

**THE  
ARYANISATION OF INDIA**

**BY**  
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To  
The sacred memory of my mother,  
Niroda Sundari Dutt

## PREFACE

For the period following the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century B. C. Dr. Vincent A. Smith has prepared in his *Early History of India* a highway, which has placed the whole world of travellers in the field of ancient Indian history under a deep debt of gratitude. Unfortunately, for the pre-Buddhist period no such book has yet been published, which gives us an outline of the political history based on a workable chronological framework, without which no history of art, religion, or society, however immense the materials available, can be definitely given shape to, like flesh and blood without a skeleton. The result is that though no other period of Indian history has attracted the attention of so many scholars, and has such an immense mass of literature written upon it as the Vedic period, it yet remains one of the most bewildering periods of human history, the breeding ground of wildest theories and fantastic calculations. Besides, tradition as recorded in religious literature being the principal source of history for the period in question, prejudices run strong among the writers on the subject, between those who exaggerate the value of tradition and those who cannot judge anything of ancient India except in relation to, or by the standard of, Greek history.

The greatest stumbling-block in the way of a historian of this period is the difficulty of harmonizing the Vedic with Pauranic tradition regarding the order of kings and succession of events. It has been the practice of scholars generally to accept only the Vedic and reject the Pauranic tradition, and to declare that the Veda "stands quite by itself, high up on an isolated peak of remote antiquity." A notable exception is Mr. F. E. Pargiter, who, however, goes to the other extreme by attaching too much importance to Pauranic writings and unduly depreciating Vedic tradition. The work so far done is only preliminary, and arduous labours of scholars in collaboration are needed to carefully sift and co-relate the materials obtained from both the sources. For further light on the subject we must await the researches of



archaeology, which is still in an undeveloped condition in India. As thanks to the excavations and researches in the Aegean regions the Trojan war is gradually coming within the purview of history, it will not do to treat the stories of the Pūranas and the Epics as all purely mythical, and they must be made to yield their contributions to the causeway connecting the dim, isolated Vedic period with the historical Buddhist period. And the Vedic period, too, which has so long been the scrambling ground of philologists, anthropologists and philosophers, should cease to be treated as beyond the jurisdiction of history.

The purpose of this book is to present within a short compass a chronological and geographical framework for the political history of India for the Vedic and Epic periods, together with an intelligible account of the Aryan conquests so far as it can be made out of the confused mass of literature published on the subject. I know that in the absence of archaeological evidences and of any literature of the native Dravidians of the period the history is bound to be highly imperfect. But, circumstanced as we are, we cannot neglect the materials existing with which to construct even an one-sided history, the version of the Aryan conquerors, like that of the so-called Pathan rulers of India in the absence of any writings of the conquered Hindus.

I take this opportunity of expressing my deep gratitude to my senior and old teacher, Principal R. B. Ramsbotham, M. B. E., M. A., B. Litt., I. E. S., the example of whose industrious, scholarly life, no less than his wise directions and kind words of encouragement, has always been a source of inspiration and stimulation to me in my work. My thanks are due to Prof. B. K. Goswami Sastri, M. A., Ph. D., for various suggestions and valuable bits of information.

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N. K. D.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE ARYANS.

It was a memorable moment when Sir William Jones observed in 1786 that the Sanskrit language, the language of Persia, the language of Greece and Rome, the language of the Celts and Germans were all closely connected, so much so "that no philologist could examine them all without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists". These observations laid the foundation-stone of Comparative Philology, which was placed on a scientific footing by Bopp in his Comparative Grammar about fifty years later. At once the hypothesis arose that the ancestors of the persons speaking these connected languages belonged to one stock which once lived in one place and spoke one language, the parent of this group of languages. One of the most famous advocates of this hypothesis was Max Muller, who in his Lectures on the Science of Language in 1861 asserted that there was a time "when the first ancestors of the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Slavs, the Celts, and the Germans were living."

together within the same enclosures, nay, under the same roof," and that that place was Central Asia from where "the ancestors of the Indians and Persians started for the South, and the leaders of the Greek, Roman, Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavonic colonies marched towards the shores of Europe." Since then iconoclastic critics have appeared, and with the aid of the sciences of Comparative Ethnology and Archæology have tried to tear to pieces the conclusions of Comparative Philology and to disprove the assumption of the philologists that a relationship of language implies relationship of blood. One of the most bitter critics of the Aryan Theory was Oppert, according to whom, "there are Aryan languages but there is no Aryan race." During the fourth quarter of the last century the pendulum continued swinging rapidly from one extreme to the other. To-day, however, though the noise of conflict is still heard, the dust raised by the clash of combatants has somewhat subsided, and the atmosphere has become sufficiently clear to enable one to take a dispassionate view of the whole thing.

Philologists since the times of Sir William Jones and Bopp have noticed that there is a great affinity between the Sanskrit, Iranian, Armenian, Slavonic, Lettic, Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Teutonic languages, and that this affinity is not due

• Comparative  
Philology.

to accident, or temporary contact, or mutual borrowing. Among the various members of this group of languages we find words with common roots for father, mother, brother, sister, daughter, son, father-in-law, and some other words denoting family relationship ; cow, horse, dog, waggon, yoke, door, mead, copper, etc. ; numerals up to ten and hundred ; pronouns like me, thou, he ; verbs like to be, eat, lick, stay, sew ; particles like inter, pra, pari. "It is," as Muir says, "precisely those words and forms which are the most primitive, the most fundamental, the most essential parts of each language which they have in common." Again this affinity is observed not only in simple words but in many grammatical rules, such as declension of nouns and conjugation of verbs. Hommel and Delitzsch seek to establish primitive relations between the Aryan and Semitic languages by identifying several Semitic roots with Aryan. But a few such words, as Taylor observes, "are not enough to base a theory on ; the phonetic resemblances may be accidental, or the words may be very early loan words due to Phœnician commerce...But even if these identifications be accepted, it would not suffice, as it would be also necessary to show an agreement of grammatical formative elements ; and it is universally admitted that in grammatical structure the Semites

and Aryan languages differ fundamentally." Hence it is seen that no fundamental resemblance can be traced between any language of this group and the other languages of the world, such as Chinese, Arabic, Negro, Australian. From these the philologists have come to the conclusion that the ancestors of most of the modern European nations, the Persians, and the Indians (non-Dravidian) at one time must have lived together and spoken one language from which their modern languages are all descended. The name Aryan is often given to this family of nations, as the ancient Persians called themselves by that name, and the authors of the Rigvedic hymns are believed to have used that name to distinguish themselves from the aborigines. But as it is not known to have been used by the European members of the family, the word is sometimes used in a narrow sense to denote the Persian and Indian branches only, while words like Indo-European and Indo-German (taking the two extreme members of the group) have been coined to denote the whole family.

The philological arguments alone are not sufficient to establish the identity of races. The well-known anthropologist Broca points out that "races have frequently within the historic period changed their language without having apparently changed the race or type. The Belgians, for

instance, speak a neo-Latin language, but of all races who have mingled their blood with that of the autochthones of Belgium it would be difficult to find one which has left less trace than the people of Rome." Another good instance, is the imposition of a neo-Latin dialect on a vast American Indian population in more recent times. Still comparative philology has some value if its deductions are supported by other evidences. Besides, it is generally seen that the conquerors, if they are civilized, impose their language on the conquered, whether it is in Belgium or in South America. The analogy proves our point that some bands of Aryans migrated to Europe, and conquering and mingling with the aboriginal peoples Aryanised them as their brethren did the Dravidians in India. It is hopeless to look for a pure Aryan race in the modern world.

The philological evidences which seek to establish the relationship between the Indians, the Persians, and the Europeans are supported to a certain extent by the coincidences which are observed in the mythologies of the Vedas, the earliest book of the Indians, and those of the Zend Avesta of Persia, and also, though in a smaller degree, in the mythologies of the ancient European nations. Scholars like Kuhn and Max Müller have identified the Erinyes of the Greeks



with the Saranyu of the Vedas, the Centaurs with the Gāndharvas, Helios and Sol with Sūrjya, Eos with Ushas, Uranus with Varuna, Zeus with Dyaus, Jupiter with Dyaus pitar, the Slavonic Bogu with Bhaga, and Perkunus or Perunu with the Vedic Parjanya. The community of mythologies between the Indians and the Iranians is more strongly marked. Both had in their mythologies Yama, Trita, Miṭra, Vayu, Sarva, Indra, Vitrahan, Nasatyas, Asura, etc., while both made Soma offerings in yajnas or sacrifices, and had common names for priests as hotri and atharvan.

There are some scholars who express doubts about the inheritance of any common mythological traditions by the Aryan-speaking nations because of the fewness of resemblances and of the discrepancies of mythologies even when there are resemblances of names. But they do not seem to take into account the long centuries which separate the Rigvedic hymns from the Greek, Latin, and Teutonic literatures from which we draw our materials, and still more, which separate these all from the proto-Aryan period. Again, mythological and theological conceptions are apt to change under external influences more quickly and radically than languages. How many ancient religious traditions are to be found in Christian Italy, Mahomedan Persia, or Buddhist Ceylon? We can easily imagine

how the mythologies of the semi-barbarous Aryan immigrants into Europe were influenced through contact with the aborigines on one hand and the Phœnician culture bearers on the other. Professor Rhys remarks in his Hibbert Lectures—"If the Aryans had attained to the idea of so transcendent a god.....there would be difficulty in understanding how, as the Dyauṣ of Sanskrit literature, he should have become comparatively a lay figure, that as Tiu he should have been superseded by Woden and Thor among the Teutons, and that among the Gauls his pre-eminence should at anytime have been threatened by a Mercury.' The difficulty, however, disappears if we remember that considerable changes in mythology can take place among the same people living under different physical conditions. Thus, for instance, the Indians living in tropical climate would welcome the clouds and naturally give pre-eminence to the cloud god, while the people of North Europe would favour the sun god. The action of time and foreign influences also in modifying the mythologies of a people can be observed in India and Egypt, where the great gods of the early Indo-Aryans and Egyptians could not maintain their pre-eminence and sometimes even their existence in later times, and new gods and beliefs arose from time to time, sometimes quite in antagonism

to the old ones. In India Varuna and then Indra appropriated many of the attributes of the heaven god Dyaus, and in later times were themselves cast into the shade by Vishnu and Siva. The wonder is not the fewness of mythological resemblances between the nations of Europe and India, but that, inspite of centuries of separation and loss of contact before the days of Darius and Alexander, of the great differences in physical conditions and environments in which the different branches lived, and of the foreign cultural influences to which these semi-barbarous communities were exposed, such important resemblances can still be detected.

