

**SOME ASPECTS
OF
THE EARLIEST
SOCIAL HISTORY OF INDIA
(PRE-BUDDHISTIC AGES)**

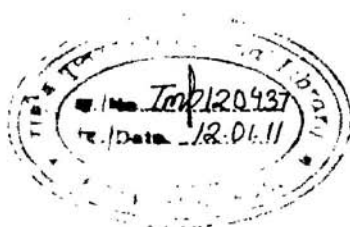
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE publication of this dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Oxford University has been delayed for more than five years, owing partially to pressure of my official duties and press troubles, but much more to lack of funds.

I take this opportunity of gratefully remembering the late Mr. Pargiter for the invaluable training in research work that I have had under his supervision at Oxford, and thanking Professors Macdonell, Barnett and Winternitz, Dr. Morison and Sir G. A. Grierson, for much valuable advice and criticism from time to time; and also of expressing my appreciation of the consideration shown by the Convocation of the Oxford University in permitting me to take my degree in person, before the dissertation could be placed with a press and publisher.

No pains have been spared to verify the references and make them full and accurate; but in a work like this some errors and misprints are almost inevitable; and I shall be grateful to scholars for pointing out any mistakes of reference, etc., that may strike them during perusal.

Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (Oxford University Press, 1922), which seeks to determine the political history of India from the earliest times to the 7th century B.C., and the present work (nearing completion in MS. while the former was in the Press), which attempts an accurate picture of some aspects of the social history of India for the same period, may be regarded as companion volumes, which have to be read together for a fuller understanding of Vedic History than has hitherto been possible.

I need hardly add what must strike every reader that many of my inferences and suggestions (of 1920-'22) have been amply justified by subsequent archaeological excavations in different parts of India, and the time is not distant when it will be acknowledged that Vedic and pre-Āryan civilization originated in the Lower Gangetic regions and travelled westwards.

S. C. SARKAR.

PATNA, INDIA : *March, 1928.*

FOREWORD

[F. E. PARGITER]

This book is the Thesis on "Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India," by which Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkār gained the degree of D. Phil. here. It is the outcome of extensive research, not only in the Vedic and other brāhmanic literature, but also in the Epics and Purāṇas. He has dealt with it in a fresh manner, independent of preconceived ideas and accepted views, and has brought together a great quantity of new evidence regarding the social conditions of ancient India, that has been hitherto neglected, presenting it generally in new connections and a new light. There can be no doubt that the Mahābhārata and the older Purāṇas, which are largely secular literature, disclose many real features of the ancient society that cannot be discarded or belittled, though they find no place in the priestly literature and differ from the brāhmanic presentment, for in any case the existence and preservation of such different notices must be accounted for.

One inference that such independent research appears to elicit is that the Āryans, when they entered India, found in places a degree of civilization as high as their own, if not higher, especially in Oudh and North Bihar; and there need be nothing surprising in that, because it has happened more than once in the history of the world that a more virile tribe has overcome and entered into a higher civilization, and has afterwards carried that on to further excellence.

This book is therefore well worth study, and should help to revise views that may now be held on insufficient grounds.

F. E. PARGITER.

OXFORD : December, 1924.

AN INTRODUCTORY AND CRITICAL NOTE

[M. WINTERNITZ]

On my way to Nālanda in September 1923, I spent two pleasant days at Pāṭnā,—Pāṭaliputra of Buddhist fame, now one of the principal seats of learning in India,—under the hospitable roof of Dr. S. C. Sarkār. We had many an interesting conversation on problems of Indian literature, and amongst other things he showed me the Manuscript of his Doctor's Dissertation on the Earliest Social History of India. The subject was of the greatest interest to me. Glancing over it I could see that it touched on some subjects which I had myself dealt with several times during the last thirty years,—the first time in my paper on Ancient Indian Marriage Ritual in 1892, and the last time in my essays on Woman in Brāhmanism (1920). There was no time to read the dissertation then and there. But Dr. Sarkār kindly gave me a type-written copy of it that I might read it at leisure during my voyage home. This was made impossible by a prolonged illness which befell me after the completion of my happy pilgrimage to and through India, even before I reached the shores of Italy. Thus it was not until Easter 1924 that I could read the dissertation. Now I read it with delighted interest, though in many details I could not agree with the author, and I read it even more than once, in order to re-examine his arguments, where I differed from him. But from the very beginning I highly appreciated the scholarly instinct with which he has extracted from the Vedic texts every little detail that had even the least bearing on social life.

Thus, in the first chapter, on Building of Houses, etc., he is not content with arranging all the passages referring to architectural details, but he collects at the same time everything that can in any way elucidate the economical conditions, and the social and political condition of Ancient India. In the chapter on Household Furniture, and again in that on Dress and Costumes, we find many references to marriage customs and married life, and even to ethnical and racial distinctions. Here he touches, for instance, the vexed question of the Vṛātyas, whom he takes to be Easterners and "non-Āilas" (non-Āryans), adopting the terminology of Pargiter. In a paper on the Vṛātyas that has just been published (in the *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus* VI, 1924-25, p. 48 ff.), I have, like Dr. Sarkār, also come to the conclusion that the Vṛātyas were neither wandering Sādhus nor Śaiva mendicants, as some scholars have tried to prove, but certain tribes, living outside the pale of Brāhmanism, and that there are some indications of their having been Easterners. I do not think, however, that

it is possible to decide whether they were Āryans or non-Āryans.

But the most interesting chapters of the dissertation are doubtless those on Sex-relations and the Status of Women in Ancient India. There are many things in these chapters to which I would take exception.

Thus I certainly should not conclude¹ from the Vedic myths that the Ṛsis of old did not see anything wrong in such connexions as that of Prajāpati with his daughter, or of Pūṣan with his mother and sister. Surely the ancient Greeks did not approve of fathers eating up their children, because according to the Greek myth Kronos devoured his children. I am sure Dr. Sarkar himself would not believe that the Ṛsi who said that Agni, as soon as born, eats his mothers or parents (jāyamāno mūtārā garbho atti: Rv. X. 79, 4), approved of children eating up their parents.²

[1] I am glad that the learned professor has raised these points, for it would serve to illustrate how it is sometimes difficult even for deep and critical scholarship to completely overcome the subtle influences of ancient prejudices and traditional or preconceived interpretations. I hope however that the footnotes I have ventured to add here may lead to a subsequent modification of the views of a scholar in whose soundness and fairness of judgment I have a very great faith indeed.—AUTHOR.]

[2] It will be noted that my conclusion is not based on any one Vedic myth or two; and one of these so-called myths (viz., that of Prajāpati and his daughter) I have shown to be a brahmanical version of a secular dynastic detail. The basis of my inferences is not only these two references to Pūṣan's or Prajāpati's conduct, but a number of other more distinct allusions in priestly as well as secular historical literature. Incestuous connexions and cannibalism are not analogous or parallel features in the history of civilization; the former may be discovered even in comparatively recent history as an established feature, while the latter, so far as the history of the more civilised races is concerned, can only be inferred from faint echoes in folklore and myths. It cannot however be denied that some ancient Hellenic traditions and myths are echoes of a remote period of barbarism, witchcraft, human sacrifices, and perhaps even of cannibalism. A scientific historian is surely justified in surmising from the Vedic (or rather pre-Vedic) Agni legends, not that the Vedic Ṛsis were cannibals, but that these are relics of a forgotten barbarous age, when the Indian tribes amongst whom fire worship arose (and I have shown them to have been pre-Āryan and Gangetic) still retained racial memories of the well-known primitive practice of eating up the old members of the tribe either after (sacrificial) slaughter or exposure and death. So also it is very likely that the ancient Hellenes found traditions of such a primitive practice lingering amongst the earlier Mediterranean people, which quite naturally found their way into the mixed Greek mythology. Finally it will also be remembered that parental incests were not unknown amongst ancient Greeks and Persians, whose cultural affinities with ancient Indo-Āryans are clear enough. In investigating all such details we should steer clear of the perfectly natural tendency, on the part of native and foreign admirers of Indian civilization in general, of explaining away or ignoring facts not in agreement with later standards or with the measure of their admiration.—AUTHOR.]

The stories told in the late Jātaka commentary, not in the old Jātaka gāthās, about Rāma and Sitā, cannot prove that Sitā was common wife of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, nor that Sitā was their sister as well as wife. Generally speaking, though the existence of incestuous marriages must be admitted for Ancient India, as it is found among other ancient peoples, I do not believe that it existed to such an extent as it would appear from the statements made in this dissertation. In my opinion it never was, even in primitive times, a general popular custom, but limited to ruling families or dynasties.¹

Nor can I approve of the author's explanations of the Gandharva in the wedding mantra: "Somaḥ prathamō vivide Gandharvo vīdita uttarah, tritīyo Agniḥ te patis tūriyas te manuṣyajāh." The exact nature of the Gandharvas is certainly still one of the unsolved problems of Indian mythology and folklore. Still it is clear enough that Soma, the Moon, is considered as the 'husband' of the maiden on account of his regulating the menstruation, and that Agni was called the 'husband' of the bride from whom the mortal husband received her, on account of the time-honoured custom of leading the bride around the fire at the wedding ritual. In the same way the Gandharva Viśvāvasu must somehow be related to the sexual life of woman (the Buddhist Assalāyana Sutta shows that he was connected with conception; see also Rv. X. 85,

(1) Here again, Sitā's consanguinity and biandry (or potential polyandry) has not been inferred from only one reference in the Jātakas, but also from many other corroborative allusions there as well as in Epic-Purāṇic literature, taken together with contemporary Vedic evidence on the subject. Occurrence of incestuous marriages "among other ancient peoples" is not however the soundest reason for inferring their existence in ancient India, though of course this has its confirmatory value; it is the first-hand evidence of the priestly and secular historical literatures that I have relied upon. "The statements made in the dissertation" are not fanciful, and references have been given for all statements, which will have to be taken for what they are worth irrespective of the attractiveness or otherwise of the conclusion.—It rather puzzles me that while the equally late and much tampered with Kāvya version of the really ancient Rāmāyaṇic traditions is passed by scholars, the Jātaka or Buddhist version, which from the standpoint of historical criticism is a much sounder source, should be viewed with unmitigated scepticism.—I have not jumped to a conclusion that consanguineous marriages and polyandry were "general popular customs"; I have only suggested that the evidence available points to a frequent occurrence amounting to a custom of such connexions amongst the chief ruling as well as priestly families of the Vedic (=Epic) age.—AUTHOR.]

21 f., and Av. IV, 37 f.), and had certainly nothing to do with the higher education of girls.¹

But I must not enter into further details. The book will doubtless meet with sharp criticism and arouse strong opposition. Some of the conclusions arrived at by the author will be accepted as true, others will have to be rejected. But errors are not only unavoidable, they are more often than not even necessary stages on the way to the discovery of truth, if only the search after truth is carried on in a truly scientific spirit.² And even the opponents will admit that this is the case in Dr. Sarkār's dissertation.

Though we may hesitate to ascribe to the traditional genealogies and legends of the Purāṇas so much historical value as our author, a faithful disciple of Mr. Pargiter, ascribes to them, yet as an historian he is fully justified in trying to find out what light the Epic and Purāṇic traditions might throw on the history of the Vedic period. In our days, when some scholars hold that there is no real tradition at all connecting the hymns of the Ṛgveda,—which are believed to have been composed somewhere in Irān, if not still farther West,—with

[1] Here the only difference between Dr. Winternitz and myself is that he takes Gandharva to be connected with the sexual life of women, while I take it to be connected with some pre-marital part of woman's life. The Gandharva Viśvāvasu is certainly of a sexual character, but he is also a 'Muse'; besides Viśvāvasu is not named in the mantra in question. That Gandharva is not always a sex-spirit is shown by Vedic references to 'gandharva-grhitā' maidens and lady-teachers. There is no real conflict between the two interpretations, for the sexual character of spirits is very closely related in ancient (or even modern) thought with their artistic character. Soma's connection with menstruation would apply equally well, perhaps better, to my view of this wedding mantra: this interpretation of Soma's significance would make the education of girls in music and arts begin with adolescence,—the most suitable age for it; moral discipline or ritual purification (represented by Agni's 'husband-dom') would naturally come after it, leading to real and perfected wifehood. Agni can hardly have been regarded as a husband of the bride simply because the marriage ceremony included going round the fire; the fire was only the divine witness; from the 'sex' point of view the stone, on which the Vedic bride mounted for the sake of progeny, would be a more suitable candidate for the husband status in the mantra. Agni is very prominently connected with the 'brahmacharya' of boys; why then not of girls, who, as the Av. says, could get properly married only by passing through 'brahmacharya' or a period of education of some sort? If 'gandharva' in the wedding mantra is taken to be a 'conception' spirit, then the absurd result would follow that Vedic society credited every bride with one or more previous conceptions before being led to the fire-altar,—unless it can be shown that this particular mantra (in isolation from the rest) was originally intended for legalising illegitimate connexions with issue thereof, Agni's function being 'suddhi.'—AUTHOR.]

[2] With these remarks I entirely agree.—AUTHOR.]

the later Indian literature, it is worth something to have shown that there are after all some threads that lead from the R̥gveda to the Brāhmaṇas, and from these to the Epics and the Purāṇas.

Dr. Sarkār, has derived from the Purāṇas many startling facts and suggestions, specially as regards the sexual morality of the highest classes of society in ancient times. How far the suggestions will stand the test of criticism and become 'facts' remains to be seen. I am myself rather sceptical about some of these suggestions; yet I cannot help admiring the absolutely unprejudiced and truly historical spirit in which the whole investigation is carried on by the author. And therefore I have great pleasure in recommending the book to all scholars who are interested in the history of Ancient India.

It only remains for me to express the hope that Dr. Sarkār may not be prevented by his official duties from devoting himself to scholarly work and continuing the researches which he has so happily begun.

PRAGUE: November 9, 1924.

M. WINTERNITZ.

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BUILDING ACTIVITIES :

(Houses, etc.)

THE Vedic Aryans very early ceased to be wandering tribes: the Rgveda shows them indeed still conquering, but they have already begun internecine wars and struggles for overlordships¹; and fighting does not involve constant shiftings of abode. Permanent settlements, of the nature of marks,² are normal in the Rgveda, being the 'kṣītir dhruvā'³ or the fixed secure abode of the clans; such were the 'viś' (in its special sense),⁴ the 'stha'⁵ (inferable in the early 'goṣṭha',⁶ or the later 'sthapati'),⁷ the 'vrjanas'⁸ and the 'vrājas'.⁹ It is a settled life that could give the home its appropriate epithet of 'pratiṣṭhā'¹⁰ or establishment, standing, fixed abode: so also, one desiring to lead a settled home-life of his own is called 'pratiṣṭhā-kāma'.¹¹ Such a settled home is already the nucleus round which the Vedic society and polity develops. Religion, law and custom was thus based on home-life, and the individualistic tendency of the Indo-Aryan found expression in, and grew out of the importance he attached to the home.)

Already in the early Vedic times, houses were not simply unit family abodes, but were also individual private properties, which could be acquired¹²; and sometimes a ready-made house could be purchased for a considerable price¹³; a well-to-do person possessed several houses; thus a rich householder is called 'pastyāvāt',¹⁴ and some poet-singers are described as 'puru-dama'¹⁵; so also (later on) fields and 'āyatanas'¹⁶ are given as examples of prosperity.

The great variety of Vedic words denoting a dwelling-house is a reflection of its importance to the Vedic Indians, and shows that they were long settled, with a tradition of house-building. 'Gaya' is a common word¹⁷ in the Rgveda for the house or household, inclusive of the inmates and their belong-

¹ As the Purāṇic tradition amply shows.

² Cf. Roth: Dict., s.v. 'vrjana'.

³ Cf. Rv. I, 73, 4; VII, 88, 7; Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 142.

⁴ E.g. where 'grha' is contrasted with 'viś': Rv. X, 91, 2; cf. VII, 82, 1.

⁵ Cf. the Germanic 'Stadt'.

⁶ Vide infra.

⁷ Cf. Kāt. Śr. Sūt. I, 1, 12; Weber: Ind. Stud. 10, 13.

⁸ Rv. I, 51, 15; 73, 2.4; 91, 21; 105, 19; 128, 7; 165, 15; 166, 14; etc.; VII, 32, 27; X, 42, 10; etc.

