of the *Ṛtsu*-clan, king of the Bharatas, perhaps one of the most powerful tribes in that age, with Vasiṣṭha as his chaplain (*purohita*, § 3) defeated ten tribal chieftains assisted by their chaplain Viśvāmitra. The Pūrus, one of these ten tribes and the Bharatas, expanded with further additions, united later into the Kurus, the most important people of the Br.-texts. The Kurus together with the *Pañcālas* (formerly called *Krivis*) constituted then a united nation of the *Kurupañcālas* and occupied the upper reaches of the *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* in the *Doāb*. *Parikṣit*, mentioned already in the AS. as a king of the Kurus, supplies us with an important link connecting the Vedic age with the epico-purāṇic tradition, for the *Mahābhārata* is said to have been first recited before Janamejaya, *Parikṣit*'s son and successor. But this dynasty does not seem to have survived the time of the earliest Up. (cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* III. 3. 1).

§ 3. The basic unit of the Vedic social system is a family which is to be understood in the sense of a patriarchal joint family living together under the control of the head of a family (*gṛhapati*). Triple territorial groups above the family must be an Indo-Iranian heritage: *grāma* 'village', *viś* 'clan' and *jana* 'tribe' (the chief calling himself *rājan* 'king') corresponding to Ir. *nmāna*, *vis* and *jantu*. So also the basis of the tripartition of social classes (*varṇa*, lit. 'colour'): priests, warriors and cattle-breeders-farmers, and it may go back even to the Indo-European period. A late hymn of the RS. (X. 90) mentions the names of these classes: *brāhmaṇa*, *rājanya* (= *kṣatriya* AS.) and *vaiśya* as well as the fourth class *śūdra*. Though the forms and restrictions of marriage are elaborated in the GS.'s and later, the exact details about them escape our notice in earlier texts. Anyhow the strict exogamy does not seem to have prevailed in the oldest times, and out of mixing of blood and of classes propelled by manifold circumstances the caste-system (*jāti*) pivoting upon the complicated regulations concerning marriage, meal and profession began to take form in course of time after the centre of culture had been shifted to the holy land of the Kuru's (*Kurukṣetra*). *Brahman* (masc.), an agent noun corresponding to a neuter noun *brahman* (III. § 17), designated in the beginning a priest or officiant in general and *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman' was originally a person who is saturated with sacred power. As administrators of the Vedic religion and cult and as custodians and instructors of the Veda itself the Brahmins demanded respect and gift, security and immunity from the other classes and presumed arrogantly to call themselves gods on earth. But the real state of affairs is better reflected in Buddhist sources which tell us that beside learned Brahmins there were also ignoble ones making their living by sorcery and the like. The *kṣatriyas*, placed under the Brahmins according to the Brahmanic dogma but in reality representatives of the worldly power, constituted the ruling and martial class to which the Buddha and *Makāvira* also belonged.

Bravery and political ingenuity were their strength. Army consisting mainly of infantry and charioteers, a warrior fought on a chariot conducted by a driver, and his principal weapons were bow and arrow and several kinds of spear and axe. There is a good reason to believe that a fierce struggle was unavoidable between these two upper classes in the pre-Buddhist times. Anyhow the royal class and priesthood, checking their pretensions each other, rested at last heavily on the lower classes. The divine character of the king, no more a chieftain of a tribe, seems to have been recognized very early and his power and domain must have increased with the passage of time to such an extent that he was able to celebrate the pompuous ceremonies like the *rājasūya* or the *aśvamedha* (IV. § 8. e, f) prescribed in the ritual texts. Being a military leader in war and a ruler in peace and having a stately entourage of courtiers (*ratnin*), the king seems to have administered justice too. As a rule kingship was hereditary but sometimes election and even the banishment of a king took place. There were at least two kinds of assembly: *saṃiti* and *sabhā* for political and social-judicial purposes. Apart from scattered statements, precious as they are, our knowledge of the civil and criminal law and of customary institutions (the *wergeld*, etc.) depends mainly on the *DhS*'s (II. § 3 in fine), the latest outshoots of the Vedic literature. The *vaiśyas* embrace the common people following all kinds of profession: cattle breeding and agriculture, handicraft and trade. From the Brahmanic point of view the *vaiśya* is "tributary to another, to be eaten (i.e. lived on) by another, to be oppressed at will", but in reality the position of this class was not so bad as the theory holds it. At least in the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra and in the eastern parts of India, esp. in Kosala and Magadha, there existed a number of rich merchants who possessed vast estates and were favoured by royal persons. Certainly worse was the lot of the *śūdra*, "the servant to be removed at will, to be slain at will". The *śūdras* of the Vedic time consisted of the rest of the aborigines, the wild hill tribes and all other elements beyond the pale of the Brahmanic culture and control. They were mostly serfs and excluded from the sacred matters. Evidences in early Vedic texts, however, referring to rich *śūdras*, there existed surely some distinctions between the *śūdras* at large and a part of them who enjoyed a greater freedom. The *caṇḍālas*, the most despised class (cf. the untouchables of the later age) are mentioned in post-*Ṛgvedic* texts.