Ethnologists state that inspite of the intermixture of races which has gone on more or less at all times, and the tendency of individuals to vary under the effects of climate and environment, there has always been a tendency to revert to the primitive types, viz, (1) the Caucasian, with usually a fair skin, soft, straight or wavy hair, full grown beard, long or broad headform, narrow face, and well-shaped nose; (2) the Mongolian, with yellow or reddish complexion, coarse straight hair, scanty or no beard; broad head, broad and flat face with high cheek-bones, small and depressed nose, and slanting eyes; (3) the Ethiopian or Negroid, with black complexion,

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Ethnology.**

black frizzly hair, long head, broad and flat nose, moderate beard, thick lips, large teeth, and long forearm. The Caucasians again are generally subdivided into (a) Indo-Germans or Aryans, (b) Semites, (c) Hamites or Berbers. Peschel and many other ethnologists are agreed by examining the head-form, nose, hair, skin, and other physical features of the Hindus (non-Dravidian) that they are common with the Persians and the Europeans belong to the Indo-Germanic group. This hypothesis of community of blood between the Indians and the Europeans is supported by evidences from the Vedas and the Epics, where the typical Aryan is described as a tall, generally fair-complexioned person, with narrow, prominent nose, good hair, large eyes, broad shoulders, and slim waist, features which even to-day are regarded in India as constituting an ideal physique.

In Europe three different types have been clearly distinguished—(1) the Nordic or Teutonic, tall, fair, dolichocephalic or long-headed, (2) the Alpine or Celto-Slav, fair, both short and tall, brachycephalic or broad-headed, (3) the Mediterranean, short, dark, dolichocephalic. Great acrimony is displayed in the discussion about the relationship of each of these types with the original Aryan stock, and is made more bitter by the national jealousy between the German and the French, the German

scholars like Posche, Penka, and Hehn generally claiming direct descent for the Teuton from the original stock and tracing the brachycephalic Celt to Turanian or Mongolian origin, while the Gallic scholars like Chavee, De Mortillet, and Ujfalvy representing the primitive Aryans as brachycephalic and assigning African origin to the dolichocephalic Teuton. The tendency, however, of modern scholars, as Feist in Germany and de Michelis in France, is to find a solution to this knotty problem by assuming that the primitive Aryans were not a pure race, but a mixture of different types, both dolichocephalic and brachycephalic, who in prehistoric times were welded together into a linguistic and cultural unity, as the present English have been formed from Iberians, Celts, and Teutons. In spite of such obvious physical differences, the Indo-Germans can be grouped together in a single division because we recognise a common racial stamp in the facial expression, the shape of the nose, the structure of the hair, partly also the bodily proportions, in all of which points they agree more with each other than with the other divisions.

From a comparative study of their social institutions it is found that there are many customary laws and social rules peculiarly common to the Hindus and the ancient Europeans, which

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Sociology.

raises a strong supposition, irrespective of other considerations, that they had a common origin. "It does not appear to me a hazardous proposition that the Indian and the ancient European systems of enjoyment and tillage by men grouped in village communities are in all essential particulars identical.....There is the arable mark divided into separate lots but cultivated according to minute customary rules binding on all.....There is the waste or common land, out of which the arable mark has been cut, enjoyed as pasture by all the community pro-indivisio. There is the village, consisting of habitations each ruled by a despotic pater familias. And there is constantly a council of government to determine disputes as to custom." (Maine, Village Communities). Havell also notices that "the description of the old English village communities in Schleswig and Jutland given by a well-known historian (J. R. Green), and the characteristics ascribed to the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxon race, correspond closely with what is known of the early Aryan settlements in India from their literary records and from traditional evidence." And the resemblance becomes more striking when we compare them "with the more ancient Dravidian communal system of India in which mother instead of father was the head of the family, hunting and robbing were the principal

means of subsistence instead of agriculture and cattle farming, and civilization more mercantile than agricultural." According to Senart, even in social organisation in which the Hindus with their caste system differ most from the European branches of the Aryan family there is a great resemblance between the Hindu system and those of the Greeks and the Romans in the earlier stages of their national developments, e.g. the gens, curia, tribe at Rome, family, phratia in Greece, and family, gotra, caste in India. Endogamous and hypergamous rights were not unknown in ancient Greece and Rome. The resemblance is greater between the Hindu system and the ancient Iranian division of society into four classes—priests, warriors, cultivators, and artisans—especially when we find that the rule of endogamy prevailed at least among the highest class, the Athravans, corresponding to the Brahmins of India.

"The offering of gifts to the gods in fire is Indo-European, as is shown by the agreement of the Greeks, Romans, and Indians. Indo-European also is that part of the marriage ritual in which the newly wedded couple walk round the nuptial fire, the bridegroom presenting a burnt offering and the bride an offering of grain; for among the Romans also the young pair walked round the altar from left to right before offering bread (far) in the fire. Indo-European, too,

must be the practice of scattering rice or grain (as a symbol of fertility) over the bride and bridegroom, as prescribed in the Sutras ; for it is widely diffused among peoples who cannot have borrowed it. Still older is the Indian ceremony of producing the sacrificial fire by the friction of two pieces of wood. Similarly the practice in the construction of the Indian fire-altar of walling up in the lowest layer of bricks the heads of five different victims, including that of a man, goes back to an ancient belief that a building can only be firmly erected when a man or an animal is buried with its foundations." (Macdonell, Sanskrit literature).

If it be a fact that the ancestors of a large section of the people of Europe, Persia, and

**Is India the cradle  
of the Aryans ?**

India at one time lived in one place, spoke one language, and possessed one culture,

the question that naturally arises is where that original home of the Aryans was. The orthodox Indian opinion is that India has ever been the home of the Hindus, and that if the Persians and the Europeans have been proved to be related to the Hindus, presumably they must have migrated from India. Apparently this point of view seems to be correct because it is in India that the earliest known Aryan literature, the Vedas, was composed and exists, and that the modern Hindu religion and social



structure are directly descended from the Vedic institutions. This opinion gains additional force when it is stated that nowhere in Indian literature, not even in the Vedas, is there any tradition recorded about any immigration from abroad, such as exists among peoples who are known to have migrated from one country to another.

The current opinion among European scholars is that India could not be the home of the undivided Aryans. (1) "It is **India not the original home.** nowise probable that the migrations which have peopled so large a part of the globe should have commenced at its southern extremity, and have been constantly directed from that point towards the north-west. On the contrary, everything concurs to persuade us that the colonies set out from a central region in divergent directions." (Schlegel, Essais).

(2). "None of the phenomena of speech, customs, or ideas observable among the other cognate nations indicate an Indian origin. Of the countries which were anciently occupied by the great Indo-Germanic family India was the most peculiar, and differed the most widely from the others, and it would be unaccountable that no trace of these Indian peculiarities should have been preserved by any of the other Indo-Germanic races in later times, if they had all

originally dwelt in India." (Lassen, Indian Antiquities). A comparison of the Aryan languages leads us to believe that the early Aryans, wherever they might have lived, were familiar with the birch, the pine, and also probably the oak and willow, trees which do not generally grow in the plains of India ; with snow and ice, but not with hot summer ; and certainly not with the elephant, the lion, the tiger, the banian tree, and rice, things peculiarly characteristic of the Indian soil. To the Rig-vedic Indians the elephant first appears as a strange animal, which they called a beast (mriga) with a hand ( hastin ), while in later times when the novelty of the animal had gone it was commonly known as hastin only.

(3). At one time it was believed that the Vedic language was the parent stock from which the different Aryan languages were sprung, and that the Vedas being known to have been composed in India the different Aryan-speaking peoples must have migrated from India. But philology has proved that Latin and Greek, and even the old Iranian language were not the daughters, but younger sisters, of the Vedic language, and that all of them were descended from a parent stock of which there is no literature extant. For instance, Latin and Greek have preserved some forms of inflection which are more archaic than those preserved in the

- Veda. Again, there are some roots, nominal and verbal, in which the Indian language appears to have lost the original form of the word, while it has been preserved in Greek and Latin, or both. An example is the Sanskrit word tara, a star, which seems to have been originally stara, a form which has been preserved in the Greek aster and astron, in the Latin astrum, as well as in the Zend stara. Further there exist a number of Sanskrit nouns, which must have been derived from radicals which in their verbal form are not discoverable even in the Vedas. (Muir, Sanskrit Texts II.)

(4) During the Rigvedic period the Indo-Aryans were evidently confined to the Punjab and the Gangetic Doab, because while almost all the rivers of North-west India and even Afghanistan are frequently mentioned, and the highest regard shown to the Indus and the Saraswati, the Rigvedic hymns are silent with regard to any place or river name beyond the Ganges, and even the famous Ganges is mentioned directly but once. That even the Punjab could not be the original home of the Aryan people is proved by the fact that during the Rigvedic period even in that land the Indo-Aryans were surrounded by peoples, Dasyus, Dasas, Rakhas, with whom they had very little in common, either in physique, language, or creed, and with whom they were carrying on ceaseless wars.

of extermination. The Dasyus were the natives of the soil, whose towns and fortresses were captured and properties seized by the aggressive Indo-Aryans and who were gradually being pushed away from the country. It is improbable, if we assume the Aryans to be autochthonous in India, that two such entirely different types of people should have ever been living in the same limited area and developing on their own lines without any intermingling. Besides, the Vedic Aryans at that time seem not to have been very numerous, and even the Punjab, not to speak of the other parts of India, must have been very thinly peopled. Why then should a large number of them emigrate to the less hospitable lands in Persia and Europe while vast fertile fields and pleasanter climate remained in their own immediate neighbourhood in the Indian Peninsula? The expansion of the Aryans over Eastern and Southern India took place in comparatively recent times. The diffusion of the Aryans from the Punjab gradually but steadily towards the interior also leads to the conclusion that they came from the north-west.

(5). It is true that the Indian literature does not contain any distinct reference to a migration from a northern home. But there are passages here and there which appear in a way to point to the tradition of a foreign

origin. (a) Expressions like *Tokam pushyema tanayam shatam himah*, May we cherish a son and progeny a hundred winters (Rig. I.64.14.), and *Pashyema sharadah shatam jivema sharadah shatam*, May we see, may we live, a hundred autumns (Rig VII. 66. 16), might be reminiscent of the colder regions from which they had come, where the winter conditions having prevailed for the greater part of the year, the winter or autumn became synonymous with the year. (b) In Rig I. 30. 9 Indra is invoked to come from "the ancient abode," which might mean the ancient home of the Aryans, and connected with this is the tradition that Indralaya or the abode of Indra lay to the north of the Hindu-kush, as is mentioned in the Amarakosha and Sabdaratnavali. (c) Uttarakuru, the traditional Elysium of the Hindus, and Meru, the abode of their gods, lie far to the north. Why should they locate these places outside India far to the north unless they had memories of a northern home of their own? (d) The knowledge of long polar days and nights, and horizontal movements of stars in the polar regions, as shown in their description of Meru and its denizens (Tait. Brahmana III. 9. 22. 1 ; Mhbh. Vanaparba ch. 163 ; Manu I. 67), has led some scholars to point to the polar regions as the cradle of the Aryan people. (e) Tilak points out that in the Rigveda great prominence is

given to the goddess Ushas (dawn), who is celebrated in about twenty hymns of the finest quality, and mentioned more than three hundred times, and that the period of dawn is divided in the Vedic literature into several parts with elaborate and intricate rites prescribed for each part. All these are out of all proportion to the short-lived and evanescent dawn of the Indian zone, and though Tilak has not been able to successfully establish his theory of an Arctic home of the Aryans from this and other points, we may agree with him that the Indo-Aryans came from a land where the morning twilight was of greater duration than in India.