⁹ Rv. X, 179, 2=Av. VII, 72, 2.

¹⁰ Av. VI, 32, 3=VIII, 8, 21=Sākh. Aran. XII, 14. (Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 181, sees in it a legal term, but cf. St. Pet. Dict.).

¹¹ Taitt. Sam. II, 1, 3.4; Pañc. Brā. XXIII, 19, 1; etc.

¹² Cf. 'vidatha'; also n. 4, p. 4.

¹³ Av. IX, 3, 15.

¹⁴ Rv. I, 151, 2; IX, 97, 18 (prob.).

¹⁵ Av. VII, 73, 1.

¹⁶ Chānd. Upan. VII, 24, 2.

¹⁷ Rv. I, 74, 2; V, 10, 3; 44, 7; VI, 2, 8, etc.; Av. VI, 3, 3 Vāj. Sam. XXVII, 3.

inga; so is 'dama'¹ (and 'dam') meaning house or home, implying an idea of control,² or possibly of building³; 'dhāman',⁴ another word for a dwelling or house, also signifies on the one hand 'the inmates of the house',⁵ and on the other 'law or ordinance',⁶ showing the connexion in the Vedic mind between the house and all conceptions of law and order.⁷ 'Sarma'⁸ is a house as a comfortable place, 'mahī' (big) and 'smat' (fine), within the 'viś' or 'vrjana.' 'Grha',⁹ the family home is contrasted¹⁰ with 'jana' and 'viś,' just as the family sacrifice is contrasted¹¹ with the sacrifice of the 'jana' or 'viś,' the individualism of the home being clearly recognized. 'Kula' in the compound 'kulapā' (used of the house-protector or family-chief,¹² and the home-staying¹³ old maid) conveyed the sense of the dwelling-house of a small individual family, a sense which also occurs in the post-Vedic use¹⁴ of the word singly: though later on the word acquired an added special meaning of 'sanctuary or temple.'¹⁵ 'Vasati'¹⁶ and 'niveśana',¹⁷ seem on the other hand to have been terms without special significance: the former probably remained so all along,¹⁸ but the latter is used in the Epic and the Purāṇas in the sense of a flourishing or fresh 'colonial settlement',¹⁹ and in the Sūtras in a curious optional sense of 'resting-place or stall for cattle' as opposed to the 'grha' used by men.²⁰

1 Rv. I, 1, 8; 61, 9; 75, 5; 143, 4; II, 1, 2; etc.; Vaj. Sam. VIII, 24

2 Cf. Roth: St. Pet. Dict. s.v. 'dama'

3 Cf. V.l., 1, 340, s.v. 'dama.'

4 Rv. I, 144, 1; II, 3, 2; III, 55, 10; VIII, 61, 4; 87, 2; X, 13, 1; etc.; Av. IV, 25, 7; VII, 68, 1; XII, 1, 52; Vaj. Sam. IV, 34; Taitt. Sam. II, 7, 2.

5 Rv. VIII, 101, 6; IX, 36, 14; X, 82, 3; Av. II, 14, 6; (cf. St. Pet. Dict. s.v., c.).

6 Rv. IV, 55, 2; VI, 21, 3; VII, 63, 3; VIII, 41, 10; X, 48, 11.

7 Which also comes out in the Rgvedic expression 'ṛta-dhāman.' (Rv. I, 123, 9; IV, 7, 7; VII, 36, 5; X, 124, 3).

8 Rv. VII, 82, 1; I, 51, 15.

9 See also *infra* for other uses of this term.

10 Rv. X, 91, 2.

11 Rv. VII, 82, 1.

12 Rv. X, 179, 2.

13 Av. I, 14, 3; etc.

14 Sat. Brā. I, 1, 2, 22; II, 1, 4, 4; 4, 1, 14; XI, 5, 3, 11; 8, 1, 3; XIII, 4, 2, 7; Brhad. Upan. I, 5, 32; Chānd. Upan. III, 13, 6, etc.

15 E.g. in 'deva-kula'; cf. 'gura-kula.' But cf. 'kula vadhu' and cognate forms.

16 Rv. I, 31, 15; V, 2, ; Vaj. Sam. XVIII, 15; Taitt. Brā. II, 3, 5, 4; III, 7, 3, 3; etc.

17 Rv. IV, 19, 9; VII, 19, 5; (sense of colonial settlement possible—'after destroying 99 cities. Indra entered the 100th for 'niveśana'").

18 But in Märk. Pur. XLIX, 49—50, 'vasati' is given the technical sense of mart or trading settlement or quarter of a town. Cf. Eastern vern. 'vesāti'—mart, merchandise, etc. Cf. also Rgvedic 'vasna' and vern. 'vāsan.'

19 This however may have been equally a Vedic sense (vide n. 17 above); and the 'Sūtra' sense could be derived from it owing to the connection of cattle-stalls with fresh colonial settlements.

20 Aśval. Grh. Sūtr. IV, 6; etc.

'Pastyā' (f)¹ or 'pastya' (n),² occurring singly, or in the compounds 'pastyā-vant',³ 'pastya-vant'⁴ and 'pastya-sad',⁴ are other terms denoting a house or dwelling, and hence family, while in the feminine form even the goddess of the homestead may be so designated.⁵ 'Pastyā' was occasionally also applied to the 'stall for horses,' the whole being used for a part, e.g., in 'asva-pastya'⁶ and 'pastyā-vant marya'⁷; but it had usually, along with 'harmya',⁸ a special significance of 'the home with all its adjuncts and surroundings,' 'the family settlement,' apparently a nobleman's abode (having stables, etc.). 'Vāstū' seems to mean simply 'dwelling-house' or 'settlements generally'⁹ in the compound epithet 'su-vāstū'¹⁰; but in 'vāstoṣ-pati'¹¹ it approaches the later (even modern) and more special meaning of 'the site of a house'¹²; these imports of 'a group of houses' or 'settlement,' and of 'a site presided over by some deity,' are also conveyed by 'pastyā' in several passages.¹³ 'Māna' is a house as being a measured structure, wherein the house-builder saw a spirit 'mānasya patnī,' mistress of the house-structure.¹⁴ 'Āyatana,' 'enclosure,' had an earlier general sense of 'abode' or 'home,'¹⁵ but later on was specialized in use, like 'kula,' and referred to some sacred structure within such enclosure.¹⁵ 'Viś' is a term which gradually narrowed in significance, from 'settlement'¹⁶ to 'the assembly-hall of the settlement,' and then to 'any house,' as is shown by the uses of the

1 Rv. I, 25, 10; 40, 7; 164, 30; IV, 1, 11; VI, 49, 9; VII, 97, 5; IX, 65, 23; X, 46, 6; (also corresponding passages in Yv.).

2 Rv. X, 96, 10.11; cf. VIII, 39, 8; VI, 58, 2; IX, 98, 12; V, 50, 4.

3 Rv. I, 151, 2; IX, 97, 18; II, 11, 16; IV, 54, 5; VIII, 7, 29; (IV, 55, 3; VIII, 27, 5).

4 Rv. VI, 51, 9; Roth, St. Pet. Dic. s.v.; Fischel: Ved. Stud. 2, 211.

5 Rv. IV, 55, 3; VIII, 27, 5.

6 Rv. IX, 86, 41; Av. VI, 77, 1; XIX, 55, 1.

7 Rv. IX, 97, 18; prob. I, 91, 13.

8 Cf. V.I., I, 229, 30; Rv. VII, 56, 16; cf. X, 106, 5.

9 Cf. the similar use of vern. 'vasti' (from 'vasati').

10 Rv. VIII, 19, 17; (Nir. IV, 15).

11 E.g. in Taitt. Sam. III, 4, 10; cf. Macdonell: Ved. Myth., 138; Zimmer: Alt. Leb., 236.

12 As opposed to the 'kṣetra,' holding, also presided over by a deity; cf. Rv. IV, 37, 1, 2; etc., Av. II, 12, 1; etc.

13 E.g. in Rv. VIII, 7, 29; VIII, 27, 5; IV, 55, 3; respectively; cf. Fischel's explanation of 'pastyā' = a river, having groups of houses on its banks.

14 Av. IX, 3; III, 12; cf. the later structural technical terms: 'vāstumāna' (in Pur.), 'māna-sāra' (the treatise).

15 E.g. in Chānd. Upan. VII, 24, 2; so also in the Epic; it is applied subsequently to temples and monasteries enclosed by walls.

16 Rv. IV, 4, 3; 27, 1; V, 3, 5; VI, 21, 4; 48, 8; VII, 56, 22; 61, 3; 70, 3; 104, 18; X, 91, 2; etc. (But in some of these the sense of 'dwelling-house' may also suit.)

compounds 'viś-pati'¹ and 'viś-patnī'.² A cognate term 'veśman'³ denotes 'house as the place where one is settled.' House or holding in its aspect of acquired property,⁴ is designated by 'vidatha'; but its specialized derivative meanings are quite early and manifold, amongst which may be noted those of 'asylum',⁵ 'family assembly or sacrifice',⁶ 'a smaller⁷ or secular assembly',⁸ 'a rich or royal establishment like palaces'.⁹

A few common house-names were derived from ordinary features of building construction, such as 'āyatana',¹⁰ referring to the enclosing walls, railings or fencings; or 'duraṇa',¹¹ 'gateway,' secondarily implying a house as characterized by such a feature. Another structural term is 'śālā,' primarily a thatch of 'paddy-straw',¹² for shelter of men or their cattle and stores, then the 'homestead inclusive of such stalls and sheds',¹³ and finally 'house' generally, as in 'śālāpati,' 'house-holder',¹⁴ or even a section or a single room of a house, as in 'patnī-śālā'¹⁵ or 'agni-śālā'¹⁶; apparently it came to be quite early used of flourishing and wealthy residences as well,

1 Rv. I, 12, 2; 26, 7; 164, 1; II, 1, 8; III, 2, 10; 40, 3; VII, 39, 2; IX, 108, 10; X, 4, 4; 135, 1; etc.; cf. also VIII, 55, 5=Av. IV, 5, 6.

2 Taitt. Sam. III, 1, 11, 4.

3 Rv. X, 107, 10; 146, 3; Av. V, 17, 13; IX, 6, 30; Ait. Brā. VIII, 24, 6.

4 J. Am. Or. S., 19, 12ff.; cf. Rv. I, 117, 25; II, 1, 6; X, 85, 26, 27; Av. XVIII, 3, 70.

5 Ludwig: Trans. Rv. 3, 261; cf. Sat. Brā. V, 3, 1, 13, and Kāt. Sr. Sūt. XV, 3, 35; cf. also Rv. I, 31, 6; V, 62, 6; Ait. Brā. I, 30, 27, 28.

6 According to Bloomfield and V.I.; cf. connexion of women chiefly with this, but rarely with the 'sabhā'; cf. also Rv. X, 85, 26, 27; Av. VII, 38, 4; Mait. Sam. IV, 7, 4.

7 Zimmer: Alt. Leb., 177; Rv. II, 27, 12.

8 According to Roth; Rv. II, 1, 4; 27, 12, 17; III, 38, 5, 6; V, 63, 2; VII, 66, 10; VIII, 39, 1; X, 12, 7; Av. I, 13, 4; XVII, 1, 15.

9 Rv. IV, 27, 2; cf. I, 91, 20; 167, 3; Av. XX, 128, 1.

10 Vide n. 15, p. 3.

11 Vide p. 32, n. 4—5, and p. 33, n. 1—4; 'dur,' 'durya' and 'duryaṇa' also have a similar secondary sense.

12 As 'śālā' is a term practically confined to the Av. (vide infra.), it is highly probable that it represents some indigenous word, presumably the same as the Eastern vern. 'cālā,' of equivalent form, and of exactly the same significances ('cālā' and 'cāl' also having a common figurative sense of house, room, etc.); E. vern. 'cāl' (rice) corresponds to Sans. 'śālī'; cf. 'vicālī' = 'straw,' i.e. 'taken out of śālī or paddy plants'; for E. vern. 'c' = Sans. 'ś,' cf. infra.,—'kadipu' = Tamil 'kacci-pā'.

13 Av. III, 12, 1ff.; V, 31, 5; VI, 106, 3; VIII, 6, 10; IX, 3, 1ff.; XIV, 1, 63; Taitt. Brā. I, 2, 3, 1; Sat. Brā. III, 1, 1, 6; etc.

14 Av. IX, 3, 12.

15 Vide pp. 30-31.

as indicated by names of princes and noted priests, like 'Mahā-sāla' ('big-housed') 'Prācisa-sāla' ('ancient-housed')¹.

It is significant that 'sālā,' etc., do not occur even once in the Rv., while almost all the references to them belong to the Av., which applies this term also to a particular type of 'straw and bamboo' house² whose construction it describes. On the other hand 'duraṇa,' etc., are specially Rgvedic terms, while 'āyatana' belongs to the Upaniṣads and the Epic. In the comparatively drier and hotter Upper Gangetic regions, the 'entrance' and 'enclosure' aspects³ of the dwelling-house must have been naturally more prominent⁴ than the protective covering overhead; and the references to these features and their figurative use, accordingly, occur in texts that were mainly of Midlandic origin; again, it is only in the rain-flooded Lower Gangetic country that the roof is naturally all-important, and has to be built carefully⁵; and accordingly, the 'sālā' (thatch) is prominent, and means the house itself, in texts that were largely of Eastern Gangetic (and indigenous) origin. So also in subsequent developments of Indian architecture,⁶ these two main styles may be recognized: one characterized by various modifications of the 'enclosure'⁷ and the 'gateway',⁸ another by those in roofing⁹; and it is remarkable that 'roof' architecture throughout the greater part of India (and in all periods) bears a distinct stamp of the Lower Gangetic 'cālā' (sālā), whether we look to the dome of the 'stūpa',¹⁰ the convex 'śaiva'¹¹ roof with projecting eaves, or the curved and tapering 'vaiṣṇava'¹¹ 'śikhara.'

It is quite in accordance with the pre-eminently agricultural and pastoral character of early Vedic life that the house is at first very closely associated with the stalls for domestic animals. Thus the cowstall, the wagon and the

1 E.g. Sat. Brā. X, 3, 1; 6, 1, 1; Chānd. Upan. V, 11, 1; Muṇḍ. Upan. I, 1, 3; cf. the early royal names 'Mahā-sāla' and 'Vi-sāla' in the Purāṇic dynastic lists.

2 Vide infra, p. 22ff.

3 Cf. the sense of 'enclosure' in 'vrjana' and 'vraja,' which is also described as 'sārgala' and 'sapaśīśraya' (with gate and palisade); vide infra; these terms also are specially Rgvedic.

4 As it is even to-day.

5 As the modern 'P.W.D.' knows very well.

6 E.g. in Mauryan and post-Mauryan examples.

7 E.g. the timber palisades or stone-railings.

8 E.g. the famous 'toraga,' a form comparable to 'duraṇa,' which may have been the prototype,—an ornamental gateway, instead of an ordinary 'dvār (a).'