§ 4. As in mythology the goddesses (III. § 6) occupy a subordinate position, so in secular life the predominance of man over woman must have been a rule from the beginning. Scattered statements in Br.-texts support this view. Women are spoken of as being on the same level as *śūdras*, dogs and black (i.e. ill-omened) birds, as being a source of vices like gambling and indolence or again as being frivolous and inconstant. Prostitution probably flourished from the *Ṛgvedic* age: there is a reference to the helplessness of brotherless maidens in the RS. This is, of course, one side of

the shield. It is true that no much privilege as to property and heritage is allotted to woman in the classical legal texts, but there were poetesses among the Vedic ṛṣi's (II. § 1), and Gārgī Vācaknavī was one of the antagonists of the great philosopher Yājñavalkya in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. As stated above the patnī (IV. § 6) was a regular participator in the Vedic ritual. If only for her begetting a son (the daughter being a misery), the wife was esteemed as one half of the man and said to be his comrade. In early texts no trace of the seclusion of women, nor of polyandry, nor of the child-marriage is found and nothing certain can be maintained about the prohibition of re-marriage of widows in ancient times.

§ 5. Cattle-breeding was the principal occupation in the time of the RS. Among the domestic animals, next to the cattle, mention is to be made of the horse, sheep, goat and buffalo. To the eyes of the Vedic Aryans nothing was more beautiful than the bellowing herds of cattle going out to the pasture in the morning and coming back in the evening (cf. a family name Gotama, lit. 'the richest in cattle'), though the doctrine of inviolability of the cow is not expressly mentioned in the RS. (cf., however, an epithet aghnyā 'not to be killed') and the slaughter of the cow seems to have taken place on special occasions. The care of grazing was taken by herdsmen (gopa, gopāla) armed with a goad, and the marking of ears of the cattle was early known. The value of the cattle for the every day life was manifold: cows for getting milk, butter, etc., oxen for ploughing and drawing wagons. The price was measured by cows and the honourary of the officiants was also paid by them. Prayers for wealth in kine are countlessly repeated in the hymns. Two kinds of plough were used for cultivating the soil: lāṅgula in ordinary use and sira heavier than the former, both being mentioned in the RS. and later. The chief product of agriculture in the Ṛgvedic age was yava, perhaps 'barley', and rice, beans, sesame, etc. gained importance in the later period. Trade was transacted first by means of cows and golden ornaments (niṣka), and later by means of kṛṣṇala's 'berries of the guñjā (arbus precatorius)' and pieces of gold (śatamāna), both serving also as units of weight. Contract, personified in Mitra (III. § 4), held an important position in social and economic life. Its most ordinary form was loan and the interest was fixed at various rates. The usurer and the chief of a guild too were known in the YS. Several kinds of artisans are noticed in the RS.: carwrights, carpenters, blacksmiths, tanners, while spinning and weaving were entrusted to women. Tools were made of wood or a kind of metal (ayas), later certainly of copper and iron. Gold was abundant but silver rare. No special skill in navigation is discernable in the Vedic time. Ordinary dwellings made of wood with thatched roofs must have been quite humble. Garments were made of wool or skin, and silk, linen, hemp, cotton, ornaments of gold, turbans, garlands, parasols and perfumes were known too. Food was supplied in plenty by cattle-breeding and agriculture: milk, of course the

chief nourishment of the age, and varieties derived from it (sour milk, butter, curds), vegetables and fruits beside the cereals mentioned above, honey serving both as food and drink, various kinds of nutritious soup and cake. The Vedic Aryans were meat-eaters, at least on the occasions of solemn and domestic celebrities: flesh of goat, mutton, beef and perhaps also horseflesh. They were certainly fond of a spirituous liquor called surā, prepared from grains, which was definitely disapproved in some passages of the RS. and of other texts but was sometimes used in the ritual (cf. IV. § 3, § 8. d and h). Chariot racing was a favourite sport often referred to in the Ṛgvedic hymns. The gambling by means of nuts of the vibhīdaka (*terminalia bellerica*) was one of the popular amusements in spite of the disapproval of the Vedic texts, and a mock-game was even prescribed in the śrauta-cult (cf. IV. § 8 e). Dance, music and singing were eagerly pursued in all times, esp. among women just as hunting among men.

§ 6. The scheme of the four āśrama's 'stages of a life', that is, the brahmācārīn 'Vedic student', the gr̥hastha 'householder', the vānaprastha 'forest-dweller, hermit' and the saṃnyāsīn 'homeless wanderer or religious mendicant', is not expounded in older texts. The word āśrama appears first in the youngest stratum of the Vedic Sūtras. Nevertheless references to individual stages are found in some of the old Up.'s. We owe a full description of the convention to the writers of the DhS.'s and Dharmaśāstras and of the new Up.'s. The third and fourth stages, inseparable in origin, can be regarded as Brahmanic counterparts of the Buddhist and Jaina ascetics and mendicants. The theory, on the whole a work of the orthodox Brahmins, looks like an attempt to idealize an Aryan life and to reconcile the contradictions between worldly activity and quietism.

(Editorial Note: The article was written originally for the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* under the editorship of Professor Dr. G. P. Malalasekara of Ceylon. Though nothing is known about the publication of the encyclopaedia, more than thirty years have passed since 1957 when the edition was started and the author himself died in 1979, the Toyo Bunko has decided to publish here in memory of the late Professor Dr. Naoshiro Tsuji who was its director from 1974 to 1979.)