(f) In Kaushitaki Brahmana VII. 6. the language of the northern regions is said to be a model one, which might refer to the Aryan tongue being spoken in its purity in their original home in the north.

(6) In the first Fargard of the Vendidad where Ahura Mazda, the great god of the Iranians, is described as having created the different countries, including Hapta-Hendu or the Punjab, one after another, it is stated that Airyanavaeje, which was created first of all, had long winters, and that the ancestors of the Iranians started in their migrations from that country. Thus the Iranians, who are closely associated with the Indo-Aryans, point not to India or Hapta-Hendu but to Airyanavaeje, which could not

have been a part of India, as their original home.

If India be not the cradle of the Aryan race, where is that? The question has not yet been satisfactorily answered. There is the greatest diversity of opinion among scholars, and various coun-

**Central Asian  
Theory.**

tries, e.g. Central Asia, North Africa (Sergi, Zaborowski), South Russia (Benfey), North Germany (Kossinna, Hirt), Scandinavia (Penka, Rhys), Hungary (Giles), Eastern Europe (Fligier), Northern Europe (Cuno), North Pole (Warren, Tilak), Central and West Germany (Geiger), have been contended for as the primitive habitat of the Aryans with arguments which are 'more or less shadowy and inconclusive. Of these the Central Asian Theory was advocated by such eminent scholars of the last century as Rhode, Schlegel, Pott, Lassen, Jacob Grimm, Pictet, Max Muller, Schleicher, Mommsen, Sayce, Hale, and is even now more current and presents fewer objections than any other. It would, therefore, be not inappropriate to give a summary of their main arguments here.

(1) The almost continuous extension of the Aryan-speaking peoples from the Brahmaputra to the Atlantic naturally leads one to assume that 'there must have been a primitive centre of dispersion, and because of all the Aryan dialects Sanskrit and Zend may be

considered to have changed the least while Celtic in the extreme west has changed the most, the presumption is that the lands now occupied by Sanskrit and Zend must be the nearest to the primitive home. (Sayce, Science of Languages II).

(2) This hypothesis is supported by the Iranian tradition in the Zend Avesta which says that the first creation of man took place in Airyanavaejo, from which the Iranians spread over more than a dozen countries before reaching Persia. Now as most of these places are situated in or about Central Asia, Airyanavaejo or the original abode of the Iranians is believed to have existed somewhere between the Caucasus and the Oxus.

(3). Sayce observes that the above tradition agrees with the finding of Comparative Philology that the early Aryan home was a cold region, "where trees like birch and pine grew, and where winter was familiar with its snow and ice."

(4). Here in Central Asia are found all the physical elements which zoologists and philologists demand for the great specialisations in language and culture made by the primitive Aryans before their dispersal, their numerous population with cows and horses—a vast plain undivided by lofty mountains or deserts or impassable forests, a temperate climate, and abundance of food both for men and cattle.



(5) In the absence of any common words for sea and salt in the different Aryan languages it is inferred that the undivided Aryans lived in an inland country.

(6). In later times it was Central Asia which was the breeding place of the numerous Tartar hordes which overflowed into Persia, India, the Euphrates valley, and even Europe, as the Aryans had done several milleniums ago.

(7). A Babylonian tablet of about 2100 B. C. indicates that the horse was a recent acquisition among the ass-using folk of Babylon, and describes it as "the ass from the east", or "from the mountains." "Its arrival here is commonly referred to that irruption of fresh peoples from Iran or beyond, who founded the barbarian Kassite (Aryan) dynasty of Babylon ; as there is no reason to believe that the great plateau of Iran itself was even then in much better condition than now to support an-indigenous pastoral civilization, it is probable that this irruption originated further to the north-east,.....and that it is to be connected, in its significance, if not precisely in date, with the irruption of Aryan-speaking folk into India from the same northern reservoir, and with that westward outflow of the 'tumulus folk' across the Dneiper, which broke up the painted-ware culture of Tripolje and penetrated through Galacia into Bohemia, and through the Balkan

lands into north-west Asia Minor." (Cambridge Ancient History I. p. 107),

(8). E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 1909, l. 2, discussing the original home of the Indo-Europeans remarks (p. 800) that the discovery of Tocharish (a language spoken in north-eastern Afghanistan), a language belonging apparently to the centum (Western and European) group, overthrows all earlier conceptions as to the distribution of the Indo-Germans and gives weight to the hypothesis of their Asiatic origin." (Keane and Haddon, *Man : Past and Present*. p. 441)

One of the principal arguments urged against the Central Asian theory is that the dreary Central Asian steppes could not find subsistence for a numerous community as the proto-Aryans must have been before their dispersal. To this it may be said that the climate of Central Asia and Eastern Persia has undergone a material change for the worse even in historical times. Geologists like Blanford and Vredenburg have proved that the rainfall in Central Asia has fallen off greatly in comparatively modern times making vast areas uncultivable and practically uninhabitable. (*Mem. Geol. Survey of India*, XXXI pt. 2). Kirman is now an almost desert country with very scanty rainfall. But Strabo in the first century B. C. describes it as a fertile and well-

wooded country with plenty of waters and producing everything. Sir Aurel Stein's discoveries show how the various ancient places in Chinese Turkestan were abandoned on account of the progressive desiccation during the first millenium A. D.

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## CHAPTER II.

### COMING OF THE ARYANS.

The 'Indo-Aryans of the Rigvedic time, though very little acquainted with the country beyond the Ganges, which is mentioned directly but once in the whole Rigveda, are closely associated with lands beyond the Indus on the west. The river Kubha (Greek Cophu) or Kabul is mentioned several times, and even its small tributary Suvastu (Greek Soastos) or modern Swat. Gandhara, which lay to the west of the Indus, was an integral part of Rigvedic India (Rig I. 126. 7). The Aryans had begun to enter into India at a time when the regions between the Indus and the heart of Persia were still fairly well-watered and fertile. So it was possible for the early invaders to come in large numbers and bring with them their women and cattle over these districts. It was an immigration en masse, and when they entered the Punjab they made an almost clean sweep of the native races and were able to keep their blood comparatively pure. Hence we find even to-day in the Punjab a people who are fairer, taller, and with the cephalic, nasal, and orbito-nasal indices more similar to certain

European races than the people of any other part of India. It may seem strange that the people of the Punjab, which is the gate of India, have been able to retain for thousands of years their original Aryan type inspite of being exposed to countless waves of invasion by various races from the north and west. But we are to remember that the climate has considerably changed in Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Beluchistan since the Aryans first invaded India. The rainfall has greatly fallen off, the rivers and streams have slowly dried up, and desert claims as its own the once fertile lands. It is now not possible for a tribal migration across the north-western frontiers of India. The road is practically closed except to swiftly moving troops in comparatively small numbers who can no doubt fight and conquer, but cannot effect any appreciable change in the racial characteristics of the people of India.

According to the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, after the first stream of ~~Aryan invaders~~ settled in the Punjab a second band from Central Asia, finding the usual route by the Kabul valley barred, pushed their way through Gilghit and Chitral, keeping close to the northern mountains, and entered like a wedge into the Midland country or Madhyadesha

**Hoernle's Theory of  
Second Invasion.**

(which extended from the Himalayas on the north to the Vindhya on the south, and from Sirhind in the Eastern Punjab on the west to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna on the east). There they split asunder the first immigrants, and forced them outwards in three directions, to the east, south, and west. It was among the second group on the Saraswati, Jumna, and Ganges that sacerdotal rites and caste system were more fully developed, which distinguish the classical Brahmanic from the earlier Rigvedic culture. Hence we find that the Punjab, though it was the earliest Aryan settlement in India, was in later times regarded as unholy land and the people as barbarians. In the Mahabharata the Punjabese are regarded as the offspring of Pishachas or demons. On the other hand, the land between the Saraswati and the Drishadvati, Brahmavarta, is described as the most sacred, the next in importance being Brahmarshidesha which extended as far the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna (Manu, II. 17-19).

Hoernle's theory has received the weighty support of Sir George Grierson and Sir Herbert Risley, and bears the stamp of official recognition of the Government of India. Sir George Grierson, who as Director of the Linguistic Survey,

Hoernle's Theory  
supported.

of India possesses a unique knowledge of the languages spoken in the different parts of India, finds on careful examination that there are radical differences between the Western Hindustani, which is spoken in its purest form in the Gangetic Doab, in an almost pure form in the Eastern Punjab, and in a modified form in Oudh, Rajputana, Gujarat, and Central India, and the dialects of the Outer Band, namely, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Mahratta, Behari, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, dialects which are all more closely related to each other than any of them to the language of the Midland. "In fact, at an early period of the linguistic history of India there must have been two sets of Indo-Aryan dialects—one the language of the Midland, and the other the group of dialects forming the Outer Band. From this it has been argued, and the contention is entirely borne out by the results of the ethnological enquiries, that the inhabitants of the Midland represent the latest stage of Indo-Aryan immigration." Sir Herbert Risley supports this theory as otherwise "it is difficult to account for the marked divergence of type that distinguishes the people of the Eastern Punjab from the people of Western Hindustan. If there had been no second and distinct incursion coming in like a wedge behind the original colonists, no such sharp contrast would now be discernible. One type would

melt into the other by imperceptible gradations, and scientific observation and popular impressions would not occur, as they do, in affirming that a marked change takes place somewhere about the longitude of Sirhind—a name which itself preserves the tradition of an ethnic frontier. Nor is this the only point in favour of Dr. Hoernle's hypothesis. That theory further explains how it is that the Vedic hymns contain no reference to the route by which the Aryans entered India or to their earlier settlements on the Indus ; and it accounts for the antagonism between the eastern and western sections and for the fact that the latter were regarded as comparative barbarians by the more cultured inhabitants of the Middle-land." (People of India, pp. 54-55).

Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his Epic India seems to find in the Pandavas and their kinsmen the later Aryan immigrants, and thinks that the Kurukshetra war marks the victory of the newcomers over the old. The custom of polyandry, which is represented by Yudhisthira as "our family custom," seems to distinguish them from the Kurus in whose family there was no such practice, and accords very well with the hypothesis that the later immigrants, travelling by a very difficult route, could bring with them few women, and so had to practise polyandry, and also to mingle more freely with the aboriginal



population than the earlier conquerors, which accounts for such a sudden divergence in physical type between the people of the Punjab and those of the Gangetic valley. The Pandava brothers, too, had little distaste for marriage with girls of the aboriginal races, Rakshasa or Naga.

Hoernle's theory, however, has not passed unchallenged. **Hoernle's Theory criticised.** Prof. Rapson writing in the Cambridge History of India I (p. 45) observes, "This theory is made improbable by the physical difficulties of the route suggested, and some of the arguments adduced in its favour are demonstrably mistaken. There is no such break of continuity between the tribes of the Rigveda and the peoples of the later literature as it presupposes..... Both of the facts mentioned above—the abrupt transition from the Indo-Aryan to the Aryo-Dravidian type, and the extension of Aryan influence from Brahnavarta to Brahmarshidesha—are best understood if we remember the natural feature which connects the plain of the Indus with the plain of the Ganges. This is the strait of habitable land which lies between the desert and the mountains. Its historical significance has already been noticed. It is in this strait that the decisive battles, on which the fate of India has depended, have been fought; and here too we may suppose that the progress of racial migrations

from the north-west in prehistoric times must have been checked. Both politically and ethnographically it forms a natural boundary. In the age of the Rigveda the Aryans had not broken through the barrier, though the Jumna is mentioned in a hymn (VII.18.19) in such a way as to indicate that a battle had been won on its banks. It was only at some later date that the country between the Upper Jumna and Ganges and the district of Delhi were occupied.....The epoch of Indo-Aryan tribal migration was definitely closed. It was succeeded by the epoch of Indo-Aryan colonisation."