9 E.g. the so-called 'barrel-shaped' tops of monasteries, etc.

10 In Buddhist—i.e. Magadhan styles.

11 Misalled 'Bravidian' and 'Indo-Aryan' respectively by Fergusson; really they are both developments from the same Bengal thatch or 'cālā,' adapted to local conditions (vide Havel's works for nearer interpretation).

house are mentioned together¹ in the same breath as it were. 'Sāla'² and 'pastya(ā)'³ imply accommodation of some sort for both men and their beasts.⁴ 'Gotra' and 'vrā(ā)ja' all originally arrangements for accommodation of cattle, were so intimately connected with the ordinary life of their possessors, that these names came to be employed equally or almost at the same time with reference to men.⁵ Thus 'vrāja',⁶ pen, also denotes a pastoral settlement (under a chief)⁶ including many 'kulas' and 'vrajas' (in the narrower sense); in subsequent literature also (classical and modern), 'vraja' (possibly also the representative of the older 'vrjana')⁷ has the regular sense of a closely organized pastoral settlement with the human and bovine elements equally prominent.⁸ What the 'vraja' originally was, does not clearly appear: Geldner derives it from 'vraj,' to go, giving it the primary meaning of pasture, while Roth prefers the derivation from 'vrj,'⁹ which gives the primary meaning of enclosure or pen; probably both senses are mixed up in the passages where it occurs; the later (vernacular) use of 'vraja'¹⁰ agrees with this view: the frequently occurring sense of pen¹¹ or stall¹² cannot be derived from 'vraj,' to go, but the sense of 'pasture'¹³ is possible from 'vrj' to enclose; for a common pasture may very well have been an enclosure with a hedge, fence or palisade; it seems that such a defensible 'enclosure' with palisade and gateway,¹⁴ rather than a 'pen' with fence and latch, is referred to in 'sārgala' and 'sapariśraya' 'vraja'¹⁵: the sense of a protected pastoral settlement can easily evolve out of this. The 'vraja' when a cowstall is meant by it, was made of Aśvattha¹⁶ wood, well built to make it warm,¹⁷ and had doors whose wide sweep¹⁸ suggested conceptions like that of the dawn opening wide the doors of the 'vraja' of darkness, or Death being 'vrāja-bāhu'.¹⁹ 'Gotra' is supposed by Geldner

1 Av. II, 14, 2.

2 Cf. n. 13, p. 4.

3 Cf. n. 6, and n. 7, p. 3.

4 Specially horses in the latter case.

5 Kaus. Brā. II, 9 (in the sense of 'pen,' the other form 'vraja' is much more common in earlier Vedic lit.).

6 Rv. X, 179, 2; Av. VII, 72, 2.

7 Cf. n. 8, p. 1.

8 E.g. in all literature dealing with Kṛṣṇa episodes.

9 St. Pet. Dict., s.v.

10 As a pastoral yet compact and organized settlement.

11 Av. III, 11, 15; IV, 38, 7; Śaṅkh. Ārap. II, 16; probably Rv. X, 97, 10; 101, 8.

12 Rv. X, 4, 2; cf. IV, 51, 2; Taitt. Brā. III, 8, 12, 2; Vāj. Sam. I, 25.

13 Probably in Rv. II, 38, 8; X, 26, 3; (cf. the derivative sense of 'herd' in other passages cited in n. 4, V.I., II, 340).

14 Cf. 'gomati' 'pura' or forts, infra.

15 Bṛhad. Upan. (Mādḥ.), VI, 4, 22. (These may have been the original models of the Jaina and Buddhist 'pinjrapoles,' which represent such 'vrajas' rather closely).

16 Taitt. Brā. III, 8, 12, 2; (cf. Vāja. Sam. I, 25).

17 Rv. X, 4, 2.

18 Rv. IV, 51, 2.

19 Kaus. Brā. II, 9.

to have the primary meaning of 'herd,'¹ which alone he thinks would explain its later use as 'family' or 'clan.'² But Roth's interpretation of it as 'cowstall' as a structure³ is better: firstly, as the suffix 'tra' is also indicative of place; secondly, as the sense of a whole clan can easily be derived from the sense of a cowstall, common and spacious, where a whole clan kept their cattle⁴; and thirdly, as 'goṣṭha'⁵ is similarly used of the Bharata clan, and 'goṣṭhi'⁶ later on, by a similar transition, comes to mean a social circle. Geldner thinks that in all passages where 'goṣṭha' occurs,⁶ the sense of 'grazing ground' is better and suits all.⁷ But here again, Whitney's and Bloomfield's rendering of stall or stable⁸ is more appropriate, as the 'stha' points to some sort of a standing structure, a stand or stall, and cannot, evidently, refer to 'grazing': so that 'goṣṭha' would mean literally the standing place for cows. It is significant that even in modern vernacular 'goṣṭha' is always contrasted with 'māṭha' (meadow), with which it is combined to form a phrase. (The use of 'goṣṭha' in Ait. Brā.⁹ is interesting: the cows of the Bharatas are there said to be in the 'goṣṭha' at evening and in the 'saṃgavinī' at mid-day: Sāyaṇa adds in explanation (not very clear in itself) that their milch-cows were kept at night in 'śālās,' but the rest of the cattle in the 'goṣṭha.' Here 'goṣṭha' cannot mean open pasturage; and 'saṃgavinī' also seems to be some sort of an open shed where the noon-tide milking was done; 'goṣṭha' and 'saṃgavinī' therefore would mean cowstalls and cattle-sheds attached to the clan-abodes and set up in the fields, respectively, while the 'śālās' may have been special sheds for milch-cows with isolated compartments or each such cow may have been isolated in its separate 'śālā'.¹⁰ It would also appear that the 'goṣṭha' belonged to the whole clan, e.g., of the Bharatas,¹¹ and not to the

1 Geldner: Ved. Stud. 2, 275-276.

2 Cf. Chānd. Upan. IV, 4, 1; Sāṅkh. Śr. Sūt. I, 4, 16; etc.; Aśval. Gṛh. Sūt. IV, 4; etc.; Kauṣ. Brā. XXV, 15; etc. (It is to be noted that Purāṇic tradition places the rise of noted 'ṛṣi gotras' (clans) much earlier than the period indicated by these references. Thus the 'clan' sense is not a late one.)

3 St. Pet. Dict., s.v.

4 The suitability of such interpretation is evident in Rv. I, 51, 3; II, 17, 1; 23, 18; III, 39, 4; 43, 7; VIII, 74, 5; X, 48, 2; 103, 7.

5 Vide infra.

6 Rv. I, 191, *4; VI, 23, 1; VIII, 43, 17=Av. III, 14, 1.5.6; LI, 26, 2=Vāja. Sam. III, 21; V, 17.—Kāth. Sam. VIII, 7; Mait. Sam. IV, 2, 11=Ait. Brā. III, 18, 4; Sat. Brā. XI, 8, 3, 2; etc.

7 Sp. in Av. III, 14.

8 In Av. op. cit.

9 Ait. Brā. III, 18, 14.

10 Cf. 'śālā,' ante, p. 4, n. 13.

11 (Examples of ruling and influential priestly families possessing large herds of cattle (often with special structures for these) are well-known in Epic-Purāṇic tradition, and the Bharatas are actually amongst them.)

individual houses or holdings; and it is thus very probable that the gradually more and more specialized social association and unit of the 'goṣṭhi,' often mentioned later, in Buddhist and classical literature,¹ grew out of the merry clan-gatherings at the 'goṣṭha' in the evening after the day's toil and adventures in the fields and pastures.²

Just as the later 'club-house'³ (goṣṭhi) was developed out of the common cattle-stand, so also some other types of associations and their suitable structures were closely connected with ordinary domestic conditions. 'Vidatha' must be derived from 'vid,' to acquire, rather than from 'vid,' to know, which gives the plausible meaning of something like the Witan to the 'vidatha,' but which can account for only a few of its many senses; 'vidatha' therefore originally meant holding or house⁴; but it is very often used in wider senses, involving the ideas of a larger structure and some sort of assemblage. Thus in different passages Ludwig sees the sense of a sanctuary or asylum,⁵ and Zimmer that of a smaller assembly than the 'samiti'⁶; where a 'Samrāt' is spoken of as 'vidathya,'⁷ the 'vidatha' must have been a royal establishment, a court or audience-hall; where women are connected with the 'vidatha'⁸ (but not usually with the 'sabhā'), it may mean a household assembly, social or religious, and the accommodation for such an assembly; while Roth makes out a reference to some secular wider type of assembly in many other passages.⁹ 'Vidatha' accordingly stands for quite a variety of building structures, from probably the quadrangle or large hall of a homestead to specialized structures suitable for public use or court life.

1 Various aspects of the 'goṣṭhi,' economic and social, are indicated and detailed in the early Pāli texts. Kautīlya, and Vāts. Kā. Sūtra; the term has subsequently degenerated into the colloquial vernacular 'goṣṭh(t)i'.

2 (The traditional picture of Kṛṣṇa's early life (in some of the Purāṇas also) is an illustration of how this development may have actually happened.)

3 This is the special sense in Buddhist and post-Mauryan literature (e.g. in Vāts. Kā. Sūt.).

4 J. Am. Or. S., 19, 12ff.; cf. Rv. X, 85, 26.27; I, 117, 25; II, 1, 6; Av. XVIII, 3, 70.

5 Ludwig: Trans. Rv. 3, 261; cf. Sat. Brā. V, 3, 1, 13; Kāt. Sr. Sūt. XV, 3, 35; also Rv. I, 31, 6; V, 62, 6; Ait. Brā. I, 30, 27.28.

6 Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 177; Rv. II, 27, 12.

7 Rv. IV, 27, 2; cf. I, 91, 20; 167, 3; AV, XX, 128, 1.

8 Av. VII, 38, 4; Mait. Sam. IV, 7, 4; cf. Rv. X, 85, 26.27 (= Av. XIV, 1, 20.25).

9 Rv. II, 1, 4; 27, 12.17; III, 38, 5.6; V, 63, 2; VII, 66, 10; VIII, 39, 1; X, 12, 7; Av. I, 13, 4; XVII, 1, 15.

The well-known 'sabhā' is no less ambiguous in significance: the usually accepted view is that it denotes the 'assembly' of the Vedic Indians as well as the 'hall' where it met; Hillebrandt however thinks that the 'sabhā' designates primarily the 'house of assembly' while 'samiti' (also frequently occurring in Vedic literature) stands for the 'assembly' itself; but it is noteworthy that while the 'sabhā' has a number of functions and aspects² ascribed to it in the Vedic literature, the most particular detail available about the 'samiti' is that kings and princes frequented them³; hence the 'samiti' was more a political institution than the 'sabhā', and of a select character, though the 'viś' are associated with both.⁴ According to this view the 'sabhā' would be the hall of the widest assembly of a community and the 'vidatha' the quadrangle or hall of the unit family assembly; and 'samiti' would have to be placed between these two types. In fact the 'vidatha' does develop into the 'samiti' type: for in some passages the 'vidatha' may have the developed sense of a public sanctuary or asylum,⁵ and in some others⁶ the 'samrāt' is 'vidathya' or 'holding court,' in of course a suitable place: this latter use would correspond to the 'samiti' associated chiefly with princes. In the *Av.* the 'sabhā' and the 'samiti' are frequently mentioned together,⁷ as equally ancient institutions⁸ (where prepared speeches were made),⁹ which were to be found even in villages¹⁰; while both were mainly composed of tribesmen and followed the King, the former was associated with the army, and the latter with 'strong drink'¹¹; and the 'sabhā', 'samiti', and 'āmantraṇa' are mentioned as assembly-houses in order of increasing limitation.¹² On the whole therefore the 'samiti' seems to have been a narrower institution. But there are other difficulties: there seem to have been several types of the 'sabhā' itself. Though

1 Hillebrandt: *Ved. Myth.*, 2, 124, note 6.

2 *Vide infra.*

3 *Vide V.I.*, 11, 430—1.

4 *Av.* III, 19, 1; IX, 7, 9; XV, 9, 2.3.

5 *Vide ante.*

6 *Vide ante.*

7 *Vide following notes.* Cf. similar association in the modern vernacular phrase 'sabhā-samiti,' and its use in the sense of 'wider assemblies and smaller committees.' (So also the vernacular expression 'goṣṭhi-gotra' affords a clue to the relation between these two parallel early institutions: 'gotra' referring to the smaller unit of a family or 'kin,' and 'goṣṭhi' to the whole tribe or clan; in Buddhist and Maurya periods, the 'goṣṭhi' is specially associated with the 'gapa,' which was wider than the 'gotra'.).

8 *Av.* VII, 12, 1 (2 dtrs. of Prajāpati, etc.).

9 *Av.* XII, 1, 56; cf. VII, 12, 1.

10 *Av.* XII, 1, 56.

11 *Av.* XV, 9, 2.3; (the context would show that the *Av.* regarded these institutions as originally derived from the 'Vrātya' Kingship of Magadha).

12 *Av.* VIII, 10, 5.6; cf. *Rv.* I, 91, 20, where a fit son is 'sadanya', 'vidathya' and 'sabhya' in increasing order of eminence.

it is possible to conclude that all the multifold functions attributed to the 'sabhā' in different contexts were performed in one and the same institution and structure called 'sabhā,' a state of affairs natural in primitive polity¹ (cf. Hellenic parallels), yet it is reasonable to suppose that increasing complexity of functions very soon (even before the age of the later Samhitās) led to a division into several correlated institutions also called 'sabhās.' Thus, for example, the increase of gambling, so closely associated with the 'sabhā' from the very beginning, would in all likelihood lead to the growth of a type of special gambling halls, where this would not interfere with other more serious functions of the 'sabhā'; the everpresent and expert gamblers, the 'sabhā-sthāṇus'² would then leave the assessors, the 'sabhāsads' undisturbed in their judicial dignity; the two sets cannot very well be posited of the same hall at the same time. So also, we hear of the 'sabhāvin,'³ the keeper of the gambling hall, as distinct from the 'sabhā-pāla,'⁴ the warden of the assembly-hall; and of the 'grāmya-vādin,'⁵ the village judge or town-reeve, in his 'sabhā,' or court, which is here apparently separate from the gambling hall. Then again, certain other early uses of the word 'sabhā' would necessitate either a supposition that it was evolved out of domestic or individual household conditions, or one that we have in these instances a particular domestic use of the word. Thus when 'Agni' of the 'sabhā' is specially designated 'vispati,' or master of the dwelling,⁶ there is an evident reference to domestic conditions. In some passages in the later Samhitās (and subsequently) the 'sabhā' evidently refers to the 'society-room' in a private dwelling-house⁷; and earlier still, 'sablreya'⁸ and 'sabhāvān rayiḥ'⁹ seem to have been used domestically; while in 'sabhāvati yoṣā,'¹⁰ of the Rv.,

1 So also in Mbh. II, 56—71, (the same gathering (in the same hall) of gambling princes and others watching the game, is subsequently appealed to as a court of justice with its 'full bench.' But in the same period, at the Matsya capital the 'sabhā' (where dice is played and a council of war is held) has an offshoot, the music and dancing-hall.)

2 Vāja. Sam. XXX, 18; Taitt. Brā. III, 4, 16, 1.

3 Taitt. Brā. III, 4, 16, 1.

4 Taitt. Brā. III, 7, 4, 5.

5 Taitt. Sam. II, 3, 1, 3; Kāth. Sam. XI, 4; Muir. Sam. II, 2, 1.

6 Vide ante, note 1, page 4.

7 Av. XIX, 55, 6 ('my sabhā'); Taitt. Sam. III, 4, 8, 6 (a man's 'sabhā'); Taitt. Brā. I, 1, 10, 3; probably Chānd. Upan. VIII, 14 (Prajāpati's abode and sabhā).

8 Rv., II, 24, 13; I, 91, 20 (probable); Av. XX, 128, 1; Vāja. Sam. XXII, 22.

9 Rv. IV, 2, 5.

10 Rv. I, 167, 3. Cf. Rv. X, 85, 26.27 = Av. XIV, I, 20.21 (where the bride, either in advanced age, or earlier if she comes to control her home, is expected to 'speak unto the council').

though it is equally permissible to see in it a reference to the presence of women, in the greater assemblies, the use is probably a domestic one, meaning something like 'the lady in the drawing-room.' It would thus appear that, whichever be the earlier model, the sitting-room of a private home had much in common with the wider assembly hall, and that the structure and equipment of the 'sabhā,' domestic or public, was of one and the same type originally. So also, both the central hall of a dwelling-house and the assembly hall had their fire-altars,¹ the prototypes of the later 'worship-room' ('*thākur-ghar*') in private houses, of the nave ('*caitya*') in the Buddhist congregation halls, and of the sacred antechamber ('*thākur-dālān*') in assembly halls of all descriptions (e.g. the '*nāṭya-sālā*' or '*nāṭ-mandir*') : the difference being probably only in the size and type of the altar or other sacred symbol and in the number and variety of the '*sthānas*' or pillars. The '*sabhā*' in its wider sense must have been a large edifice with some pretensions to architecture ; apart from the altar² and pillars,³ there must have been more or less suitable structural arrangements for the transaction of judicial, commercial and political business, and reception of courtly, well-born, wealthy persons and kings ; and the complexity of the structure must have been greater where the same building was used for the other '*sabhā*'-ic functions,—gambling, merriment, social intercourse, debates and contests.⁴ Probably when the social and festive branch of the '*sabhā*' became separated it merged with the natural clan-gatherings at the '*goṣṭha*,' and led to the formation of the later '*goṣṭhī*,' whose functions were pre-eminently social and pleasurable.

Associations of learned men called '*pariṣads*' were in existence in the later Vedic period,⁵ and the origin of this institution may well be referred to the earlier epoch⁶ ; at any rate these '*pariṣads*' were early converted into administrative institutions (councils of judges and ministers), and it is very probable that the '*pariṣad*' either held its sittings in the traditional '*sabhā*,'⁷ or came to possess a special habitation of its

1 Rv. III, 23, 4 ; V, 3, 11 ; VII, 7, 5 ; Av. VIII, 10, 1-5 ; XIX, 55, 6. (This led to a metaphorical use of '*vispati*' ; so also, apparently, the priest prayed at the '*sabhā*' altar while the King fought : V.I., II, 5).

2 Vide note 1 above.

3 Vide ante, *n 2, p. 10 ; so also in the Epic, pillars are the main features of *sabhās*, while there are various adjuncts according to special needs and circumstances.

4 For references for these several functions of the '*sabhā*,' vide V.I., II, 425-427.

5 Temp. Brhad. Upan. Jaim. Upan. Brā. and Gobh. Gr. Sūtr. ; vide details in VI., I, 497.

6 (This institution also was apparently originally of a pastoral character ; the '*pariṣad*,' rich in kings, is said to have been made by the ancient fathers (Aṅgirasas, etc.) for men : Av. XVIII, 3, 22 ; cf. Rv. IV, 2, 17.

7 Which had its judicial side.

own. As the 'pariśads' were mainly sittings around of 'ācāryas,' specialists in law and custom, sacred and secular, and as these 'ācāryas' had their 'kulas' which were commodious enough for resident students and their own families it would be quite natural for the sessions to have been held in some block of these 'kulas' ordinarily. These 'ācārya-kulas' were not¹ merely one or two wretched huts (like their declining and impoverished modern representatives, the 'tols'). It seems probable that youths of all the classes of society were required² to, and even girls optionally could,³ reside for a certain period in 'brahmacharya,' though the period of such discipline may well have varied from class to class, and much of the course been optional or unnecessary for the non-brāhmaṇ and girl pupils.⁴ These 'kulas' then must have been quite capacious and complex in plan.⁵ A teacher might admit quite a number of pupils,⁶ and Vedic as well as Epic-Purāṇic traditions refer to more or less specified numbers of resident students⁷ in particular establishments. The 'ācārya' was to teach everything to at least those staying on with him for a year,⁸ while many students would stay on in their teacher's house for twelve to thirty-two years, even after the Vedas were done.⁹ Hence the teacher of the later Vedic period must have had in his 'kula' sufficient accommodation of a permanent nature to provide for such prolonged stays and no doubt also frequent migrations¹⁰: such provision must have been possible largely through the voluntary fees of sons of

1 Thus in Epic-Purāṇic tradition these are fully prosperous establishments, where princes are entertained sumptuously, and are quite comfortable places for them to be in residence for instruction.

2 Re. probability of this system, vide V.I., II, 75.

3 As the application of 'brahmacharya' to unmarried girls (who thus become fit for marriage) in the Av. shows, together with a number of actual cases known to Epic-Purāṇic tradition.

4 Buddhist Burmah still retains a trace, in its system of education, of this ancient Indian theory and practice.

5 The Epic-Purāṇic accounts always depict them as such; cf. the description in Mbh. Śakuntalop.

6 Taitt. Aran. VII, 3; cf. Taitt. Upan. I, 4 (students flocking from all sides.).

7 Cf. the quite reasonable numbers of residents said to have been killed in some ṛṣi āśramas by the Kālakeya raids of tradition. (That the Vāsiṣṭha teachers of an earlier period had full 'classes' is shown by the famous 'frog-hymn' in Rv.). In the Jātaka tradition the average number of students resident with renowned professors is 500.)

8 Sat. Brā. XIV, 1, 1, 26.27; cf. Āit. Aran. V, 3, 3.

9 Chānd. Upan. IV, 10, 1; cf. III, 11, 6; Taitt. Upan. I, 11, 1; etc.

10 (For some left before completing a year, and migrations from teacher to teacher were frequent, specially in the cases of students who wanted solutions of special difficulties.)

nobles and princes,¹ about which the Epic and other ancient traditions say a good deal. What the general plan of these 'kulas' were, we may gather from the terms 'ante-vāsin'² and 'ācārya-kula-vāsin'³ used of the resident student: he dwelt near by, but in the outskirts as it were, yet it was all within the teacher's family home or establishment; i.e., the pupils' quarters were in separate blocks a little apart, which were still part of the same structural unit. We might discover in these 'ācārya-kulas' of the earlier epoch (residence in 'brahmācārya' being known as early as the Atharva-veda⁴) the same general plan which characterizes the later monastic establishments,⁵ Buddhist or otherwise,—a quadrangular structure with cells on all sides and the shrine and abbot's cell in the centre of the quad, or with the cells on three sides and the East-facing block set apart for the abbot and the shrine. The 'pariśads' of learned men, therefore (and the similar but mainly theological associations of the 'upanīṣads,' or sacred and 'secret' sessions to discuss the mysteries of theology), together with the 'ācārya-kulas' (of which they were probably special developments), may be looked upon as the later (or even early) Vedic beginnings, out of which the pre-Buddhistic and Buddhistic centres of learning of the 'residential university' type⁶ were evolved.

So also we find the prototypes of the Buddhistic trunk-roads and travellers' rest houses in Vedic conditions. (Road-making indeed proceeded side by side⁷ with the Āryan settlement: with reference to the extension of settlements in the new land, the clearing of forests, and making of roads, gods like Agni and Pūṣan, and 'ṛṣis' (like the Roman 'pontifices') are called 'pathi-kṛt,' the path-makers.⁸ The Vedic builders were not long content with forest-tracks or village-paths; for even in the R̥gveda (and later Samhitās) we find the 'prapatha' or long journey by (broad) road,⁹ and the Atharva-veda refers to

¹ (Cf. the teacher's prayer in Taitt. Upan. I, 4, for material prosperity along with influx of large numbers of students.)

² Vide n. 9, p. 12; also, Sat Brā. V, 1, 5, 17; Brhad. Upan. VI, 3, 7; Taitt. Upan. I, 3, 3; cf. Ait. Araṇ. III, 2, 6; Śākth. Araṇ. VIII, 1, 1.

³ Chānd. Upan. II, 23, 2 (settling long therein). Cf. note 4 below.

⁴ 'Brahmācāryeṇa vas': Av. VII, 109, 7; Ait. Brā. V, 14; cf. Av. XI, 5 (re the 'student').

⁵ E.g. as represented in the sculptures of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.
⁶ (Traces of whose elaborate structural arrangements are now being unearthed at the sites of Takṣa-sīlā and Nālanda.)

⁷ Cf. indeed roads were not there already; the cross-country roads feeding the ancient S.W. seaports, may have been much older than Āryan settlement. [The Sindh-Punjab excavations of 1924 seem to prove existence of such ports in the pre-Ārya India of the 3rd millennium B.C.]

⁸ Vide refs. in VI, I, 489-490.

⁹ Rv. X, 17, 4, 6; 53, 16; (cf. Ait. Brā. VII, 15). Kāth. Sam. XXXVII, 14.

the 'parirathyā' or road suitable for chariots.¹ 'Setu' is found from the Rg- and Yajur-vedas onwards,² but the precise sense does not come out clearly. It has been held that a causeway of an ordinary type, merely a raised bank for crossing inundated land is meant, and that its use is probably metaphorical in Vedic literature; but a metaphorical use of a term can hardly come into existence unless there has been previous simple use of it, and the sort of structure indicated here would be quite natural to and characteristic of the Gangetic delta, but can hardly be referred to the pre-eminent Vedic regions (or Madhyadesa): besides, there is no inconsistency in ascribing to the 'setu' the sense of a causeway of some 'special' structure, a dam or a bridge (more of use in the Vedic regions proper), when we find long road-journeys performed and drives constructed.³ (Later on (in the Brāhmaṇas) villages are connected with 'mahā-pathas' or high roads⁴; and causeways ('badvan') firmer than an ordinary road are known.⁵ A much earlier reference, to well-made pleasant cart-roads, on a higher level than adjoining fields, forests and other village-tracks, with great trees planted beside, passing through villages or towns, and with occasional pairs of pillars (i.e., gateways, evidently near the approaches of some town), is made in the Av.,⁶ where bridal processions pass through such routes. 'Prapatha' in the Yajur-veda has also the sense of a 'broad road'⁷; while in Rv. itself 'prapathas' are also rest-houses, apparently on the 'prapatha' or high road, for the travellers, where 'khādi' or food may be obtained⁸; so also in the Av., where every 'tīrtha' along the bridal route is said to be well provided with drink, the

1 Av. VIII, 9, 22. Whitney translates 'rim'; but 'road' gives a better sense from the context, where a sacrifice is likened to a chariot journey. Cf. Av. XII, 1, 47 (many roads, for people to go upon, 'vartmans' for chariots, and for the going of the cart, by which men good or bad go about, free from enemies and robbers; v. 45 refers to many countries with people of different speech and customs).

2 Rv. IX, 41, 2; Taitt. Sam. III, 2, 2, 1; VI, 1, 4, 9; 5, 3, 3; VII, 5, 8, 5; Kāth. Sam. XXVII, 4; Ait. Brā. III, 35; Taitt. Brā. II, 4, 2, 6; Sat. Brā. XIII, 2, 10, 1; Brhad. Upan. IV, 4, 4; Chānd. Upan. VIII, 4, 1, 2; etc.

3 Vide n. 8, p. 13, and n. 1 above.

4 Ait. Brā. IV, 17, 8; Chānd. Upan. VIII, 6, 2; (this agrees fully with early Buddhist references to such roads; vide also n. 6 below).

5 Pañc. Brā. I, 1, 4; cf. Lāṭ. Śr. Sūt. I, 1, 23.

6 Av. XIV, 1, 63 and XIV, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12. Such a road is 'ascended' from the village roads; it is possible that the 'pillar standing in the way' may refer to barrier posts, for the levying of toll or octroi on the trade routes.

7 Kāth. Sam. XXXVII, 14.

8 Rv. I, 166, 9 (Wilson; Trans. Rv. 2, 151). The reading 'prapadesu' is not necessary, as the connection between 'prapatha' the high road and 'prapatha' the rest-house is quite clear.

'tirthas' are something like these 'prapathas' being rest-houses on the fords.¹ The Av., and some Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, mention the 'āvasatha,' which, though literally meaning dwelling, is not used in the general sense of abode till much later,² but which is used there in a special sense,³ a structure of some sort for the reception of guests, specially of brāhmanas and others on the occasion of feasts and sacrifices; it may have been something like the later 'dharma-śālās' or guest- and rest-houses,—though not necessarily on the high road. Travelling indeed seems to have been quite common: dwelling abroad and residence in foreign countries is mentioned in the Rv. itself,⁴ and the Av. has got its ceremonies for return from 'pravāsa' (along with the Gṛhya Sūtras),⁵ and vividly describes the weary merchant's homecoming; while the Yv. Saṃhitās know of 'yāyāvaras' ⁶ or travelling mendicants, probably the predecessors of the itinerant monks of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.. The appellation 'Prapathin' given to a Yādava prince in the Rv.⁷ may probably indicate that princes of those times, like their successors a few centuries later, were already makers of long roads and philanthropic rest-houses.

Building-activities, indeed, developed in Vedic times not only through the needs of social and corporate life, as in the case of the 'goṣṭhī,' the 'vidatha,' the 'sabhā,' and the like, but also through the kings and lesser chieftains.⁸ (In speaking of ancient Indian polity it is still customary to call up a vision of a sole monarch towering above a dead level of agricultural population; but evidence for the Vedic and Buddhistic periods does not point to such Chaldaean simplicity. It rather appears

1 Av. XIV, 2, 6.

2 E.g. Ait. Upan. III, 12.

3 Av. IX, 6, 5 (entertaining brāhmanas); Taitt. Brā. I, 1, 10, 6; III, 7, 4, 6; Śat. Brā. XII, 4, 4, 6; Chānd. Upau. IV, 1, 1; details in the Sūtras: Apast. Śr. Sūt. V, 9, 3; Apast. Dh. Sūt. II, 9, 25, 4.

4 Rv. VIII, 29, 8.

5 Av. VII, 60, 1-6; cf. Āśval. Gṛh. Sūt. 1, 15; Śāṅkh./Gṛh. Sūt. II, 17; etc.

6 Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 1, 7; Kāth. Sam. XIX, 12. (The Epic tradition also assigns 'yāyāvara' sects, to which Jarat-Kāru belonged, to the period immediately after the close of the Rgvedic.)

7 Rv. VIII, 1, 30 (the prince lauded for his superior weapons, horses and 'prapathas'). It is noteworthy that the name is given to a 'Yādava' prince, Asaṅga, who may be placed at the close of the Rgvedic period (being apparently the same as Asaṅga, the son or grandson of Satrājit and a near relative of Kṛṣṇa); tradition ascribes (cf. Mbh., Hariv. & Br.) much building activity in S.W. India to the Yādavas of the Rgvedic period, and all that is known of ancient commercial activities, points to the early development of communications in those regions.

8 It would be most unusual, if they were not so developed. (Even the petty Pāṇḍava and other princes lauded in the Rv. were evidently opulent, and there were greater and more famous kings than these).

that between the King and the common people there were intermediate ranks of a fighting nobility, analogous to the medieval knighthood of Europe or Rājput India. We must assume, for the Vedic (even Buddhistic) period, some such significance attaching to the well-known terms 'rājanya' and 'kṣatriya' (and other cognate words). Apart from this, it would appear that such a class is referred to in the 'ibhyas,' rich lords (in fact 'ibhya' later on¹ becomes a synonym for rich and noble), possessing retainers or elephants (privileges traditionally indicating lordliness),²—whom the King is said to devour as fire the forest.³ That the 'ibhyas' were nobles is quite clear, but what 'ibha' means is not equally so: Pischel and Geldner follow Sāyana and Mahidhara's comments on the word in some passages in making it equivalent to elephants⁴; but though this meaning is common later on, it is not so as we go back; for the Nirukta gives both elephant and retainer as equally good meanings,⁵ while the Aśokan inscriptions have it in the sense of 'vaiśya' or subordinate.⁶ This latter use is significant for it shows that 'ibha' really had a special political or constitutional meaning. Hence, in the R̥gvedic and Yajurvedic passages where it occurs,⁷ it is better to take it in the sense of retainers and vassals, with Roth, Ludwig and Zimmer⁸; this entourage⁹ may well have included, besides servants and dependents, members of the 'ibhya's' own family, and young cadets from subordinate families of chieftains (specially in the case of princes).¹⁰ The existence of such lords is indicated also by the use of 'veśa' in all the

1 Chānd. Upan. I, 10, 1, 2; etc. (Vide V. I., p. 80, for other refs.). Even here the sense may be 'grāma' belonging to an 'ibhya' or nobleman, and hence 'having retainers and elephants,' i.e., 'rich.'

2 The Greek writers noted this for India of their time; cf. the epic story of King Dhṛtarāṣṭra of the Kurus remonstrating with a brāhmaṇa for possessing an elephant.

3 Rv. I, 65, 4. (This relationship is a commonplace in 'Rājadharmā' tradition).

4 Sāy.^o and Mahi.^o on Taitt. Sam. I, 2, 14, 1 and Vāja. Sam. XIII, 9; with Pischel and Geldner: Ved. Stud. I, xv—xvi.

5 Nir. VI, 12.

6 Cf. Bühler: Z.D.M.G., 37, 279, on Edict. No. 5.

7 Rv. I, 84, 17; IV, 4, 1; IX, 57, 3; VI, 20, 8 (the Vedic proper name or title 'Smad-ibha' or Great Bran), Taitt. Sam. 1, 2, 14, 1; Vāja. Sam. XIII, 9.

8 Roth: Dick., s.v.; Ludwig: Trans. Rv. 3, 246—7; Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 167.

9 Cf. the 'upastī' (comp. to the epic 'upasthā' and medieval 'kāyastha') or dependents, clients proper of the King, not servile, but specially related, as opposed to ordinary subjects, including conquered tribal chiefs, ambitious men (like Sūtas and Grāmaṇis) and state officials. For references, vide V. I., 1, 96.

10 Cf. young princes of petty states in the entourage of the bigger King Javadratha, who serve him as standard-bearers, messengers, etc.,—in Mbh.