Prof. Chanda in his *Indo-Aryan Races* tries to demolish Hoernle's theory and set up a theory of his own. "To explain the peculiar position of the mixed or intermediate Indo-Aryan languages, Grierson assumes that the population and power of the Midland increased and its armies and its settlers carried its language to the Eastern Punjab, Gujarat, and Oudh. But the Vedic, the Pali-Buddhist, and Pauranic literatures preserve no tradition relating to the conquest and annexation of Usinara on the one hand, Kosala and Kasi on the other, by the Kurus, Panchalas, Matsyas or Vasas. According to the Aitareya Brahmana (VIII. 14) while the kings (rajas) of the Middle country —of Usinara, Kuru, Panchala, and Vasa—were

consecrated to "kingdom" (rajyaya), in the eastern country (prachyam disi) the rulers (rajas) of the eastern peoples—of the Kosalas and Videhas—were consecrated to empire (samrajyaya). This seems to indicate that at the time of the composition of this Brahmana the rulers of the East were much more powerful than the rulers of the Middle country. The dynasties and clans that held sway contemporaneously in the Middle and Outer countries of Northern India according to the Brahmanas and the Upanishads survived down to about a century after Buddha. ...The tide of conquest, when it started, started not from the west but from the east—from Magadha," by the Sisunagas, the Nandas, the Mauryas, and the Guptas. "It was not, therefore, the conquering armies of the Midland, but the armies and settlers from Magadha and other Outer countries that carried their languages to Oudh and other places where mixed languages are now spoken." After thus criticising the theory of Hoernle and Grierson Chanda goes on to propound a new theory, according to which later Aryan invaders of the brachycephalic Celtic type finding the greater part of Upper Hindustan in possession of the dolichocephalic Vedic Aryans found their way some to the lower Gangetic plain across the tableland of Central India, and

some into the Kathiwar Peninsula and the Deccan, thus occupying the Outer countries from Kashmir to Bengal. This theory, however, as Barnett remarks, seems on the whole less probable than the other. It does not account for the predominance of long-head in the Punjab, the change of head-form towards broadness from the Punjab to the Gangetic valley, and the gradual, not sharp, change in head-form and nose-shape from the Jumna to the lower Gangetic valley, and also for the anthropometric diversities between the peoples of Kashmir, the Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Bengal, though they are said to belong to one race.

The problem of a second invasion still remains a puzzle. It is not unlikely that the Indo-Aryans did not come all at one time and by one route only.

**Second Invasion**  
**Theory not necessary.** Some seem to find evidences in the Rigveda of the tribes Yadu and Turvasha coming by sea. We are told in Rig. VI. 20. 12, "O hero (Indra), thou broughtest in safety over the sea (samudra) Turvasha and Yadu," though the word samudra is interpreted by many scholars as meaning not sea but a mass of waters only. But it is almost impossible to disentangle the descendants of the later immigrants, if any, from those of the earlier in the greater part of the country. In order to

find an explanation for the cultural difference between the peoples of the Inner and Outer Bands we have a clue in some Epic and Pauranic traditions. The Anus, one of the Rigvedic tribes living in the Punjab, are said to have been divided into two branches, 'one the Usinaras with their offshoots, the Yaudheyas, Kekayas, Madrakas, Sivas, Sauviras and others, ruling in the Punjab and Sind, and the other the Titikshus under the sons of Bali ruling over Bengal, East Behar, and Orissa (Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra, Suhma). Or in other words, the Aryan conquerors of Eastern India came mostly from the Punjab and not the Midland country. The differences in physical type between the Punjab and the Eastern countries are not so unusual as to be incapable of being explained by the ordinary effect of Dravidian and Mongolian influences upon a thinning stream of Aryan conquerors. In Northern India, I agree with Risley that the tendency towards broad-head was the result not so much of the immigration of brachycephalic Aryan tribes as of the admixture of Mongolian blood, which becomes more pronounced as one goes farther to the east. The statement of the late Dr. Smith, even if we do not agree with him as regards the extraction of the Sakyas and the Lichchhavis, seems true that the Mongolian element played a more

important part in Northern India than is generally realised. Besides the cephalic and nasal indices, a blue patch in the lower sacral region of the new born, which is characteristic of the South Mongol races (Keane and Haddon, *Man Past and Present* p. 164), betrays Mongolian strain in many a child even among the higher classes in the lower Gangetic valley. The differences in language between the Midland group and the Outer group can be easily explained if we remember that the Brahmanic literature and institutions as distinguished from the Rigvedic grew up in the Kuru-Panchala country, while the people of the Punjab remained backward or primitive. So there were two types of culture—the older of the Punjab and the later of the Midland. It is the former type which with the Anus spread to Eastern India and with the Yadus to the Deccan. Later the Midland culture began to conquer its way to the west through Malwa, Rajputana, and Gujarat, while on the east, in Videha, Kasi, and Oudh, it somewhat receded before the conquering armies of Southern and Eastern Behar.

The only case which still baffles the anthropologists is the Mahratta people with their broad heads. The modern pure Dravidians are long-headed, and the Vedic Aryans too are believed to have been long-headed, and so also

Except in  
Maharashtra.

are the Pre-Dravidian Munda and Mon-Khmer races. How then to account for the broad head of the Mahratta? According to Chanda the second stream of Aryan people who encircled the first group on three sides belonged to the brachycephalic Celtic type. Without going so far as to assume a ring of cognate races belonging to one type from one end of India to the other, we can agree, with him in the assumption that a tribe of Aryans of the Celtic type came and settled in the Mahratta districts only. At least this is more probable than Risley's theory of Scytho-Dravidian origin of the Mahratta people because it seems unlikely that the Scythian invaders could come through the dreary north-western frontiers, and through the Punjab, Malwa, Gujrat to the Mahratta country in such large numbers as to be able to strongly influence the ethnic characteristics of the vast Aryo-Dravidian population already settled there; or than Dr. Barnett's too bold assumption (*Antiquities of India* p. 32) that "the Dravidian blood vanished in that of the old native stocks (Munda and Mon-khmer races) in most districts, but preserved some of its old characteristics in the Mahratta country (traditionally Dravidian)." If we remember that broad-headed Aryan-speaking peoples are to be found in Persia and Afghanistan and that there was frequent

intercourse between the Persian Gulf and the western coasts of India even in prehistoric times, it is not difficult to conceive of a migration of broad-headed tribes, either Aryan of the Celtic type, or mixed Aryan and South Semitic, or Aryanised aborigines, from Iran to Western India (like that of the Parsees in historical times) at a time when the native Dravidian population was not very dense and when the Vedic Aryans had not extended their influence beyond the Nerbudda. So when the latter came and imposed their culture, the population had already received an indelible stamp of the brachycephalic type, which was kept alive by the likely influx of small groups from the Persian Gulf from time to time in the wake of commerce and colonisation. So instead of the name Scytho-Dravidian given by Risley we may call the Mahratta type Irano-Dravidian.\* According to most scholars,

\* "Overlooking later Mongolo-Turki encroachments, a general survey will, I think, show that from the earliest times the whole of this region (Irania) has formed part of the Caucasian domain; that the bulk of the indigenous populations must have belonged to the dark, round-headed Alpine type; that these, still found in compact masses in many places, were apparently conquered, but certainly Aryanised in speech, in very remote prehistoric times by long-headed blond Aryans of the Iranic and Galchic branches, who arrived in large numbers from the contiguous Eurasian steppe, mingled generally with the brachy aborigines, but also kept aloof in several districts,



including Grierson and Rapson, the Pishacha languages in the north-western frontier districts were evolved through contact between the Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages. It is well-known that at one time one form of Pishacha language prevailed in the Mahratta country, which too lends colour to the hypothesis of Iranian element in the Mahratta blood. Again, the name Rattikas or Rattas of the people of the country which was in use at least as early as the time of Asoka sounds very similar to that of the warrior class of Iran, Rathaesthas.

where they still survive with more or less modified proto-Aryan features.....Both Iranic and Galchic are thus rather linguistic than ethnic terms, and so true is this that a philologist always knows what is meant by an Iranic language, while the anthropologist is unable to define or form any clear conception of an Iranian, who may be either of long-headed Nordic or round-headed Alpine type," (Keane and Haddon, *Man Past and Present* pp. 541—542).

According to F. v. Luschan (*The Early Inhabitants of Asia*), the primitive people of Western Asia were brachycephalic and dark.

Seligman (*The Physical Characters of the Arabs*) has shown that the Semites of Southern Arabia are predominantly brachycephalic, the cephalic index ranging from 71 to 92, with an average of about 82.

## CHAPTER III.

### DATE OF INDO-ARYAN INVASIONS. .

In order to construct a workable chronology of the Vedic period we must first ascertain the approximate dates of the **Date of Panini.** celebrated grammarian Panini, and of the adoption of writing for the expression of the Sanskrit language. We know definitely that Patanjali, the great commentator on Panini's grammar, lived in the middle of the 2nd century B. C. Between Patanjali and Katyayana, the great critic commentator, there arose a large number of grammarians, authors of Varttikas and Karikas, such as Bharadvajiyas, Saunagas and others, who have been noticed in Patanjali's book, and hence we may reasonably put Katyayana two centuries earlier, in the middle of the 4th century B. C. Now that is exactly the time assigned to Katyayana by Indian tradition according to which he was minister to a Nanda king.\* We cannot, however, accept