Sarphitās¹ in the sense of vassal tenant or dependent neighbour: Geldner² is content with the meaning of a neighbour or member of the same village community; but this view is not tenable, as 'veśya' in Rv.³ is used definitely in the sense of dependence, and 'vaiśya' in Taitt. Sam. plainly means servitude⁴ (besides other derivatives⁵ used in the Sarphitās with similar significance); again, the sense of neighbour belongs not to 'veśa' by itself but to 'prati-veśa,'⁶ (also used in the Sarphitās), literally 'fellow-vassal,' hence a neighbour, the earlier word for it being 'nahuṣ,' of Indo-germanic origin. That vassalhood to a lord was not uncommon is indicated by expressions (in the Atharva-veda and some Brāhmaṇas) like 'nātha-kāma' or 'nātha-vid,'⁷ referring to men seeking the protection of lords, probably much as the protection of Anglo-Saxon earls and Norman barons was sought by the ordinary freeholder or cultivator.⁸

Now it follows from all this, that from the early Vedic times onwards there existed something like a feudal military baronage, connected with kings on the one hand and dependent vassals on the other, wealthy enough to excite the cupidity of the former and enjoy princely prerogatives, and powerful enough to protect the vassals who sought them. All this however would be impossible without something like baronial strongholds or other similar specialized structure. Evidently these are to be found in some at least of the Vedic 'pura.' According to this view the invocation of the king (in the Rājasūya) as 'purām bhettā'⁹ gains appreciably in significance: an anti-baronial king fighting for suzerainty and order would certainly be better fitted for such eulogy than a simple 'breaker or sacker of cities,' which would be more to Assyrian taste. So also this view gives a better meaning to 'pur-pati' (of the Rv.)¹⁰ than that of a 'regular official, like "grāmañj,"

¹ Rv. IV, 3, 13; V, 85, 7; X, 49, 5 (prob.); Vāj. Sam. (Kāp); II, 5, 7; Mait. Sam. I, 4, 8; II, 3, 7; IV, 1, 13; AV. II, 32, 5; vide also notes 3-6 below.

² Geldner: Ved. Stud. 3, 135, note 4.

³ Rv. IV, 26, 3; VI, 61, 14.

⁴ Taitt. Sam. II, 3, 7, 1.

⁵ 'Vedās' and 'parivedās' in the sense of chief and subordinate tenants of the King, as opposed to 'Kṣullakaa' or petty proprietors, in Av. II, 32, 5; 'vedatva' in Kāth. Sam. XII, 5. (Cf. St.-Pet. Dict., s.v. 'veda' and 'vedatva').

⁶ Rv. X, 66, 13; Taitt. Sam. II, 6, 97; Vāj. Sam. XI, 75; Kāth. Sam. XXXVI, 9; Sat. Brā. IV, 1, 5, 2; Taitt. Upan. 1, 4, 3.

⁷ Av. XIII, 2, 37; XI, 1, 15; (cf. Pañc. Brā. XIV, 11, 23); Av. IV, 20, 9; IX, 2, 17; XVIII, 1, 13; Taitt. Brā. I, 6, 4, 1.

⁸ Cf. the Epic case of a robbed cattle-owner approaching Arjuna for protection; and the epic maxim that first a 'rājan' is to be selected or chosen, then a house may be established,—where 'rājan' is rather such a baron than the 'great king.'

⁹ Vide V.I., II, 219, for refs. to 'rāja-nāya' passages.

¹⁰ Rv. I, 173, 10; (cf. Ludwig: Trans. Br. S., 204; and V.I., II, 13-14.)

in charge of a permanently fortified settlement,' or 'a temporary commander of a temporary fort or garrison' (which latter is held to be more probable),—viz., 'lord of a castle,' an 'ibhya' or 'nātha.' Such a view is further supported by the fact that some of the 'purs' had names ascribed to them, such as Paṭharu,² Urjayanti,³ or Nārmini,⁴ while some of these names were derived from those of chieftains possessing them, e.g. from Narmin(a),⁵ or Sambara (his forts being called 'Sambaras' in neuter plural).⁶

('Purs' were owned as often by the chiefs of the earlier population as by the new-coming Vedic Aryans; Pipru of the 'black brood' possessed many forts,⁷ and we hear of the castles of Cumuri, Dhuni and others, in all probability Dāsa chiefs⁸; while to Sambara the Dāsa hero are ascribed 90, 99 or 100 'purs'.⁹ The real existence of the Dāsas as a distinct people¹⁰ in the R̥gvedic times seems to be beyond doubt. The Dāsas have their 'viśah,' and are classed as a 'varṇa'¹¹; they were often dwellers in the mountainous regions¹²; they had great wealth themselves,¹³ and wealthy Āryan chiefs were those who had 'dāsa-pravarga rayih' or wealth consisting of troops of 'dāsa' slaves¹⁴; and the women of the Dāsas are found as slave-girls and concubines.¹⁵ It is thus quite unnecessary to take Pipru, Sambara and others as other than real aboriginal but civilized Dāsa chieftains, whom the Vedic immigrants had found it not easy to dislodge from their numerous strongholds in the country. As however they were being ousted step by step, their forts would naturally pass into Āryan hands, and become Āryan baronial strongholds, whence the 'nāthas' and 'pur-patis' might protect the 'veśas.' Sometimes 'purs' may have formed parts of the 'grāmas' themselves¹⁶; in these

- 1 The rarity of the word does not necessarily prove the temporary character of the command; it is equally accounted for by the fact that naturally the *patis* would be less familiar with the 'pur-pati' than with the 'grāmapati'.
- 2 Rv. I, 112, 7 (Ludwig: Trans. Rv. 3, 304). (Sāyana takes it as a man's name).
- 3 Belonging to Nārmarā, a prince (Ludwig) or a demon (Roth: St. Pet. Dict. s.v.); Rv. II, 13, 8 (Ludwig: Trans. Rv. 3, 152).
- 4 Rv. I, 149, 3 (Ludwig: Trans. Rv., 3, 204).
- 5 Vide n. 4 above, and St. Pet. Dict. s.v.; (Oldenberg: Rv.-noten, I, 148; SBE. 46, 177).
- 6 V.L., II, 355.
- 7 Rv. I, 51, 5; VI, 20, 7.
- 8 Rv. VI, 18, 8 (cf. VI, 20, 13; 26, 6; IV, 30, 21; II, 13, 9; X, 113, 9; II, 15, 9; VII, 18, 4).
- 9 Rv. I, 130, 7; II, 19, 6; II, 14, 6; II, 24, 2.
- 10 Cf. Sambara as a real Dāsa, cf. Rv. I, 130, 7; IV, 30, 14; VI, 26, 5.
- 11 For references vide V.L., I, 356-358.
- 12 Rv. II, 12, 11; IV, 30, 14; VI, 26, 5.
- 13 Rv. I, 176, 4; IV, 30, 13; VIII, 40, 6; X, 68, 5; Av. VII, 20, 2.
- 14 Rv. I, 92, 8; cf. I, 153, 5 (Geldner: Rv.-glossar: 82).
- 15 Vide other notes re 'dāsi'.
- 16 As conjectured by Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 142, 143 (cf. 'grāma-durga's in Purāṇic tradition).

cases a whole clan or band of Aryans instead of mighty chiefs may have overpowered and entered into possession of some minor Dāsa stronghold, and then made it the basis of their 'grāma' settlement. On the whole the view of Zimmer, and others after him,¹ that Vedic India knew of nothing more solid and complex than the hamlet, like the early Germans and Slavs who had no castle-structures and town-life, is an extreme one; for it is now being realized more and more as a basic fact that the Vedic Indians, like the Irānians, Hellenes and Italians, were superimposed upon an earlier civilization,² in all probability of the same type (and maybe of cognate origins) as in the other three cases, and were similarly affected as regards religion, arts and crafts.³ The Germanic parallels therefore should not be carried too far.⁴ Thus it becomes quite reasonable to find in 'prthvī',⁵ 'urvī',⁶ 'śatabhuji',⁶ 'āsmamayī',⁷ or 'āyasi'⁸ 'purs', or the massive, extensive, hundred-walled, stone-built, or iron-protected forts, vivid descriptions of new and wonderful things the Vedic heroes actually saw; and the rather forced explanations discovering in them mysteries of myths and fancies of metaphor become unnecessary. The main difference, originally, between the Dāsa and the Aryan 'purs' must have lain in the materials used (which depended on the nature of the country they were familiar with), large sections of the former being acquainted with the Vindhyan and Central Indian granites⁹ and metal ores,¹⁰ the latter with timber-work mainly. But adaptations from one another seem to have occurred quite early: Suśna, apparently a Dāsa enemy, used 'pur carīṣṇu,' or small

¹ Summarized in V.I., I, 538-540.

² [Extensive remains of this earlier Indian civilisation (cir. 3,000 to 2,000 B.C.) have very recently been discovered in the Punjab and Sindh. Many of the suggestions and inferences in this work, based upon literary evidence chiefly, will be found to be remarkably corroborated by these archaeological discoveries. These also make it almost certain that the W. Asiatic or Minoan civilisations had much in common with this earliest Indian civilisation which was their source both racially and culturally. This field of investigation promises to be most fruitful for Purāṇic scholars and epigraphists.]

³ Thus it is demonstrable from traditional accounts that Vedic Brāhmaṇism itself was originally non-Aryan (cf. Pargiter: AIRT).

⁴ There is really very little of common conditions.

⁵ Rv. I, 189, 2.

⁶ Rv. I, 166, 8; VII, 15, 14.

⁷ Rv. IV, 36, 20.

⁸ Rv. I, 53, 8; II, 10, 18; 20, 8; IV, 27, 1; VII, 3, 7; 15, 4; 85, 1; X, 101, 8 (cf. Muir. Sans. T. 22; 378ff.).

⁹ Cf. n. 12, p. 16; (the hill-tracts referred to would appear to be mainly Vindhyan, if the traditions regarding the distribution of pre-Aila races are taken along with it; so also according to these traditions the Ailas came through North Himalayan regions into the plains just below, an area still famous for timber art and architecture).

¹⁰ Iron and copper smelting by using surface-coal is almost a pre-historic achievement of the Drāviḍo-Kolārian races of N.E. Deccan.

moveable forts,¹ evidently constructed of timber; it could only have been either erected on trucks with four or more wheels² to be drawn by horses or elephants, or composed of adjusted parts easily dismantled or put together, a sort of 'camp-tower'³; so also the Aryans had their 'pāṣya' or stone-bulwarks,⁴ but the use of this word to denote also 'the stone slabs for pressing 'soma,'⁵ shows that such defences were a later acquisition. 'Dehī,' a defensive construction of some sort,⁶ is used specially of non-Aryan defences, though not invariably; it might mean either hasty defences thrown up against an enemy, or more permanent earthworks and dykes, or rubble rampart and trench going together,—which last is the most suitable sense. It is likely that these 'dehis' are the 'sārādī' or 'autumnal' forts ascribed apparently to the Dāsas⁷; these may have been more or less temporary earthworks, ramparts or trenches, constructed every autumn to meet fresh campaigns of the Aryans⁸; but in the course of time 'dehis' found to be of strategical service would come to be permanently used.¹⁰

¹ Rv. VIII, 1, 2—8 (cf. Hillebrandt: Ved. Myth. 1, 300 n.; 3, 289 n.).

² Like the later 'rathas,' e.g. as represented at Kōpārak. Cf. temporary residences, like 'rathas,' built for kings in Rājāsūya sacrificial area,—in Mbh.

³ The construction may have been suggested by the 'ratha-vāhana' in common use in the Vedic age, which were moveable stands for chariots, probably drawn by horses ('ratha-vāhana-vāhas') into the battle-field, where the chariots were then used in action. With this may be compared the many-wheeled stands used in the same way even in the present day for the 'divine' 'rathas'; these 'rathas' on stands indicate what the 'pur carigaṇa' must have been like. This makes it probable that the references to more than 4 wheels for a chariot are not mythical in every case. Thus something like a many-wheeled 'pur carigaṇa' seems to have been thought of in Av. X, 2, 28ff, where the 'pur' of 'Brahman' is described as 8-wheeled and 9-doored. For 'ratha-vāhana,' vide:—Rv. VI, 75, 8; Av. III, 17, 3; Taitt. Sam. IV, 2, 5, 5=Kāth. Sam. XVI, 11=Mait. Sam. II, 7, 12=Vās. Dh. Sūt. II, 34, 35. Cf. also. Kāth. Sam. XXI, 10; Taitt. Brā. I, 7, 9, 6; Sat Brā. V, 4, 3, 23ff. For 'ratha-vāhana-vāha,' vide:—Taitt. Sam. I, 8, 20, 1; Taitt. Brā. I, 8, 4, 3; Kāth. Sam. XV, 9; Mait. Sam. II, 2, 1.

⁴ Rv. I, 56, 6.

⁵ Rv. IX, 102, 2 Macdonell: J.R.A.S. 1893, 457—458).

⁶ Rv. VI, 47, 2; VII, 6, 5 (cf. Schrader: Preh. Ant. 344; Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 143).

⁷ Rv. I, 131, 4; 174, 2; VI, 20, 10.

⁸ Rv. I, 103, 3; III, 12, 6; IV, 32, 10.

⁹ It may be possible to connect 'dehī' with 'dih,' with 'dih' to smear or plaster, and thus to take it as a mud wall; but it is noteworthy that 'd(ḍ)ihī' 'd(ḍ)ih,' 'dah' or 'dā,' are quite common-place names in Bengal, Bihār and Chotānāḍpur (regions where indigenous non-Aryan elements are often clearly traceable), have a similar implication of trench and ramparts, or a defensible area of high rugged ground (cf. the E. vern. expr. 'dah padī,' to get a wound like 'ditch and wall'). Probably the ancient place-name 'Vi-deha ('Gha)' is to be traced from a 'dehī' fort; cf. 'dā' in 'Vi-dāla,' 'Vai-dāli' or 'Vi-dāli,' in the same region.

¹⁰ Thus giving rise to place-names with 'dehī' or its cognate words (and possibly even with 'pur').

Autumn indeed has always been the traditional season for military ventures in India, when the rains cease and the country becomes fit for marches, and the tradition probably goes back to pre-Āryan experience; it is difficult to see the point of the usual explanation¹ that these structures were intended to afford shelter from the 'autumnal inundations' and were therefore of the nature of dykes.² On the other hand the 'purs' which might, like fort Patharu, be saved by rain-storms from being set on fire,³ or in the siege of which fire was used,⁴ or again, which were full of kine ('gomati'),⁵ were evidently timber-built and characteristically Āryan.⁶ The Vedic 'gomati purs' are the prototypes (or paratypes) of the Epic 'go-grhas,' or fortified, extensive, cowstalls, the scenes of many knightly ventures,—and possibly the 'go-puras' of later architecture⁷ are to be traced to this origin. The 'gomati purs' must have originally been protected merely by earthen ramparts, with timber palisade and ditch. In some cases the palisade of an Āryan 'pur' may have been only a hedge of thorn or a row of stakes⁸ fixed vertically and horizontally,⁹ serving to make the approach difficult for enemies: the Rgvedic 'durga'¹⁰ may have primarily meant some such 'pur,' with thorn-hedge, stakes and ditches as hindrances to approach, but the meaning of a regular fort or stronghold may suit the passages equally well.¹¹ 'Vapra,' so frequent later on, occurs in the Av. in the sense of rampart,¹²

1 E.g. in V.I.

2 For, firstly, no floods usually occur in the autumn; secondly, these floods are not formidable in Madhyadesa.

3 Rv. I, 112, 7.

4 Rv. VII, 5, 3.

5 Av. VIII, 6, 23.

6 Cf. the Epic (Bharata) 'go-grhas,' and the arrangements for the cattle of the Bharata clan (in Ait. Brā.; vide ante.).

7 The association of the 'divine bull' with later 'go-puras' may not be accidental.

8 Cf. Rv. X, 101, 8 (Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 143-145); also Bv. VIII, 53, 5 (Roth: Z. D. M. G., 48, 109).

9 This earlier fencing is represented in the later 'śāla-protected' cities known to the Upaniṣads, and in the massive Mauryan timber-palisades and stone railings.