\* Mr. Jayaswal (Indian Antiquary XLVII p. 138) seems to find in Katyayana's note *Sakaparthivadnamupasanakhyanam* on Panini II. 1. 60. a reference to the Arsacidae kings of Parthia, and so assigns Katyayana to the latter half of the third century B.C. But if the word Saka here was used to denote a race, Patanjali, who from his date was expected to

the story of the Kathasaritsagara, written in the 12th century A. D., about the defeat of Panini by Katyayana, except as an allegory to describe the extremely learned and destructive criticism of Katyayana's Varttikas upon Panini's book. Against that tradition may be set another in the recently discovered drama Padmapravritakam by Sudraka, which contains a character, Katyayana, which is evidently a caricature of the famous grammarian, and makes him a contemporary not of Panini, but of a descendant of his. That Panini was anterior to, and not a contemporary of, Katyayana is indicated by Patanjali's reference of Panini as a Rishi, who "sees" (pashyati) i. e., to whom is revealed a particular rule, as distinguished from what others like Katyayana "say" (baksyati). Secondly, had they been contemporaries, Panini's Sutras, about half of which had been attacked by Katyayana, could not have survived the very learned and bitter criticism of the rival, and gained universal fame as the greatest authority in grammar. "How could India," Goldstucker

be more acquainted with the Sakas, could not have explained it as Sakabhoji, vegetable-eating and Bhattoji Dikshit as Sakapriya, fond of power. If, however, the word Saka must be made to denote a proper name, there is no necessity to go to Persia, as Saka was quite a common name among the Vedic Indians, e. g., Sakadasa Bhaditayana of the Vamsa Brahmana. Sakavana of Kathaka Samhita

observes, "resound with the fame of a work which was so imperfect as to contain at least 10,000 inaccuracies, omissions, and mistakes (as pointed out by Katyayana) ?.....If he had bungled, along, as he must appear to have done, had he been a contemporary of Katyayana,—not he, but the author of the Varttikas, would have been the inspired Rishi and the reputed father of the Vyakarana." This perplexity vanishes if we assume that Panini and Katyayana belonged to different periods, and that the supposed mistakes or omissions were not really so, but were due to the fact that many grammatical forms and words and meanings of words which were current in the time of Panini had become obsolete or incorrect in the time of Katyayana, and that words and grammatical forms unknown to Panini had come into use in the time of his critic. The omission of Panini to deal with such peculiar words as Pandya, Chola, Keraḷa, which necessitated the making of supplementary rules by Katyayana, can only be explained by the assumption that in Panini's time the Indo-Aryans had not come into touch with Southern India. Thirdly, some Karikas and Paribhashas can be traced in the work of Patanjali which had been written before the time of Katyayana but certainly after that of Panini. Fourthly, there is an indirect reference to Panini being regarded as of distant past in Katyayana's Varttika

*Tulyakalatvat* on Panini's rule *Puranaprokteshu brahmanakalpeshu* (IV. 3. 105). Under these circumstances it is not unreasonable to place Panini a century and a half earlier than Katya-yana, i. e. in about 500 B. C. This date is not irreconcilable with the reference in Panini's book to Yavanani or Greek writing (IV. 1. 49) and to female Sramanas, probably Buddhist nuns (II. 1. 70), the Gandhara country having been conquered in about 516 B. C. by Darius with the aid of Greek officers like Skylax from Ionia and Caria, and Gautama Buddha having passed away about 543 B. C. (Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 48). Goldstucker's argument for referring Panini to a date before Buddha on the strength of *Nirvano vate* (VIII. 2. 50) is not conclusive because Panini either dealt with the root meaning of the word nirvana without caring for technical meanings, or more probably deliberately ignored Buddhism. "Doubtless this (Yavanani) means Greek (Ionian) writing, but it does not necessarily follow that the word dates from after the invasion of Alexander. Indeed the probability seems to me against this being the case. For it is certainly remarkable that Ionian should be the name given to the Greeks if first made known to India through the invasion of Alexander, whose army was certainly in no conceivable sense Ionian." On the other

hand, we know that the Persians under Cyrus came into touch first with the Ionian Greeks after the fall of Croesus (546 B. C.), and that the first Greek resistance to Darius came from the Ionians who burned Sardis about 500 B. C. "If it is borne in mind that Panini was a native of Gandhara according to Hiuen Tsang, a view confirmed by the references in his grammar, it will not seem far-fetched to consider that it was most probably from the older tradition that the name Yavanani was derived." (Keith, Ait. Aranyaka, p. 23.).

According to Buhler writing was introduced into India about 800 B. C. "The palaeo-  
**Writing in India.** graphical evidence of the Asoka inscriptions clearly shows that writing was no recent invention in the third century B. C., for the most of the letters have several, often very divergent forms, sometimes as many as nine or ten. A considerable length of time was, moreover, needed to elaborate from the twenty-two borrowed Semitic symbols the full Brahmi alphabet of forty-six letters. This complete alphabet, which was evidently worked out by learned Brahmins on phonetic principles, must have existed by 500 B. C. according to the strong arguments adduced by Prof. Buhler. This is the alphabet which is recognised in Panini's great Sanskrit grammar." (Macdonell, Sanskrit

Literature, pp. 16, 17). Again, the manner of Asoka's address to the people direct, the employment of local dialects in his inscriptions, and the locations of the inscriptions, all indicate a wide-spread literacy of the people in the third century 'B. C., a thing impossible of attainment in such a vast country as India in less than five centuries. Further, we know that the Kharosthi script had been a product of Darius' conquest of the Indus valley at the end of the sixth century B. C. If by that time the Brahmi script had not been fully developed in India the Kharosthi script must have spread widely over the country instead of remaining confined to the Persian province only. All these prove that writing must have been adopted for the expression of the Sanskrit language in the 8th century B. C. at the latest.

Every student of the Vedic literature knows that it is divided into two parts—the earlier part, the Sruti or revealed literature consisting of the four Vedas and the Brahmanas including the Aranyakas and the Upanishads ; and the later part, the Smriti or literature based on tradition, written in the form of Sutras, the most important of which are the six Vedangas. Again the Sruti literature falls into three clearly sun-  
 dered groups—(1) the original Vedic hymns,

**Divisions of  
Vedic Literature.**

the bulk of which are to be found collected in the Rigveda ; (2) the later compilations and classifications of the hymns as in the three other Vedas, and the elaborate commentaries on the Vedic hymns to explain the mutual relation of the sacred text and the ceremonial, especially in connection with the great sacrifices, as in the Brahmanas proper ; (3) the development of the philosophical ideas as in the Aranyakas and the Upanishads, which generally come at the end of the Brahmanas. From an examination of language and thought too we find that the Upanishads generally succeeded the Aranyakas, which in their turn succeeded the Brahmanas proper. Of course a clear line of demarcation is not possible between the period of the Brahmanas and the period of the Aranyakas and Upanishads, and there are instances of a Brahmana, or parts of a Brahmana, being a later production than many of the Aranyakas and Upanishads. But these are exceptions, which do not nullify the general three-fold divisions of the Brahmana period.

The Sutas presuppose the existence of the Brahmanas, whose complicated system of theology and ceremonial they sought to simplify. The dogmas and beliefs embodied in the Sutas and their language which stands midway between the language of the Brahmanas and the classical Sanskrit



prove their continuity without any break from the Brahmana literature. Max Muller and his followers including Macdonell and Keith fix B. C. 600 to 200 for the Sutra period. But the beginning must be pushed back by at least two centuries. (1). The Sutras in their composition show a freedom which is hardly conceivable after the period of Panini, and so a great many of them must have been composed and the literature standardised before 500 B. C. (2). The Sutras in their inception were intended to satisfy the needs of a system of oral instruction in all branches of knowledge, and in their form point to an origin at a period when writing was not known, i.e. before the 8th century B. C. (3). The Sutra style had been so long established in the country and so possessed the minds of the literary classes that the early Buddhist writers in the 5th century B. C. could not get rid of it, but made a useless imitation of this style in their books, sometimes with ludicrous effect. (4). Between Panini and Yaska, the famous author of Nirukta, there must be an interval of at least two hundred years if we take into account the great changes in language and the great development of grammar which had taken place, and the considerable number of important grammarians who had arisen during the intervening period. On no account, therefore, we can put Yaska later than 700 B. C.

And Yaska's book is not certainly the earliest work of the Sutra period. Thus the beginnings of the Sutra period may be reasonably dated about 800 B. C.

This date, B. C. 800, may then be taken as marking the end of the Brahmana period, which preceded the Sutra period.

**Brahmana  
Period.**

That this is a fair estimate can be judged from a consideration of the relations between the philosophical doctrines of Gautama Buddha, of the Sankhya school and of the Upanishads (Keith, Ait. Aranyaka, pp. 47-49). Gautama Buddha flourished in the 6th century B. C. His teachings presuppose the Sankhya school of philosophy. "It is I think correct to assume that these doctrines are descended from a Sankhya view of existence which fell into pessimism by its unsatisfactory dualistic metaphysics. However open to criticism Jacobi's detailed derivation of the doctrines of Buddhism from the Sankhya may be, yet it is clear that it was from the Sankhya that Buddhism derived its theory of the soulless entity which yet goes through transmigration" (Keith). The Sankhya doctrines are to a great extent criticisms on and supplements to the Upanishad doctrines, and show a more developed thought than the latter. The development of Sankhya might have begun in the 8th century B. C., and it

is therefore that we do not meet with any but indirect mention of the Sankhya system in the Upanishads, and that also in the latest ones. Buddhist tradition too allows a respectable distance of time between Kapila, the founder of the Sankhya system, and Gautama Buddha. Moreover, as the beginnings of the Sutra writing are anterior to Panini and as the language of the Upanishads is more archaic than even the language of the Sutras, the end of the Brahmana period may be believed to be about three hundred years before Panini's time. Again, the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, and the Upanishads betray not the slightest trace of any knowledge of writing, and must, therefore, belong to a period before 800 B. C. Some of the Upanishads like the Maitrayaniya may be of later date, but the bulk of them were composed before 800 B. C.

. If we calculate back the length of the Brahmana period from 800 B. C. we can arrive at the beginning of the Brahmana period and the end of the Mantra or hymn period. The immense mass of Brahmana literature extant, which again is only a fraction of what has been lost, as appears from the numerous names and quotations from Brahmanas unknown to us occurring in works extant; the number of stages which are clearly perceptible in the domain of

thought spreading over the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas and the Upanishads ; the rise of so many different schools of thought and ritualism ; and the endless genealogical lists of teachers can hardly be accommodated within a space of less than five or six hundred years. This estimate will appear not liberal if we take into consideration the fact that the Brahmana literature represents a period of intellectual decadence after the creative energies of the Indo-Aryan mind had exhausted themselves by the end of the hymn period, and that, therefore, the progress of thought was comparatively slow. Besides, we know that in ritualism and philosophy a people, unless subjected to strong external influences, makes progress at a much slower rate than in other fields of literary activity. Again, as Winternitz justly observes, "a written literature can develop in a shorter time than one that is only handed down by word of mouth, when each single text requires generations of teachers and disciples in order to be preserved at all." So the estimate of two or three hundred years for the Brahmana period made by Max Muller, Keith and others does not seem reasonable. Indeed, Max Muller himself admits that "the chronological limits assigned to the Sutra and Brahmana periods will seem to most Sanskrit scholars too narrow rather than too wide." All these considerations

may well lead us to find the beginning of the Aranyaka compositions at about 1200 B. C. and that of the Upanishad at 1000 B.C.

That the above estimate is nearer the mark is proved by the absence of any mention of the epoch-making Kurukshetra war, of the Pandavas, the heroes of the Mahābhārata, and of Arjuna, except as meaning the god Indra, in the Brahmanas, which indicates their composition, at least of the bulk of them, before the Kurukshetra war, which, according to the calculation of Mr. Pargiter from Pauranic genealogical lists, took place about the middle of the 10th century B. C. Moreover, according to the Puranas, there is the space of 1050 years between Mahāpadma Nanda (about 400 B.C.) and Parikshit (Pargiter, Kali Age, p. 58), and if we assume the latter to be Parikshit I, who is mentioned in the Atharva-veda, Aitareya Brahmana and Satapatha Brahmana, instead of Parikshit II, the grandson of Arjuna, we reach the 15th century B.C. for the beginning of the Brahmana period.\*

\* Dhritarastra of the Brahmanas was not identical with Dhritarastra, the ancestor of the Kuru-Pandavas, the former being a king of Kasi who was defeated by the Kurus. Similarly, Parikshit and Janamejaya of the Brahmanas were the ancestors and not descendants of the Pandavas. The identification of the Vedic Parikshit with the son of Abhimanyu (Political History of Ancient India) by Prof. H. C. Ray Choudhury, which goes against the findings of Macdonell and Keith (Vedic

“Another and, at first sight, more promising attempt has made to fix a date from internal evidence. It has been argued by Jacobi on the strength of two hymns in the Rigveda that

Index, Vol. I. p. 494) and of Pargiter (Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 114), does not seem probable. The Vishupurana (IV. 20. 1.) makes the four brothers, Janamejaya, Srutasena, Ugrasena, Bhimasena, sons of Parikshit I and ancestors of the Pandavas. It is always risky to attempt the identification of kings or the fixing of their dates from an examination of their teacher-priests' names. Identity of names does not necessarily imply identity of persons. Different persons of the same name but living in different times were often confused in later writings. Besides, there could not be want of motives in later times on the part of the authors belonging to rival families and schools to associate a certain teacher-priest with a famous king of old so as to enhance the prestige of a particular priestly family, or a particular school, and to ascribe the authorship of well-known doctrines and theories to particular persons which might shed lustre upon their descendants or disciples. The Vamsas or genealogies of teachers, from which Prof. Ray Choudhury draws his materials, were often composed long after the actual composition of the books in which they are included. The commentators never enter into any explanation of these Vamsas, as doubtless they regarded them as later and not very reliable writings. The Vamsa appended at the close of the tenth book of Satapatha Brahmana differs from the general Vamsa of the entire Brahmana at the close of the fourteenth book in not referring the work to Yajnavalkya, but to Sandilya and Tura Kavasheya. In the Khilakanda of the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad Uddalaka is represented as the teacher of Yajnavalkya, while in the Yajnavalkyakanda Uddalaka is treated with as scant courtesy by Yajnavalkya as is shown to the other Brahmanas who are put

the year then began with the summer solstice, and that at that solstice the sun was in con-

to silence by the hero of the book, and there is not the slightest indication that one was the pupil of the other.

'An excellent instance of the confusion which arises from the identity of names may be cited. "One Suka had a daughter Krtvi or Kirtti, who married Anuha king of South Panchala and was mother of king Brahmadatta. The other was Vyasa's son, far later. It will be shown in chapter XIII that Brahmadatta was a contemporary of the Kaurava king Pratipa, and that his great great grandson Janamejaya was a contemporary of Pratipa's great grandson Bhishma and of Prsata (Drupada's father). Bhishma was of about the same age as Satyawati, the maiden mother of Vyasa, for he was a youth when his father married young Satyawati; hence Vyasa was younger than Bhishma, and his son Suka was therefore at least a generation later. From Brahmadatta's grandfather Suka down to Vyasa's son Suka there were therefore some six generations. The ksatriya genealogies and traditions keep the two Sukas distinct, but the brahmanical vamsas in their attempt to construct Vyasa's family identify the two, give Vyasa's son Suka a daughter Kirtimati, say she was Anuha's queen and Brahmadatta's mother, and so make Brahmadatta great grandson of Vyasa, thus misplacing Anuha and Brahmadatta from their true position to one some six generations later." (Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad.* pp 64-65). There are numerous instances to show that persons who were widely separated in time are brought together as contemporaries in later writings. The Santiparva says that Bhishma learnt dharma from among others Bhargava Chyavana, and Rama Jamadagnya, as if these three lived in the same age. According to Pargiter, there were several Yajnavalkyas, Jaiminis and Vaisampayanas (*Ibid*, Chapter XXVII). So it is difficult to fix the chronological position of a king from his association with the name of a particular sage, unless there are corroborative evidences.

junction with the lunar mansion Phalguni. Now the later astronomy shows that the lunar mansions were, in the sixth century A. D., arranged so as to begin for purposes of reckoning with that called Acvini, because at the vernal equinox at that date the sun was in conjunction with the star Piscium. Given this datum, the precession of the equinoxes allows us to calculate that the beginning of the year with the summer solstice in Phalguni took place about 4000 B. C.....It (the argument) rests upon two wholly improbable assumptions, first that the hymns really assert that the year began at the summer solstice, and, second, that the sun was then brought into any connexion at all with the Nakshatras, for which there is no evidence whatever. The Nakshatras are, as their name indicates and as all the evidence of the later Samhitas shows, lunar mansions pure and simple" (Cambridge History of India I, pp. 111-112). But more definite is a notice in the Kaushitaki Brahmana (XIX. 3), which is repeated in the Jyotisha, that the winter solstice took place at the new moon in Magha. Though scholars are not all agreed in accepting the assumptions involved (Keith, Rigveda Brahmanas Translated, p. 49), the objections are not as strong as in the previous case, and we may with some justification accept the results obtained from this datum. The results, however, vary from 1391 to 1181



B. C., and fit in with our estimate of the Brahmana period. The cumulative effect of all the above considerations is practically decisive of a date for the beginning of the Brahmana period about the middle of the second millenium B. C. \*

Max Muller assigns 400 years to the composition and compilation of the Samhitas, **Rigvedic Period.** "under the supposition that during the early periods of history, the growth of the human mind was more luxuriant than in later times, and that the layers of thought were framed less slowly in the primary than in the tertiary ages of the world".† This is no doubt an underestimate, and considering the great variety of the contents of the Rigveda, which again is only a small remnant of a vast

\*Keith (Aitareya Aranyaka, pp. 21 seq) argues from work to work, taking the lower limit in each case—"Panini, who cannot well be dated later than 300 B. C.," "Yaska, who can hardly be brought down lower than 550—500 B.C.," and so on. But he does not assign any reason why these dates can not be pushed back by two centuries. Again, he fixes the date of the Aitareya Aranyaka as between 700 and 600 B. C., and admits that the "upper date may perhaps be pushed further back" (p. 50), yet he sticks to the lower date.

† That Max Muller himself regarded his chronology as tentative is expressed in his Gifford Lectures on Physical Religion (1890) where he says: "Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000 or 1500 or 2000 or 3000 years B. C. no power on earth will ever determine."

hymn literature most of which has been irretrievably lost, the perceptible changes in language which had taken place during the hymn period, distinguishing the earlier from the later strata of hymns, the references in the Rigveda itself to "sages of olden times" and "old hymns being clothed in newer garbs," "hymns composed in the old way," the period of composition alone of the Rigvedic hymns must have extended over many centuries and may be fixed from 2000 to 1400 B. C. One of the reasons of Max Muller for adopting a later date for the Rigvedic period is that he observes a coincidence in language between the Vedic hymns and the Avestan Gathas similar to that between the Homeric Greek and the Classical Greek, and he dates the Gathas from the sixth century B. C. But the difficulty is that there is yet no agreement among scholars about the date of the earliest Gathas. According to Dr. Moulton, "the traditional date (of Zoroaster, 660-583 B. C.) is a minimum, but there are strong reasons for placing Zarathustra and his Gathas some generations earlier still." Again, the comparison between the development of language from the Vedic hymns to the Gathas and that from the Homeric Greek to Classical Greek is not fair. The period in question is the most eventful in the history of Greece, when the rapid political and commercial

growth of the Greeks exercised a great influence upon the development of their language, and conditions were certainly different in India and Persia. And even at the same time Attic Greek was further from the primitive Hellenic language than Doric or Aeolic. The changes of literary Greek from the Attic days down to the present day have been much less rapid. In any case, it is to be feared that we attain from such a comparison no result of value for Vedic chronology.

"We do not hesitate to assign the composition of the bulk of the Brahmanas to the years 1400-1200 B. C., for the Samhita we require a period of at least 500-600 years with an interval of about two hundred years between the end of the proper Brahmana period. Thus we obtain for the bulk of the Samhita the space from 1400-2000. If we consider the completely authenticated antiquity of several of the sacred books of the Chinese, such as the original documents, of which the Shu-king or Book of History is composed, and the antiquity of the sacrificial songs of the Shi-king, which all carry us back to 1700-2200 B. C. it will certainly not be surprising that we assign a similar antiquity to the most ancient parts of the Vedas." (Haug, The Aitareya Brahmana).

"An estimate (i. e. of Haug) which, if we take everything into account, is certainly not

too high, and which has the greatest claims to probability, is that of Whitney OL St. 1, 21, and elsewhere, of 2000-1500 B. C. the first half of the second thousand years B. C.;" (Kaegi, The Rigveda).

"The close relationship between the language of the Vedic Samhitas on the one hand and Avesta and old Persian on the other does not allow us to date the beginning of the Vedic period back into a hoary age of many thousands, to say nothing of millions of years B. C.

On the other hand, the facts of political, religious and literary history require a period of at least a thousand years and probably more between the earliest hymns of the Rigveda, and the latest parts of the old Upanishads and the rise of Buddhism." (Winternitz).

When the bulk of the Rigvedic hymns were composed the Indo-Aryans had not advanced much beyond the Jumna, were having a deadly struggle with the natives of the soil, and evidently had not entered India very long ago. At the same time we must allow sufficient time for the practically thorough occupation of the Punjab, and the loss of memories about any outside home as is revealed in the hymns. If the bulk of the hymns were composed between 2000-1400 B. C., we shall not be very wrong if we believe that the Aryans began to enter into India about

**Date of Indo-Aryan Immigration.**

300 or 2200 B. C. Let us see if there are any other evidences to support this hypothesis.

Pargiter points out in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age* that according to Pauranic accounts

**Evidences of  
the Puranas.**

there were 30 Paurava, 29 Ikshaku and 37 Magadhan kings in the interval between the Kurukshetra

war and the accession of Mahapadma Nanda.

"Here we have safer ground, for the number of kings in a dynasty was a much simpler matter and more easily remembered than figures of the lengths of reigns and dynasties; and this information about ten contemporary dynasties eliminates peculiarities and extravagances about single dynasties and enables us to make prudent calculations by means of averages of all ten." (Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Tr.*, p. 180). By calculating backward from the date of Mahapadma (about 400 B. C.) at the rate of 18 years for an average reign, an average obtained by comparing more than 20 genealogical tables of Asia and Europe,\* one arrives at the date 950 B. C. approximately for the Kurukshetra battle. Moreover, Jaina traditions represent the Tirthankara Aristanemi as a contemporary of Krishna Vasudeva, and if we assume an interval of two hundred years, which seems on general grounds reasonable, between the Tirthankaras, Mahavira,

\* 30 Andhra kings reigned for 450 years, and 20 Vijaynagar kings for 250 years.

Parsvanath, and Aristanemi, we get the tenth century B. C. as the date of Aristanemi and so of Krishna and of the Kurukshetra war.