10 Rv. V, 34, 7; VII, 25, 2.

11 In Rv. X, 86, 32=Av. XIV, 1, 64, 'durga' (difficult of approach and reached or passed by 'suga' ways) is used in a manner that indicates acquaintance with campaigns amidst hill-forts. Ancient place-names with 'durga' ('durg' or 'drag') are found chiefly in Central India and S. W. Deccān, and these are of strong rock-fortresses; this might throw some light on the type of forts meant by the Vedic 'durga.' Probably the epithets 'durgaba' (unapproachable) and 'girikṣit' (rock-render or rock-dweller) given to Māndhātā or other princes of his line) refer to such forts, sp. as acc. to Pur. tradition, Parakutsa and his brothers etc., are connected with Deccān expeditions, and Māndhātā also came into close contact with the S. W. Pāṇḍava etc. (cf. also the Ikṣvāku kingdom in the Narmada region, and the place-name Māndhātā=anc. Mahiṣmatī).

12 Av. VII, 71, 1 (Whitney: Trans. Av. 436-436).

but the reading is somewhat doubtful; while the equally familiar 'prākāra' occurs only in the Sūtras,¹ and is used to denote a walled mound supporting either a platform and gallery for spectators, or a palace ('prāsāda').

'Pur' and 'pura' in Vedic literature are probably not identical, as they are usually taken to be. 'Pura' in 'tripura'² and 'mahāpura',³ occurring in the Yv. Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, is evidently something much bigger: the reference is to cities with three 'purs' or three rows of fortifications and to great fortified cities, rather than to an ordinary 'pur' or fort with three concentric walls, and to a big fort only.⁴ This form 'pura,' again, occurs from the time of the Yv. onwards, when capital cities like Kāmpīla, had become familiar to brāhmaṇas; it is probable, however, that we have this form earlier still in the Rv., in the proper names 'Puraṃdhi' and 'Puraya',⁵ which, like the name 'Nagarin' in the Brāhmaṇas,⁶ may indirectly point to the existence of such 'puras' or cities⁷ in the earlier period. (On the ground

1 Sāṅkh. Sr. Sūt. XVI, 18, 14. (These stages may however only indicate the gradually growing familiarity of brāhmaṇas as a whole with a pre-existent court and city life;—which was clearly a late Vedic feature).

2 Taitt. Sam. VI, 2, 3; Kāth. Sam. XXIV, 10; etc. Sat. Brā. VI, 3, 3, 25; Ait. Brā. II, 11; Kauṣ. Brā. (in Ind. Stud. 2, 310).

3 Taitt. Sam. VI, 2, 3, 1; Kāth. Sam. XXIV, 10; Mait. Sam. III, 8, 1; Ait. Brā. I, 23, 2; Gop. Brā. II, 2, 7.

4 'Tripura' is actually the name of a N. W. Deccān city in Pur. tradition; so is 'Satpura' in the same region: both connected with much fighting and romantic tales regarding the Yādavas and their hostile neighbours, (cf. 'Daśa-pura,' also in the same region.).

5 Rv. I, 116, 13; VI, 63, 9; ('Puraṃdhi' occurs in other senses in Av. XIV, 50; Rv. I, 134, 3; Taitt. Sam. VII, 5, 18; etc.; vido infra.).

6 Ait. Brā. V, 30; Jaim. Upan. Brā. III, 40, 2.

7 'Puraṃdhi' is explained by Śāyana, as 'of great dhī'(!), and he takes 'vadhṛimati' as a proper name (which is unlikely); as a princess is referred to, 'pura' in 'Puraṃdhi' may appropriately be taken to mean 'city'; so also with 'Puraya' in 'Puraya,' the name of a king (who gives away horses, slaves, cars, and 'pakva,' or brick-built houses). Proper names with 'pura' are not uncommon in the Pur. dynastic lists. For the form 'Puraṃdhi,' cf. the later 'Puraṃdhri.' 'Puraṃdhi' seems to have meant "residing within a 'pura' or fortified capital," i.e. a noblewoman or princess, such as 'Vadhṛimati' was; for this sort of designation cf. 'Subhadrā Kāmpilavāsini' of Yv. and 'Subhadrā Dvārakāvāsini' of the Epic., Keith translates 'Puraṃdhi' in Taitt. Sam. VII, 5, 18, by 'prolific woman'; but as the prayer there is for 'this kingdom, where the birth of a prince, an archer, a hero, a 'rathī' and a 'sabheya' youth, is also desired,—'Puraṃdhi' in this group must correspond to 'sabheya' and mean what was later called 'nāgarikā'; cf. Rv. I, 134, 3, where a 'Puraṃdhi' maiden is awakened at night by her lover's visit. In the Av. (XIV, 1, 50) where a 'Puraṃdhi' is invoked in the marriage rites, the sense of 'prolific woman' might suit, but it is more probable that it means there the guardian female deity of the 'pura,' and as such (like Jarā-devī of the Māgadha capital in the Epic) a fertility goddess.

of the late occurrence of 'nagara' it has been held that city-life was not developed in Vedic period, and that possibly there were no towns.¹ But 'nagara', city, occurs definitely in an *Āraṇyaka*,² which means a good deal, as it implies that the fame of the 'nagara' was wide and longstanding enough to have awakened interest even among the brāhmanas in the 'aranyas';³ then again, it is quite clear from the occurrence of 'Nagarin',⁴ resident of a 'nagara' or capital city, as a proper name, and of 'Kauśāmbeya' (native of Kauśāmbi city) as an epithet,⁵ that cities were in existence in the earlier Brāhmaṇa period.⁶ But at this point we lose sight of the 'nagara.' At the same time, from the Brāhmaṇas backwards up to the Yv. Samhitās, we find a substitute, the 'pura',⁷ while we also get well-known names of cities for the period.⁸ Going further back, the city is no longer to be distinguished as such, but still there is the 'pur', 'durga', and other cognate settlements involving many different structural types and grades. The inevitable conclusion is that the 'pur' is the prototype,⁹ the 'pura' is the developed city, and the 'nagara' is the full-fledged capital city. (It is to be noted that the sense of any ordinary town for 'nagara' is quite a modern one; even in classical literature 'nagara' always stands for the imperial capital, at any rate one claiming such status or traditions. This makes it quite probable that the first occurrence of 'nagara' in the Brāhmaṇa and *Āraṇyaka* age does not mean the first coming into existence of towns, but simply marks a stage in the history of Indian cities⁹ and of the struggle for overlordship among the principalities and peoples of Northern India following Vedic settlement, the principal 'pura' of the paramount tribe or state being designated 'nagara,' like 'naga' or rocks,¹⁰ by way of pre-eminence in strength, or probably by way of reference to its stone walls or towers. The references in the Upaniṣads to 11- or 9-gated

1 Vide V.L., I, 536-540.

2 Taitt. Āraṇ. I, 11, 18; 31, 4.

3 Cf. the brāhmanical notice of Ayodhyā as a 'grāma.'

4 Vide ante.

5 Sat. Brā. XII, 2, 2, 13; Gop. Brā. I, 2, 24.

6 Vide ante.

7 E.g. Kāmpīla, Asandivant; Varanāvati (Av. IV, 7, 1), or Kauśāmbi above.

8 Also a wider class; 'pura' existed in the time of Brā. and Upan. also; e.g. Taitt. Brā. I, 7, 7, 5; Ait. Brā. I, 23; II, 11; Sat. Brā. III, 4, 4, 3; VI, 3, 3, 25; XI, 1, 1, 2-3; Chānd. Upan. VIII, 5, 3; etc.

9 (Compare the account given in Märk. Pur. (xlix, 41f.) of the development of civilization. Here the 'pura' (big fortified town) is regarded as succeeding 'fortresses' in time, and preceeding the royal capital 'nagara'.)

10 Capital cities and royal castles (e.g. descr. of Indraprastha) are always compared to rocks and peaks in the Epic.

citadels¹ thus reveals a new appropriateness, in the comparison of the proud and striving 'bodies' of the individual and of the corporate tribe; it becomes unnecessary to see in such 'puras' mere forts, and then to hold that 9 or 11 gateways are fanciful, their number depending on the nature of the body which is compared²; no doubt only one gate in a city is mentioned in a Brāhmaṇa,³ but a comparison with 9- or 11-gated cities could hardly have occurred to people who had never seen more than one gate to a city; they may not have seen precisely 9 or 11 gates, but any other number, say 8 or 12, which is more probable,⁴ as the earliest references to town plans, e.g., in the Mānasāra, Megasthenes, or actual remains,—while they are all subsequent to the period in question,—all point to the number of gateways being 4, 8, or multiples of 4 even up to 64.⁵)

(The capital city, 'pura' or 'nagara' must have belonged to some king or ruling family; and we should expect to find ample references to the special edifices connected with them; but such allusions are rather general and meagre, until we come to the close of the Vedic period. It is not that court and city life did not exist in the Vedic age, while it did in the Epic; it is rather a superficial appearance due to the fact that the Rv. and other priestly literature had much less to do with court life⁶ than the epics and the Kṣatriya traditions had; thus when we come to special sections of the Yv. Saṃhitās,⁷ which have some bearing on things regal, some more details do come forth. The Rv. knows of such a thing as a King's palace, and Varuṇa has one.⁸ The 'harmya,' primarily denoting⁹ the Vedic house as a unity, including stables, etc.,¹⁰ very soon

1 Kāth. Upan. V, 1 (11); Svetāś. Upan. III, 18 (9); (cf. Schrader: *Preh. Ant.* 412; Muir: *Sans. T.* 5, 451; Weber: *Ind. Stud.* I, 229; Ludwig: *Trans. Rv.* 3, 203).

2 Keith: *Ait. Arap.* 185.

3 Sat. Brā. XI, 1, 1, 2, 3.

4 The point of the comparison lies in the odd numbers 9 and 11,—for the real 'puras' had gates of even number,—i.e. 4 or multiples of 4.

5 (Which was the number for Pāṭaliputra; 4 gates were a corollary to the very ancient Indian plan, of cross-roads running in cardinal directions; and this would be the minimum, which could be embellished in multiples.)

6 The only occasions of contact being bestowal of gifts, and even that contact was not with the greater kings known to tradition, but mostly with petty local chieftains. It is to be noted that as soon as Vedic priests come into intimate contact with flourishing Kuru-Pāṇḍava courts,—subsequently,—they mention Kāmpīla and Āśandivant and various other court details (vide infra).

7 E.g. in connection with the Rājasūya; vide infra.

8 Rv. II, 41, 5; VII, 88, 8.

9 Probably 'harmya' denotes a big man's establishment from the beginning. Cf. its association with the stabling, fences or walls, and 'vishāḥ' who are its inmates (Rv. I, 121, 1).

10 Rv. I, 166, 4; IX, 71, 4; 78, 3; X, 43, 3; 78, 10; etc.; stabling etc.,—Rv. VII, 56, 16; cf. X, 106, 5.

added on the qualification of being protected by a palisade or wall¹; and in the Rv. itself we find a 'harmyestha²' prince standing probably on the roof, or rather the balcony, of his palace,³ just as any later Indian king would do to please his people. When the Av. thinks of a residence for Yama, it is a 'harmya.'⁴ The specialized structure of 'prāsāda' is however, explicitly referred to rather late in the post-Vedic literature.⁵ But it is clearly indicated in the earlier occurrence of 'ekaveśman',⁶ the towering prominent abode of the king as contrasted with the numerous houses of the people.⁷

A quadrangular style of palace-structure (comparable with the old town-plan of 4 roads and gateways or multiples of them) is known as a main primary type in the Purāṇas (which appear to have got their technical information in common with the 'Śilpa-sāstras' from some earlier special treatise, and whose compilers, the Sūtas, were also specialist builders to kings),⁸—and this is termed 'vairāja'.⁹ It is perhaps pertinent to see in 'vairāja' a reference to the sort of 'harmyas' or residences the early Vedic chiefs raised for themselves on attainment of 'vairājya' or paramountcy of some sort; 'virāj' is a royal title in the Rv. and Av.,¹⁰ and is well recognized in Purāṇic tradition; but in Ait. Brā. it is said at that time to have been used in Uttara-Kuru and Uttara-Madra only¹¹; hence, either the 'vairāja' type of palace-construction (known to the Purāṇas) was introduced into Indian Midlands (in the 8th century B.C.) from these Himālayān regions (whence the model form of Sanskrit speech also was derived in that age), or the style

1 Rv. VII, 55, 6.

2 Rv. VII, 55, 16 (Geldner: Ved. Stud. 2, 278, n. 2; Alt. Leb. 149).

3 Av. XVIII, 4, 55.

4 Adbhūta Brā., in Ind. Stud. 1, 40; cf. 'prākāra' and 'prāsāda' rising on it: Sāṅkh. Gr. Sūta XVI, 18, 14.

5 Sat. Brā., I, 3, 2, 14.

6 Thus the chief architect to Janamejaya III (the Great) was a Paurāṇika Sūta (Mbh.). It probably indicates that palace-architecture and fortifications were pre-eminently a Magadhan development.

7 Gar. Pur. XLVII, 19ff. (re palaces).

8 For refs. vide V.I., II, 304.

9 Ait. Brā. VIII, 14, 3; this particular seems to be historically significant, as in the time of the Ait. Brā. (vide Fargiter: A.H.T. 336, etc.) the (Southern) Kurus and Madras had ceased to exist as kingdoms, the former uniting with the Pāṇḍavas and ever retreating eastwards, the latter being lost altogether; the Kuru-Pāṇḍava Kings used the simple title of 'rāja,' as compared with the Eastern rulers, showing that they had decayed considerably.

was a more ancient one, continued even after the passing away of 'virāt'-ships of the early Vedic and Epic period:

Some details regarding the Vedic Kings' palace occur incidentally in connection with the court ceremonial of Rājasūya.¹ During this the 'ratna-havis' rite was performed at the houses of the King's 'Ratnins,'—something like a cabinet of King's Friends, including the chief Queen and the Household Officers.² These Ratnins' houses must have been round about or adjacent to the King's palace,³ being in the same royal and sacrificial area; and the separate houses of the sacrificing King's 'maṁṣi,' 'vāvātā,' and 'parivṛkti,' indicate the existence of a complex palace of the harem type. It is noteworthy that both these particulars are borne out by the details of the Mahābhāratan court, traditionally assigned to about the same period as the compilation of the Yv. Samhitās.⁴ Of the different offices a 'Kṣattr' at the royal court might fill,⁵ the Satapatha names that of 'antahpurādhyakṣa' or 'harem-superintendent' (which might be polished into 'chamberlain'), thus implying a full-fledged palace establishment. This is also indicated by the other alternative functions of the Kṣattr, who might be the 'gate-keeper' (of the palace), with assistants called 'anukṣattr,'⁶ or the 'distributor of the King's gifts, etc.' Here also the epic accounts agree as to the functions of the Kṣattr, and the elaborate court-life implied.⁷ Thus it may reasonably be concluded that what is hinted at in the meagre references of the priestly texts is only given in full in the Epic, quite naturally. It is also noteworthy that chiefly those details *re* royal establishments are given in the former, with which a sacrificial priesthood would be most

1 Taitt. Sam. I, 8, 9, 15; Taitt. Brā. I, 7, 31ff; Sat. Brā. V, 3, 1, 15.—Mait. Sam. II, 6, 5; IV, 3, 8; Kāth. Sam. XV, 4.

2 This group of King's Ratnas is practically the same in Kṣatriya tradition also. Cf. Vāyu. 57, 70.

3 The plan is fully traditional; so also in Mughal imperial seats, where many early Hindu plans and symbolism were adapted (vide Havell), the houses of the chief advisers and nobles were blocks in the same palace area, along with the separate establishments of the chief queens and princesses.

4 Vide Pargiter: AHT, pp. 318, '20, '21, '23, '24, etc.

5 Vide details of refs. in V.I. I, 201; the function of 'disburser,' in Rv., Av., etc.; that of 'gate-keeper,' in Yv. and early Brā.s.