"If we should seek to make an estimate of the ages before the battle, it would be prudent to take a smaller length for the average reign, because only one line, that of Ayodhya, is practically complete, while there are gaps in the other dynasties so that there is little scope for taking medium averages of all the dynasties and eliminating peculiarities." (Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Tradition*, p. 183). In the absence of any checking means it is impossible to find out additions, omissions, and overlappings. Even in historical times the mention of the Andhra dynasty as succeeding the Kanva dynasty and the inclusion of the Sakya family and the Pradyota family in the dynasties of Kosala and Magadha respectively in the Puranas gave rise to not a little confusion among the earlier investigators. So it is better to take a lower average, say 12 years, for the period before the Kurukshetra war. Now as the Puranas give 93 kings to the Ikshaku dynasty from Ikshaku the founder to Brihadbala, the contemporary of the Kurukshetra war, the approximate date of Ikshaku and the foundation of the dynasty may be supposed to be about 2100 B. C. Of the princes of the Ikshaku dynasty known to the Vedic hymn-makers are

Mandhatri, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Tryaruna, etc., princes who number according to the Puranas from the twentieth to thirtieth in descent from the founder, and who, therefore, may be believed to have flourished in the 19th and 18th centuries B. C. This also gives a clue to Vedic chronology, and, if we suppose Ikshaku to be the leader of an important, but not necessarily the earliest, Indo-Aryan group of settlers in India (as Cerdic or Ida in England), a clue to the date of the coming of the Indo-Aryans.

About the middle of the 20th century B. C., according to Dr. H. R. Hall, a tribe of men known as the Kassites or Kossaeans with Surias (Sanskrit Surjyas) and Maryttas (Sanskrit Marut) as their principal gods and speaking an Aryan dialect conquered Babylon and ruled there till the middle of the 13th century B.C., when they were overwhelmed by the Assyrian king Tukultiniv. About the same time another Aryan tribe established themselves to the north-west in the upper valley of the Euphrates under the name of Mitanni. Their kings bore names like Artatama, Dusratta (Sanskrit Dasaratha), etc., and worshipped the gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra, Nasatyas. They remained in power till the middle of the 14th century B.C. when they were conquered by the Hittites. As regards the

**Aryans in  
Western Asia.**

powerful Hittites or Khatti of Asia Minor, who for several centuries terrorised both Egypt and Mesopotamia, it is still not certain to which race they belonged. The suggestion has been made that their language, which unfortunately has not yet been deciphered, bears certain Indo-European characteristics. Anthropologists like Von Luschan are inclined to connect the Hittites with the Alpine race or the Celto-Slav peoples of Europe. Hall points out that "the Hittite deities are often accompanied by animals in quite Indian fashion, and sometimes stand upon them. ...It may be that it was a feature borrowed from Aryan religion." These Hittites, who were either Aryans or Aryanised natives, but certainly not Semites, appear for the first time in history in the 20th century B. C., when they were powerful enough to attack Babylon. In the Tell-el-Amarna inscriptions we find such Aryan names of princes as Artamanyu, Subandu, Suwardata, Sutarna, Jasadata and so forth, who ruled in Palestine and Syria in the 15th century B.C., but who had not been there before the 20th century B. C., as we know from the Romance of Sinehu and the inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom of Egypt. Even after their downfall in Mesopotamia and Syria the Aryans survived in the east, and one of their family, the Medes, remained long a thorn in the side of Assyria until the overthrow of the latter and the estab-



lishment of the Medo-Persian empire in Western Asia.

From the history of Egypt too we learn that the period from the 20th to the 16th century B.C. was one of great turmoil and disturbances in Western Asia, when strange peoples appeared dislodging or conquering the old ones, and old kingdoms tottered and fell like houses of cards. The rapidity and violence of these irruptions, far exceeding in extent and effect all earlier movements of which we have any knowledge, were probably due to the use of the horse by the invaders both as steed and as milk-giver to annihilate distance and commissariat difficulties. The Egyptians and the Babylonians became acquainted with the horse only after these barbarian invasions. The picture presented is similar to that which Europe witnessed in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. on the appearance of the Hun hordes and the rising of the barbarians. The fate of Rome befell Egypt too, and Egypt lay groaning and bleeding under the heels of the conquering barbarians from Asia from the 18th to the 16th century B. C. These barbarians, the Hyksos or Shepherds as the Egyptian historians call them, were, so far as is known, a mixed Semitic people from Syria who being pushed from behind by new men, and probably mingled with them, played a part in the history of

Egypt almost similar to that of the Goths in Roman history under the pressure of the Huns. But, unlike the Romans, the Egyptians were not yet rotten to the core, and after two centuries of sufferings succeeded in shaking off the barbarian yoke and establishing the mighty New Kingdom, which once more advanced upon Syria and the Euphrates punishing and enslaving their erstwhile conquerors. It is then when the veil of darkness is lifted by the conquering marches of the Thutmosees that a new scene presents itself to us in the 15th century—Aryan dynasties ruling practically over the whole of Western Asia from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and, if we accept the Hittites as Aryan, in Asia Minor. But as in Egypt so in Mesopotamia the barbarian conquerors imposed themselves upon a highly organised and numerous community with a hoary civilization behind them, and, therefore, could not long maintain themselves against a revival of national feeling. The Semites soon found a champion in the king of Assyria who put an end to the Aryan rule in Babylon. Then between the two grindstones of Egypt and Assyria the smaller Aryan rulerships in Western Asia were crushed out of existence. Thus all Aryan trace was lost in Syria and Mesopotamia and the Semite, there became as supreme ever.

Now what do all these signify? First of all, the names of their gods Surjya, Mitra, Indra, Nasatya suggest a very close affinity with the Vedic Indians and very little with the other branches of the Aryan family. It is certain that they separated themselves from the Indo-Aryan branch in the time of the Rigveda when the older gods like Dyaus, Ushas of the Indo-European period were passing into the background and the later gods like Vishnu and Siva had not become important. Indra is a typical god of the Rigvedic Indians. The word Nasatya is truly Rigvedic. So the time of the appearance of the Kassites and the Mitannians, i. e. the 20th century B. C., must fall within the Rigvedic period. And consequently the Rigvedic period, which is believed to have lasted for five or six hundred years, could not have begun earlier than 2500 B. C., and ended later than 1500 B. C. Again, we know that the split between the Indians and the Iranians took place in the early Vedic, if not in the pre-Vedic, period, and that in consequence there was such bitterness caused that the Iranians deliberately changed the Vedic gods into demons. If, as some scholars assert, the Kassites and the Mitannians betrayed in their dialects close relationship with the Iranians, the fact that they still worshipped Vedic gods and had not in their language changed *s* into *h* showed

that the Indo-Iranian split had either not occurred in the 20th or 21st century B. C., or, if it had, not much before that time.

From all these above considerations we may infer that the Aryans began to pour into India about the middle of the third millennium B. C. The recent finds of the Archaeological Department, at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa prove the existence of a civilisation in the Punjab and Sind, which was not Aryan in characteristics, but allied to the Sumerian of about 3000 B. C. (Illustrated London News, October 1924). As it has been suggested from a comparison of their physical types, burial customs, and matriarchal systems\* that the Sumerians belonged to the Dravidian stock, it is quite reasonable to believe that in the early part of the third millennium B. C. the Aryans had not come and driven away the Dravidians from the Punjab.

\* Prof. Morgan in his *Ancient Society* and Prof. Sayce in his *Babylonians and Assyrians* show that in Sumerian times the woman was the head of the family.

## CHAPTER IV

### EXPANSION OF THE INDO-ARYANS

#### —THE DASYUS.

From the geographical names mentioned in the Rigveda we learn that the Indo-Aryans were at that time in possession of parts of Afghanistan, the Punjāb, Kashmir, parts of Rajputana and Sind, and had advanced as far as the Ganges. Some twenty-five streams are mentioned, of which the principal are the Sindhu (Indus), Vitasta (Jhelum), Asikni (Chenab), Parushni (Ravi), Vipasha (Beas), Satudru (Sutlej), Kubha (Kabul), Suvastu (Swat), Krumu (Kurram), Saraswati, Drishadvati, Yamuna, and Ganga. The Himavanta or Himalayas were well-known to the hymn-makers, but not the Vindhya and the Nerbudda, showing that they had not advanced as far as these. Another evidence of their unacquaintance with the eastern countries is that the tiger, a characteristic animal of Eastern India, is unknown, and that rice too is little known. The important river Ganges is mentioned directly but once, and probably marked the easternmost limit of the Indo-Aryan advance. Though some of the Vedic hymns were composed on the banks of the Indus, e.g. the hymns

**Extent of Arya-land in the Rigveda.**

to Ushas, which, if composed in India, must have been done in the western Punjab, where the dawn is comparatively a glorious phenomenon, yet the centre of Rigvedic life lay to the east, on the banks of the Saraswati, where the bulk of the hymns were composed, and which river was regarded as the most sacred and superseded in importance even the Indus.

During the period of the later Samhitas and the Brahmanas the Indo-Aryans had spread over the land as far as the Vin-  
**Extension during** dhyas on the south, and the con-  
**the Brahmana** fines of Bengal on the east, and in  
**Period.** some points had penetrated into the Deccan on the western side by way of Malwa and Gujarat. The centre of life shifted eastward, and comprised the whole country between the Saraswati and the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, which is called Madhyadesha or Middle Country. While the eastern regions like Kosala (Oudh), Kasi (Benares), and Videha (N. Behar) are brought under Aryan influences and come into prominence, the Punjab and the western countries correspondingly recede in importance, and their tribes and their customs receive but scant respect in the Brahmana literature.

(1). In the Satapatha Brahmana (I.4.1.14-17), there is a curious legend of Mathava the Videgha carrying the sacrificial fire (i.e. sacrificial worship of the Brahmins) from the banks

of the Saraswati over Kosala as far as the Sadanira (modern Gandak), and after crossing it, laying the foundation of a settlement which came to be known as Videha after the name of the tribe to which Mathava belonged. The story probably indicates how the country as far as the Sadanira was conquered in one sweep, how the progress was checked for a while, and how slowly an Aryan colony, Videha, was founded across the river.

(2). In a well-known hymn of the Atharvaveda (V.22) takman or fever is delivered over to the Gandharis, the Mujavants, the Angas, and the Magadhas. The Vedic Aryans had at that time evidently come into collision with the non-Aryan tribes, Angas and Magadhas. The Magadhas are associated in chapter XV of the same book with Vratyas (i. e. nomadic peoples with strange languages and laws). The Angas and the Magadhas were still resisting the Aryans, and hence the great indignation of the author. On the other hand, this passage shows that the Brahmanical culture of the Indo-Aryans of the Middle Country has already led them to despise their more primitive brethren of the west in the Indus valley.

(3). In the Aitareya Brahmana (VII. 18) Viswamitra speaks of the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas, and Mutibas as living on the borders of the Aryan settlements. Of these the

Andhras, Sabaras and Pulindas are known from the Mahabharata and the Puranas to have been tribes of the Deccan, and the Pundras are known in historical times to have their home in Bengal. In modern times the Andhras are the Telugu-speaking people of the Deccan, the Sabaras are still found in a savage state on the frontiers of Orissa, and the Pundras have developed into the Pod caste of Bengal.

(4). In the Aitareya Aranyaka (II.1.1) the Vangas, Vagadhas and Cheras are called birds, i.e. non-Aryans speaking languages which were not intelligible to the Aryans. The Vangas were certainly the inhabitants of Vangadesha or Bengal, the Vagadha is either a misreading or different reading of the word Magadha, and the Cheras are known to be a wild tribe of the Vindhya regions.