6 Vāya Sam. XXX, 11; 13.

7 Cf. the case of Vidura, who filled the first and the last offices at the Kuru and Pāṇḍava courts from time to time.

acquainted; thus, again, Janamejaya-Pārikṣita's capital is called by the general epithet of 'Āsandivant' (possessing the throne),¹ instead of the famous Hāstinepura, showing that these brāhmanas were usually shown into a 'throne'-room or audience-hall of the King, and that was all that they saw of the court; the other things striking them being, the awful 'gate-keeper' with his staff, the royal disburser of gifts which they appreciated, and the 'harem-superintendent' who conveyed to them reverence and presents from the court ladies.²

One of the King's 'council' of 'Ratnins' was a 'Grāmaṇi' which post was the highest ambition of the prosperous 'Vaiśyas'³; he may have been elected or nominated from the many 'grāmaṇīs' of the state.⁴ This makes it quite possible that through these selected and aspiring 'grāmaṇīs' imitations of the royal court, and its style and structures spread into their respective 'grāmas' and 'mahā-grāmas'⁵ (the bigger villages or townships).⁶ Thus a 'grāma' also had its 'sabha',⁷ where the 'grāmyā-vādin' held court; some 'grāmas' may also have had 'pura',⁸ where the 'pur-pati,' a 'nātha' or 'ibhya,' would play the king.

Apart from these, the 'grāmas' must have had other constructive activities (individual or joint), of maintaining

1 Ait. Brā. VIII, 21; Sat. Brā. XIII, 5, 4, 2; cf. Śaikh. Śr. Sūtr. XVI, 9, 1.

2 These points are copiously illustrated in all traditional stories regarding the connections between brāhmanas or ṛṣis and the courts.

3 Taitt. Sam. II, 5, 4, 4; Mait. Sam. I, 6, 5; cf. Weber: Ind. Stud. 10, 20, n. 2; also Sat. Brā. V. 3, 1, 5. For references to the post of 'grāmaṇi' in Rv., Yv., Av. and Brās., vide V.I., I, 247, n. 25-28 and 31.

4 It is however possible that the 'grāmaṇi' here is the 'mayor of the capital city'; if Ayodhyā could be called a 'grāma,' a city official also could be called a 'grāmaṇi' by retired ṛṣis knowing no better.

5 Jaim. Upan. Brā. III, 13, 4.

6 The idea of introducing styles of the capital city into other towns and villages is quite ancient, being referred to in the Vāts. Kā. Sūtra as one of the primary functions of the metropolitan 'gṛsthis' (a much earlier institution).

7 Also 'samiti' and 'āmantraṇa': vide ante.

8 The ancient Kātriya ballads (e.g. re Prthu) in the Pur. mention 'grāma-durgas' as unnecessary or disappearing under a strong ideal king; these would thus seem to have been something like 'adolescent castles.'

the interconnecting¹ roads,² or setting up grain-stores.³ References to structural forms in the Vedic village are in fact fairly numerous,⁴ though nowhere described systematically. Thus 'khala'⁵ (floor of the granary), 'upānasa'⁶ and 'ūrdara'⁷ (granary) indicate grain-storing arrangements in the village for the earlier period also. The village well ('avata',⁸ 'kūpa'⁹) had already its mechanism of water-wheels,¹⁰ etc.; and dams¹¹ ('vartra')¹² were constructed to form tanks.¹³ These structures could not have been of a rude primitive type, as the Āryans must have found these agricultural and irrigation arrangements already fully developed in the Dravidian village communities.¹⁴

The house construction outlined in the Atharvaveda¹⁵ evidently refers to the ordinary type of dwelling-house in a village settlement, such as a brāhman would either himself possess,¹⁶ or consecrate with mantras for the villagers under his ministration. Such a house was apparently characterized by these features: -(1) 'Upamit's 'pratimit's and 'parimit's: which seem to mean timber pillars and beams, in various

1 Chānd. Upan. VIII, 6, 2.

2 In the Jātakas irrigation works are the joint concern of more than one settlement (e.g. of Sākyas and Koliyas).

3 Bṛhad. Upan. VI, 3, 13. These grain-stores must have been (as they are even now sometimes) quite large and complex structures, of timber and bamboo, plastered walls and raised platform or stone bases, cylindrical, and with round dome-shaped top; a late medieval brick and stone model of such a capacious 'golā' ('round') is the famous imposing 'gol-ghar' of Pātāṇ; there may have been other masonry 'golās' in earlier times also; it is very likely that one of the sources of the 'stūpa' style is this village grain-store (with 'precious deposits') guarded with fencing, which was translated into stone. This might account for the 'Yakṣa' and 'Sri' sculptures in the early Stūpa architecture. (Sri as a goddess is known to Sat. Brā-).

4 Vide ante for explanation.

5 Rv. X, 48, 7 (Nir. III, 10); cf. Av. XI, 3, 9; VIII, 6, 15; Mait. Sam. II, 9, 6.

6 Av. II, 14, 2; cf. Rv. X, 105, 4; the sense is a probable one; (cf. 'mahānasa').

7 Rv. II, 14, 11 (Sāyana).

8 Vide V.I., I, 39-40.

9 In Rv. and onwards; vide V.I., I, 177.

10 Cf. 'kūakra' (so taken by Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 157): Rv. X, 102, 11. 'Sūda' (in Rv. VII, 36, 3; IX, 97, 4; and in 'sūda-dhas', VIII, 69, 3) may be well. 'Parsu' in Rv. I, 105, 8; X, 33, 2) may mean the masonry sides of a 'kūpa' with metal fittings, or ribbed, so as to resemble sickles. Similar ancient burnt clay pipes for shielding the sides of wells may be seen in the Pātāṇ Museum.

11 Cf. 'sūzmi' (in Rv.) = water-pipes, and dug out water channels for irrigation.

12 Or 'varta'. Av. I, 3, 7; Taitt. Br. I, 6, 9, 1.

13 'Var', from Rv. onwards; 'veśantā' (and variants) from Av. onwards; vide V.I., II, 237 and 326, respectively.

14 For the Dravidian basis of Āryan villages, vide Baden-Powell.

15 Av. IX, 3; III, 12.

16 It seems that purchase of such a house "with an 'udara' of treasures" is referred to in Av. IX, 3, 15.

positions, vertical, horizontal and slanting.¹ (2) 'Vamśa's: entire bamboos, probably used mainly for the framework of the roofing, the central horizontal bamboo, supported on the 'sthānā' or main pillar, being pre-eminently the 'vamśa'. (3) 'Akṣu': either, the wicker-work or split-bamboo lining, over which the thatch was laid,² and to which the description of 'thousand-eyed' could aptly be applied; or, a net, spread over the 'viśūvant', to keep the straw-bundles of the thatch intact during stormy weather.³ (4) 'Palada'⁴ and 'tṛṇa': bundles of hay, straw, or long reedy grass, for the 'chadis' (thatch), and probably for filling in or lining the walls. (5) 'Viśūvant': the ridge on the top of the roofing, looking like parted hair.⁵ (6) Various 'ties' joining the parts together, which evidently refer to bamboo and cane or rope work⁶; and 'śikya'⁷: suspensory arrangements (like slings of strong net,

1 This is more probable than bamboo posts and props, as 'vamśa' is separately mentioned; so also in Rv. I, 59, 1 and IV, 5, 1, 'upamit' = pillar, probably of timber. Cf. the similar feature in the Bengal 'stālā'.

2 This term became early a technical one, denoting the main beam or ridge of any structure: e.g. the architectural sections of some Purāṇas know of the 'vamśa' of a fort or palace, where it cannot mean bamboo. Cf. the sense of 'beam' in Śākā. Āraṇ. VIII, 1 and in 'śālā-vamśa', Ait. Āraṇ. III, 2, 1.

3 This is better than 'thatched covering' or 'pole with countless holes'; it corresponds to the 'cāṭāi' and 'jāli' of modern structures; cf. the current description 'cokh-cokh' ('with many eyes') of such wicker-work linings.

4 'Thousand-eyed' would apply equally to such covering net, which may have been of ropes or split-cane; this sense is perhaps better, as 'akṣu' is said to the stretched as 'opadā' on the 'viśūvant', so that the net would correspond to the finer net used to hold together the coiffure and stray curls.

5 With 'palada' and the cognate forms 'palāli' (= 'yava' -straw: Av. II, 8, 3), 'palāva' (Av. XII, 3, 19; Jaim. Upan. Br. I, 54, 1), and 'palāla' (= straw: Kauś. Sūtr. LXXX, 27), may be compared the Eastern vernacular 'powāl', also a term specially used in house-building. A long grass, 'śirki' is still used in N. Bihār for such protective linings.

6 (As it actually does even now, the cut ends of the bundles of hay along the top being turned inside down and bound, so that the loose ends fall on either side. For the simile, cf. the 'akṣu' spread over the roof is like an 'opadā' (woman's coiffure); the house itself is likened to a 'vadhū' (and carried like her, on waggons probably, when dismantled); it (i.e. its spirit) is addressed as 'mānasya patni', and is 'clothed' in grass, etc.; and the wife enters the new house first. (So also in subsequent thought the wife is 'grhiṇī' as well as 'grha'. Cf. 'the nest upon nest and vessel upon vessel' of the Av. verse in connection with this house).)

7 E.g. 'saṁdampśa', 'prāṇāha', etc.

8 The modern 'śike' (Beng.), suspended from the roof to hold vessels and gourds, etc.; they are sometimes made of woven cane and ornamental designs. This may well have been the origin of the 'ornamental hangings' of later classical styles, as illustrated in Ajanta cave temples, just as the whole of this type of dwelling-house is the source of many later stone-architectural features.

* Griffith's Ajanta Plates, No. 6, 10, 13; and Koenig's Karpūrasaṁjari, n. p. 289, referred to in Whitney and Lemmon: Av. p. 686, where 'śikya' is taken as such 'ornamental hangings'.

etc.). (7) 'Ita' which must be fine clay or unbaked bricks, rather than 'reedwork,'¹ used to finish off the walls, or floor or basement. (8) Several side-rooms with a central hall² (as indicated by 'pakṣas,' 'wings,'³ 'agniśāla,' the hall of

- 1 With this 'ita' cf. the Eastern vern. forms 'it' (W. Beng.), 'itā' (E. Beng. and Bihār, etc.), 'itāwā' (S. Bihār and Ch. Nāgpur). That 'it' originally meant 'clay,' is shown by the expressions 'kāñcā it' and 'pākā it' (= 'pakva'), and the term 'eṭel' or 'āitlā' used of fine river clay, suitable for bricks. Unburnt bricks and such clay are still used to finish and line the reed-walls or wattle. 'Ita' occurs in only another passage of Av. VI, 14, 3.* In both the Av. passages, 'ita' = clay (or unbaked brick in IX, 3) suits better than the usual rendering of bulrush or reeds; in VI, 14, 3. it would mean the river-clay or silt washed away every year, and in the other passage it would mean the clay-plastering or 'kāñcā-it'-facing, which had to be dismantled while the doors were taken off (cf. the application of the verse in Kauś. Sūt., 66, 24). It is evident that this 'ita' 'it', etc.) has been Sanskritised into 'istaka' by analogy; the original word seems to have been pre-Āryan, with an r or l associated with the t, the relic of which may be seen in 'eṭel' and 'āitlā' (and place-names like 'Itli' (Beng.) or 'Itārsi' (C. P.)). So also, in Tāmīl (in the mod. form of which 't' is pronounced 'ḍ'), 'it(ḍ)a,+ means to 'dig or dig out'; and 'ita-ppu' and 'ita-van' (with which cf. 'itāwā' above, the place-names 'Itāwā' (south U. P.) and 'Idāvā' (Travancore), and Tāmīl 'idam' = site, house) mean 'clod of earth.' The Tāmīl for brick is 'ittikā'; probably this is the original of 'istakā'; cf. the curious question in Śat. Brā. X, 5, 1, 5, as to the (fem.) form 'istakā', and its fanciful answer: the real explanation is the original Dravidian form 'ittikā' (or the like,—the ending representing the Tām. suffix 'vakā'). The use of clay and bricks therefore would seem to have been a Dravidian feature (of the Gangetic country) early introduced amongst the Vedic Aryans. (This is confirmed by the curious Atharvavedic invocation of the dwelling-house as 'Idā' in the marriage ritual (Av. XIV, 2, 19); this 'Idā' of course corresponds to the Dravidian forms meaning dwelling-house, traces of which may be found in the very ancient place-names of Mithilā (= Mithi + ilā), Kāmpilla (= Kāmpi + illu; cf. Māvelā), or (the city) Kṛmīlā (= Kṛmi + ilā); cf. 'Vi-deha (°gha)' and 'Vai-sālī' (vide ante); cf. also Tāmīl 'illu' = house, 'ida' = royal seat, 'ida-vakā' = principality, parish or abode, 'ida til' = in the 'seat' or homestead, etc.)

The Rgvedic proper name 'Ita' may well be derived from 'it,' to wander, and would properly apply to a 'yāyāvara' ṛṣi: Bv. X, 171, 1; cf. 'Itant Kāvya': Kauś. Brā. VII, 4; Pañc. Brā. XIV, 9, 16.

Is this connected with 'idā' = sacrifice, which involved digging out? cf. 'utkara' = the waste earth thrown up by such sacrificial digging, and the detailed digging 'mantras' in the Yv. sacrificial ritual.

The features noticed here are characteristic of the famous 'Bāṅglā' (bungalow) style.

Cf. the 'pakṣas' of a 'śālā' in: Kāth. Sam. XXX, 5; Taitt. Brā. I, 2, 3, 1; such a side-room was probably the 'āgara'; Av. IV,

the fire-altar,¹ 'havirdhāna,' the (sacrificial) store-room, and 'patninām sadana,' women's apartments ('site and seat'), and with a covered 'verandāh' running all around the house,² at the four corners of which were four thick-set pillars, probably of clay and rubble, or bricks³; altogether a 'bṛhachandas'⁴ house, on a large scale and of ample proportions, covered by a 'many-winged'⁵ roofing. The prominence of bamboo, wicker-work, straw, and various 'ties' in the construction, and other peculiarities noted above,⁶ clearly point to the lower Gangetic origin of this style.⁷ It is very remarkable that the Atharvaveda which describes it, is pre-eminently a book of the Āṅgirasas, who are definitely located in and associated with the very same lower Gangetic provinces in Purāṇic tradition.⁸ Thus the Av. style of housing is Eastern⁹

1 This must have been the central room (cf. Agni as embryo within the many-winged house), to escape dangers of fire,—and also the front room which would be first entered (as is shown by many incidental references, e.g., in the Epics); it was also the Vedic sitting-room, from the connection of the fire-altar with the sabhā. The 'havirdhāna' would be either the adjoining back-room, or one of the smaller side-rooms, where the 'soma vehicle' could be dragged up and housed.

2 At least along the front and back, if a 2-'winged' house.

3 The 'verandāh' and 4 thick pillars are inferable from the description in Av. IX, 3, 17:—"covered with 'trpa' and clothed in 'palada,' the 'niveśani' is like a she-elephant with feet"; here the reference is evidently to the elephant with its fringed trappings and stout thick set legs, always clay-covered and clay-hued; the pillars could not have been of timber, for heavy timber work is incompatible with the 'bamboo' style; thus it is better to take them as rubble or raw-brick pillars; they cannot have been the 'upamils,' for these along with the slanting beams and the resultant angles would be filled in by walls (wattle or clay), so that they would be undistinguishable as four thick legs; thus these 'legs' were independent corner-pillars, which, being under the same thatch (=the elephant's body, whose very curve of the back is like the ridge of such a house), necessarily implies the 'verandāh' border, a characteristic feature of the Gangetic style.

4 'Chandas' here may be compared with 'chāḍ' (Beng.), a parallel structural term, implying the ideas of proportion, scale, or measurement, which is also the sense of 'chandas' as applied to prosody; besides, as grains and cattle, as well as men are included within this 'bṛhachandas' house, 'proportions' would suit better than 'roof,' cf. also the 'atichandas' and other 'chandas' bricks of Yv. altar construction.

5 2, 4, 6, 8, or 10 'wings' (implying as many 'rooms'); cf. the division of structures in Bengal according to 'roofing': 'do-cālā' (a poor man's house); 'cau-cālā' (a thriving villager's house), and 'āt-cālā' (a big open hall, used as the village 'sabhā').

6 Vide foot-notes above.

7 It is not necessary to go to the Nilgiri Todās for the Vedic type of dwelling-house or for the originals of cave architecture (cf. V.I., I, 231).

8 The significance of this point has been illustrated in several other sections of this dissertation.

9 This may be the significance of the 'first homage to the greatness of the house' being paid from the 'prācya' quarter (Av. IX, 3, 25).