(5). The Kaushitaki Upanishad (VI. 1.) gives a list of the principal Aryan tribes living in India, viz, the Usinaras, the Vasas, the Matsyas, the Kurus, the Panchalas, the Kasis, and the Videhas. The land of the Usinaras in the eastern Punjab and the land of the Videhas in North Behar marked the western and eastern boundaries respectively of the Indo-Aryan world of the time. The western Punjab and the trans-Indus lands by this time had come to be regarded as barbarian.

(6). Vidarbha, or modern Berar, is mentioned



in the Jaiminiya Upanishad Brahmana (II. 440), and a Bhima, prince of Vidarbha, in the Aitareya Brahmana (VII. 34. 9), proving that the Aryans had during the Brahmana period penetrated into the Deccan as far as Berar.

Thus before the close of the Brahmana period in about 800 B. C. the whole of Northern India as far as South Behar had been conquered, and the Aryans had begun to penetrate into the Deccan where at least one kingdom, that of Vidarbha, had been established. The process of conquest and colonisation is clearly observed in Behar.

During the period from 800 B. C. to 500 B. C. the whole of Northern India had been practically Aryanised, though the **Indo-Aryan Expansion from 800 to 500 B. C.** process was still incomplete in the outlying parts, Sind, Kathiwar, Gujarat on the west, and Bengal and Kalinga (Orissa) on the east. The Punjab had farther fallen from orthodoxy and in the estimation of the Brahmins. Little headway was made in the Deccan, where, besides Vidarbha, one or two settlements had arisen on the Godavery. Anga and Magadha had been completely brought within the circle of Indo-Aryan politics and culture.

(1). Baudhayana quotes older authorities to state that the people of Sindhu, Sauvira, and Surashtra were of mixed origin, and also

directs that any one travelling to the countries of the Kalingas, Pundras, Vangas, and Arattas (Punjab) must perform a purificatory sacrifice.

(2). In the Ramayana\* Dasaratha is advised by his priest Vasistha to invite among others the kings of Anga, Magadha, Sindhu, Sauvira, and Surastra to his horse sacrifice. There are mentions in the book of Kalinga and Vidarbha, but the knowledge shown about the geography of the Deccan and Southern India is very scanty, most of the area being called Dandakaranya, which was inhabited by Rakshasas and Banaras, i.e. various non-Aryan communities.

(3).<sup>e</sup> Panini is acquainted with the names of Kachchha (Cutch), Kalinga, and Asmaka (on the Godavery), but evidently not with the names of Pandya, Chola, Kerala, as otherwise he could not have failed to give explanations of the formation of such peculiar words, a task undertaken by his commentators in later times.

(4). For the period just before the rise of Buddhism (i. e. the seventh century B. C.) we know from the Nikayas, which are assigned

\* It is always unsafe to refer to the epics for the geography of the epic period, as they received considerable additions and modifications in later times. In this respect the Mahabharata is worse than the Ramayana, and so I abstain from referring to it for the political geography of the period.

by scholars like Rhys Davids to a time not much later than Gautama Buddha, that the following were the principal nations in India—Anga, Magadha, Kasi, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Chedi, Vamsa, Kuru, Panchala, Machha, Surasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhara, Kamboja. Vanga and Kalinga are not mentioned, though the latter name finds a place in the list in later Buddhist Texts.

(5). From the Chronicles of Ceylon it is learnt that about the time of Gautama Buddha's birth Bejoy Sinha, a prince of Bengal, conquered Ceylon and settled there. The Chronicles were composed about one thousand years after the event, and so we cannot rely much on this tradition to show that Bengal had been Aryanised in the 7th century B.C.

At the time of Alexander's invasion, i.e. in the latter half of the 4th century B.C., the Aryan influence had spread over the whole of India, including the extreme south, and Ceylon.

**Extent in the time of Alexander's invasion.**

(1). Katyayana's explanations with regard to the words Pandya, Chola, and Kerala, supplementing the rules of Panini, show that the Aryans had come into contact with these peoples of Southern India during the time intervening between Panini (about 500 B.C.) and Katyayana (about 350 B.C.)

(2). The accounts in the Arthashastra of Kautilya, the well-known minister of Chandragupta, giving details of trade dealings in the products of such countries as Vanga, Pundra, Sindhu, Tamraparni (Ceylon), and the Tamil countries of the south, show that all parts of India were bound to each other by ties of commercial relations and intimately known to each other. \*

(3). The Aryan influence had so much spread in Southern India that, according to *Megasthenes* (about 300 B.C.), the Pandyas called themselves the descendants of a daughter of the Indian Hercules or Krishna. The name Madura or Mathura of the Pandya capital lends colour to this tradition, as Mathura in Northern India was connected with the Yadavas and the early life of Krishna, who belonged to the •Yadava family.

A good deal of confusion seems to have arisen over the words Arya and Dasyu as they were used in the Rigveda. This is due not a little to the fact that the original distinction between the two in course of time became lost and Vedic commentators in later times attached fanciful meanings to them. Yaska explains the word Arya as Iswaraputra, son of God, and Sayana explains it as one who is learned and performs the sacrifices, and the word Dasyu as •a demon.

**Characteristics  
of Dasyu.**

In later literature Arya came to mean noble, and Dasyu a robber. But even then the original meaning sometimes peeps out, as in words like Arya-dharma and Aryavarta. The Manusmriti preserves clear traces of the word Arya being used to denote a distinct race. Thus in the tenth book it is said, "All who are born outside the castes produced from the head, arm, thigh and foot of Brahma, whether they speak Aryan or Mlechchha languages, are known to be Dasyus." Again, "A person begotten on a non-Aryan woman by an Arya is an Arya in qualities, while it is certain that a person begotten on an Arya woman by a non-Aryan is a non-Aryan." In order to find out the original meanings of the words we should look into the Rigveda itself instead of depending on commentators who wrote hundreds of years after the composition of the hymns. The manner in which the two words are used at once suggests a contrast and distinction between two species. Thus in Rig I.51.8 Indra is invoked to distinguish between the Aryas and those who are Dasyus." In I. 103. 3 "Cast thy dart, Thunderer, at the Dasyu, increase the Arya's might and glory, Indra." In X.86.19 Indra says, "I come looking about me and distinguishing the Dasas and the Aryas." In I.100.18 Indra is said to have destroyed the Dasyus and shared their lands with the whites, and in II.11.18 "disclosed

the light to light the Arya, and on the left hand sank the Dasyu." In II.11.19 the Arya gains wealth subduing with the help of Indra the foes, the Dasyus. In X.83.1 Manyu is invoked to help the worshippers to successfully fight their enemies, whether Arya or Dasyu. From these and many other passages it becomes clear to us that the word Arya and Dasyu originally bore different meanings from those suggested by later commentators. In some places, however, the terms are applied to celestial foes, demons, and not mortals, but that is a secondary meaning. Evidently the hymn-makers were Aryas who worshipped Indra and other gods and prayed for the destruction of their foes, the Dasyus. That these Dasyus or Dasas were men of a different type, with different physical characters and institutions, is obvious from their being described as "black-skinned," "devoid of religious rites," "of different rites," "of imperfect speech", "noseless" or flat-nosed, "rawflesh-eaters," etc. In Rig X.22. 8 the Rishi says, "We live in the midst of the Dasyu tribes who do not perform sacrifices, nor believe anything. They have their own rites, and are not entitled to be called 'men.' O Thou Destroyer of enemies, annihilate them and injure the Dasas." Yet the Dasas were not savages and mean foes of the Aryas. There are many references to their fortresses of stone, their wealth, their powerful

tribes and kings. The combined efforts of Indra and Agni demolish ninety fortified towns (purah) ruled over by the Dasas (III. 12. 6). In VIII. 40. 6 Indra is invoked to humble the Dasa and distribute his accumulated treasure among His worshippers. There was a Dasyu king, Krishna, who lived on the banks of the Jumna, and harrassed the Aryas with ten thousand followers (VIII. 85. 13-15). The Dasas are sometimes called "mayaban", i.e. possessed of magical power or stratagem. The Aryas were often hard-pressed and in their distress had to invoke the assistance of their gods for victory.

Who were these Dasyus or Dasas? Hillebrandt seems to think the word Dasa originally **Dravidians.** denoted the Dahae people of the Caspian Steppes, who gave much troubles to the Aryans in Iran, and so came to signify a foe, a robber, in which sense it is used in the Rigveda. Whatever might have been the original meaning of the word, it is certain that the word, except where it is not used to denote a celestial foe, is used in the Rigveda to denote a different race of men, evidently natives of the soil as the Aryans have been shown to have come to India from outside. What race or races of men were these Dasas? There are strong reasons to think that many of those whom the Aryans encountered in the Indus and Ganges valleys were Dravidians.

(1) Their physical characteristics, as given in the Rigveda, namely, black skin and flat nose, agree with those of the modern Dravidians.

(2) That the Dravidians at one time lived in the Punjab and neighbouring countries is inferred from the existence of a Dravidian-speaking tribe, the Brahui, in Beluchistan, which is the last remnant of an once prevailing Dravidian population of Northern India, and not the survival of a Dravidian colony from the distant Deccan, "as a remote mountainous district may be expected to retain the survivals of ancient races while it is not likely to have been colonized."

(3)\* The changes which the Aryan language underwent in India even when the Aryans were confined to Northern India betray strong Dravidian influences and support the inference that the aboriginal Dasyus and Rakhas whom the Indo-Aryans met in the Punjab and elsewhere were mostly of the Dravidian race. Thus the chief point which distinguishes the Vedic language from the Avestan and other Indo-European languages is the presence of a second series of dental letters, the so-called cerebrals. "These play an increasingly important part in the development of Indo-Aryan in its subsequent phases. They are foreign to Indo-European languages generally and they are characteristic of Dravidian." (Cam. Ind. Hist). "The lingual



consonants are essential component elements of a large number of primitive Dravidian roots, and are often necessary, especially in Tamil, for the discrimination of one root from another; whereas in most cases in Sanskrit, the use of cerebral consonants instead of dental, especially the use of the cerebral *n* instead of the dental *n*, is merely euphonic"—(Caldwell). Again, the presence of good many Dravidian words in classical Sanskrit and even in Vedic language, not to speak of modern dialects of Northern India, is well-known. Thus the word *Matachi* which occurs in the *Chhandogya Upanishad* (I. 10. 1.) is nothing but a Sanskritised form of the Dravidian word *midiche*, meaning a locust. And this *Upanishad* was composed at a time when the Indo-Aryans had scarcely entered the Deccan. Words like *Khatta*, couch or cot, *Kukkura*, dog, *Keyura*, bracelet, *Markata*, monkey, and many others have been traced to Dravidian origin (Caldwell, *Dravidian Languages*, pp. 567—579). The Bengali language is indebted for a no small portion of its vocabulary and structural peculiarities to Dravidian languages. Thus the commonplace words like *Khoka* (son), *Talu* (scalp), *Nola* (tongue), *Meye* (daughter), *Minmin* (glimmering), *Pillei* (child), and plural suffixes *guli* and *gula* have come from Dravidian sources. Even in Hindi, many words of Dravidian origin can be traced, such as *jhagra*, *ata*, etc.