(i.e. Deltaic) and Āngirasa (brāhmaṇic); but it may have been very early introduced into other parts of N. India,¹ with the westward progress of the Āngirasa and other Eastern groups.² Accordingly, references to some of its features are not rare in other parts of the Vedic literature as well.³

But this type of dwelling-houses cannot have been the only one in the Vedic ages, and other varieties must have developed according to regional conditions, etc. This is indicated by references to the use of materials other than the characteristically deltaic, for various structural purposes, e.g., of timber, burnt bricks, stone or metal; and by mentions of other 'parts' of houses, not named or prominent in the sketch of the above type. Thus doors and pillars do not form a special feature in this, but they are very frequently referred to in Vedic literature, and lead to various figurative uses. 'Dur,'⁴ the earlier and commoner word for door,⁵ has an

¹ According to Chinese accounts (Ssu-mā-chien's Hist. of Ch'ang-kien's career and embassies), bamboos were imported from the Gangetic Delta as far up as the outlying North Western region of Tā-hiā (Bactria), as early as the 2nd century B.C., when it was regarded as a very ancient trade. The source of this overland and maritime trade in bamboos, etc. was S. China and adjacent Indo-China. (This agrees with the affinity between East Indian and Indo-Chinese types of house-structure, and the fact that Further-Indian bamboos (being more solid) are still used in house-structures in some parts of Bengal).

² Vide Pargiter: AHT., p. 219ff.

³ Eg.—'Vamśa': bamboo rafters or beam (Rv. I, 10, 1; Mait. Sam. IV, 8, 10, etc.). 'Akṣu': (Rv. I, 180, 5 (prob.)). 'Sikya': (apart from Av. XIII, 4, 8, in) Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 4, 2, 3; 6, 9, 1; etc.; Śat. Brā. V, 5, 4, 28; VI, 7, 1, 16. Also 'chadis' (covering) and 'upamit',—rather more general terms, not restrictable to the above type. ('Chadis': Taitt. Sam. VI, 2, 8, 4; 10, 5, 7; Vāj. Sam. V, 28; Ait. Brā. I, 29. Śat. Brā. III, 5, 3, 9, etc. Cf. 'chadis' of bridal wagon: Rv. 86, 10. 'Upamit': Rv. I, 59, 1; IV. 5, 1). But 'ita' and 'palada,' etc., do not occur elsewhere. 'Atā' may be a primitive Aryan word, but the fact that it is used of "the doors of the sky," shows that the Vedic poet had in mind not a rectangular timber framework for the wooden door, but rather a vaulted or arched framework of bamboo (cf. the style represented at the entrances to caves and cave temples), such as would properly belong to the above style ('Atā': Rv. I, 66, 5; 113, 14; III, 43, 6; IX, 5, 5; Vāja. Sam. XXIX, 5). The door-fittings indicated by 'sydman' ('door-strap': Rv. III, 6, 1, 4), and 'dvāra-pidhāna' ('door-binder': Śat. Brā. XI, 1, 1, 1), are referable to the same style, while 'argala' and 'iṣṭkā' ('bar and pin' of cow-pen: Śākā. Arap. II, 6) would rather belong to timber structures; (cf. 'vraja' constructed of 'advattha' wood). The frequent use of 'grha' in the plural to designate the house (vide the many refs. in V.I. I, 228) shows that a number of rooms was a common feature; this may have been due to the early adoption of the above style of house-building with a number of 'pakṣa's (two to ten).

⁴ Rv. I, 68, 10; 113, 4; 121, 4; 188, 5; etc.

⁵ 'Dvār' in Rv. I, 13, 6; Av. VIII, 3, 29; XIV, 1, 63; Vāja. Sam. XXX, 10; Śat. Brā. XI, 1, 1, 2; etc.; 'dvāra' in Av. X, 8, 43 (nava-dvāra); and Ait. Brā. onwards.

implied sense of the whole house,¹ and 'durya' (doorposts),² 'duryoṇa'³ and 'duruṇa',⁴ all signify the house itself; such use is an indication that much was thought of the timber doorway, on which was probably lavished all the skill of the Vedic carpenter and carver.⁵ 'Skambha,' pillar (of timber),⁶ is often used figuratively; the somewhat later 'stambha'⁷ was probably sometimes a brick or stone one; 'sthāṇu'⁸ (the prominence of which is indicated in the use of 'sabhāsthāṇu') and 'sthūpā'⁹ are other quite common and early names for pillars (of houses or other structures), made of timber as well as other materials¹⁰; and the 'sthūpā-rāja'¹¹ must belong to a biggish complicated structure. Smaller timber posts were 'svaru's¹² and 'yūpa's,¹³ used as

1 Thus 'dur-ya' (in masc. pl.) = 'belonging to the door, or to the house': Rv. I, 91, 19; X, 40, 12; Taitt. Sam. 1, 6, 3, 1; Vāj. Sam. I, 11.

2 (In fem. pl.) 'durya' = dwelling or doorposts: Rv. IV, 1, 9, 18; 2, 12; VII, 1, 11.

3 Rv. I, 174, 7; V, 29, 10; 32, 8.

4 Rv. III, 1, 18; 25, 5; IV, 13, 1; V, 76, 4; etc. Av. VII, 17, 3; Vāj. Sam. XXXIII, 72, etc.

5 For such skilled artisans, cf. 'takṣan's: Rv. X, 86, 5; Av. XIX, 49, 8; cf. Rv. I, 161, 9; III, 60, 2; 'tvaṣṭr': Av. XII, 3, 33; also 'taṣṭr' in Rv. (vide V.I., I, 302). These artisans could make decorated and inlaid (piś) bowls like the starry night (Av. XIX, 49, 8), or the lotus (the 'puṣkara' bowl of ritual), and could produce 'rūpam sukṛtam' (sculptured designs and friezes?) with their chisels, and bowls had such carvings in relief of gods, etc. (Av. XII, 3, 33). Cf. 'priyā taṣṭāni vi-aktā' of Rv. X, 86, 5.

The 'takṣana' are respectable in the Rv. but have become low castes in the Buddhistic age (see V.I., II, 266); the best explanation would be that these "wood-carvers" naturally enough amalgamated with the Magadhan indigenous "stone-workers" (vide infra), and though as a result the crafts were much improved e.g. by renderings of wood-work in stone (as in the Buddhistic period), the craftsmen themselves suffered in status.

6 Rv. I, 34, 2; IV, 3, 5; that it was originally a timber pillar is shown by the vern. 'khāmbā' = especially an entire 'śāla' trunk; cf. the expr. 'lāṭhā-khāmbā' (an arrangement for drawing well-water), where 'khāmbā' has that sense; (it is to be noted that the later monoliths are also called 'lāṭh's; e.g. 'Jarāmdha ki lāṭh').

7 Kāth. Sam. XXX, 9; XXXI, 1; and often in Sūtras. For the implication of brick or stone material, cf. the vern. use of 'thām,' 'thāmbā' as comp. red with 'khāmbā'.

8 Rv. X, 40, 13; Av. X, 4, 1; XIV, 2, 48; XIX, 49, 10; etc.

9 Rv. I, 59, 1; V, 45, 2; 62, 7; VIII, 17, 14. Av. XIV, 1, 63; Sat. Brs. XIV, 1, 3, 7; etc.

10 Eg. 'syahasthūna' or the sthūpā on the grave (Rv. X, 18, 13), which may have been of clay or brick. So also the 'sthūpā-rāja' may occasionally have been of bricks, etc.

11 Sat. Brs. II, 1, 1, 11; 5, 1, 1.

12 Rv. I, 98, 5; 162, 9; III, 8, 6, etc.; Av. IV, 24, 4; XII, 1, 13; etc.

13 Rv. I, 51, 14.

door-frames, etc., and 'methi's¹ posts for palisades. Apart from these varieties, used chiefly in houses, other pillars of different uses are indicated by 'śaṅku'² (of timber as well as stone) and 'drupada',³ with which latter may be compared 'ekambha' and 'vanaspati'⁴ (a pole or pillar, evidently a dressed and entire pine or 'śāla' trunk). This great variety of names for pillars and posts, and the importance of these and doors, shows that they were a marked feature of at least one other type of house-building. Thus, as compared with the 'Deltaic,' there would seem to have existed a Middle-Himālayan (and submontane) style also, characterized by skilled, heavy and profuse timber-work: of which, again, the later and modern parallel is equally striking.⁵

To this timber architecture would naturally⁶ belong the references to the use of metals in house-construction, such as the 'ayaṣṭhūpa's'⁷ (copper, bronze or iron pillars) and 'parigha's'⁸ (metal bolts); and they must have been very well-known and prominent features to be used early as proper names.⁹ There is no improbability involved in this, as in the early Vedic age 'ayas' was widely used,¹⁰ and smelting¹¹ and

1 With variants 'medhi,' 'methi,' or 'methi':—Av. VIII, 5, 20; XIV, 1, 40; Taitt. Sam. VI, 2, 9, 4; Kāth. Sam. XXXV, 8; Ait. Brā. I, 29, 22; Sat. Brā. III, 5, 3, 21; Pūnc. Brā. XIII, 9, 17; Jaim. Brā. I, 19, 1;—for use in palisades, cf. Rv. VIII, 53, 5.

2 'Śaṅku' usually=wooden post, peg, or even pin (in Rv. and Brā.s.—vide V.I., II, 349); but a stone pillar, in 'vṛta-śaṅku': Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 4, 1 (cf. ibid. IV, 2, 5, 15, and scholiast on Kāt. Śr. Sūt. XXI, 3, 31).

3 Rv. I, 24, 13; IV, 32, 23; Av. VI, 63, 3; 115, 2; XIX, 47, 9; Vāja. Sam. XX, 20; for use as posts for victims and offenders: cf. Rv. I, 24, 13, and Av. XIX, 47, 9 above, and Av. XIX, 50, 1; VI, 84, 4 (=63, 3 above); also Rv. VII, 86, 5.

4 Av. IX, 3, 11; Taitt. Sam. VI, 2, 8, 4.

5 Thus the rich carved wood-work and timber structures of the lower hills and slopes of the Southern Himālayas (from Kāśmīr and Yamunā sources to Eastern Nepāl, and the submontane plains (e.g. Shāharānpur and other districts) have all along been famous and characteristic of those parts. (Cf. the place-names: 'Kāth-maṇḍu' and 'Kāth-godām').

6 So also, excellence in metal work is found side by side with that in wood-work in the above region (cf. the well-known artistic products in this line of Nepāl, Moradabad, etc.).

7 Rv. V, 62, 7, 8.

8 Chānd. Upan. II, 24, 6, 10, 15; (and often later).

9 'Ayaṣṭhūpa': Sat. Brā. XI, 4, 2, 17 (the name belongs to an earlier age): 'Parigha': a king's name in the Pūncic genealogy (Yādava), step No. 42.

10 In arrows, kettles, cups, etc. (in Rv.).

11 'Dhmātā' smelter; 'dhmātāṛ' smelting furnace: Rv. V, 9, 5; smelting: Rv. IV, 2, 17; feather-bellows: Rv. IX, 112, 2; smelting ores (asman): Sat. Brā. VI, 1, 3, 5.

beaten¹ 'ayas'² are referred to; the 'ayahsthūna's and 'āyasa pur's would thus imply the strengthening of timber pillars, palisades or walls, by copper or steel³-plating and sundry metal fittings. This would constitute a necessary earlier stage of architecture to account for the elaborate gold-plated and inlaid timber-pillars of the fourth century Mauryan palace.

The first explicit mention of the use of burnt bricks ('pakva') for structural purposes occurs rather late, in the Śatapatha⁴ (6th—7th cent. B.C.); but even there, this 'pakva' and the 'iṣṭakā,' which is used throughout, are taken as identical; and as the reference is to the building of sacrificial fire-altars, it is clear that this use of 'burnt' bricks was more or less traditional,⁵ and not a recent innovation⁶; besides, various well-known personages are stated to have erected such fire-altars,⁷ some of whom can be approximately fixed in time with the help of 'traditional' chronology: so that such constructions would go back to the earlier Vedic period.⁸ 'Iṣṭakā' is indeed the traditional material⁹ for building the fire-altar even in the Yv. Samhitās¹⁰; and though not specially called 'burnt,' these bricks were almost certainly so: for it is often stated

1 For 'soma' vessels: Rv. IX, 1, 2.

2 The use of 'sheet' iron is more probable than cast iron, though the antiquity of ore-smelting (probably pre-Aryan) and the quite early occurrence (cir. 300 A.D.) of massive and highly finished foundry products, may indicate an earlier long standing use of cast iron posts and rods for structural purposes.

3 Indian steel was well-known in the far Western countries in the 6th and 5th cents. B.C., and was as much prized by the Greeks in the 4th as tributes of precious gems. It is quite likely, therefore, that 'steel' should have been variously used for strengthening defences within India itself, before its fame spread abroad.

4 Sat. Brā. VI, 1, 2, 22; VII, 2, 1, 7; in the former passage it is said that the 'pakva' is called 'iṣṭakā' because it is 'iṣṭa,' offered to the fire (the derivation being a late etymological fiction; cf. the fanciful explanation of the form 'iṣṭakā' rather than 'ṣa' or 'ṣam': ibid. X, 5, 1, 5; also vide ante, re 'iṣṭa'); in the latter, a special 'black' 'pakva' is made by baking the brick in 'rice-husk' fire. 'Pakva' in Rv., Av., and Brā., means simply 'baked,' or 'cooked food' (vide V.I., s.v.); in Rv. VI, 63, 9, however, the sense of baked bricks, or a 'house of baked bricks' (a 'puccā' house), may suit quite well (as horses, slaves, chariots, etc., are given away by certain Kings, Purays, etc., to the priest, along with 'pakva'). (N.B.—The substantives are all understood in this passage.)

5 I.e., representing Yajurvedic (Vājasaneyi) tradition of a much earlier age.

6 Cf. the conservatism of the Śatapatha regarding proposed changes in Rgvedic texts (and to a less extent in Yv. texts).

7 E.g. Tura-Kāvaṣeya: Sat. Brā. IX, 5, 2, 15; Śyāparṇa-Śyākāyana: ibid. VI, 2, 1, 39; IX, 5, 2, 1.

8 E.g. Tura-Kāvaṣeya, temp. Janamejaya-Pārikṣita I, cir. 20 steps above the close of the Rgvedic period.

9 Cf. 'iṣṭaka-cit': Taitt. Sarp. I, 5, 3, etc.

10 E.g. the IVth and Vth books of the Taitt. Sarp. (mantras and explanatory matters re 'agnicayana'). The details regarding altar construction in these are practically the same as in the Sat. Brā., thus showing that the use of bricks was traditional and almost co-existent with brāhmanism.

there by way of explanation, that bricks were invented apparently by the Āngirases) to save Earth from being excessively burnt¹ by the sacrificial fire²; their supporting strength³ and capacity of resisting the waters⁴ are often specified; and amongst the many types of bricks used, were the 'svayamātrṇṇā'⁵ or 'naturally perforated' bricks, and 'bricks of all colours,'⁶ the former being a characteristic product of the kiln,⁷ and the latter probably referring either to the various shades of red in the brick-piles, or to enamelled bricks⁸; while mortar ('puriṣa') that could be compared to flesh adhering to bones,⁹ had probably an admixture of pounded red bricks. The art of brick-laying was an old and developed one in the Yajurvedic age, judging from the great variety of names and forms of the alter-bricks, amongst which may be mentioned the 'circular bricks' ('maṇḍaleṣṭakā')¹⁰ the 'earless' or corner-less bevelled bricks ('vikarṇi'),¹¹ the 'crest' or conical bricks ('coḍā'),¹² the 'gold-headed' bricks ('vāmabhṛt'),¹³ the shaped 'pot'-bricks ('kumbheṣṭakū'),¹⁴ and other bricks with various linear markings¹⁵ and of different sizes.¹⁶ Mortar (of mud and rubble, sand or

1 Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 10; 5, 2, etc.

2 It is indeed only natural that the use of the baked bricks should have early suggested itself for sacrificial structures, for the properties of burnt clay would be evident to any fire-worshipper; besides, with the growing ritual importance and significance of the altar, square or rectangular bricks must have been invented or adapted, and these, if unbaked at first would soon suggest the burnt brick.

3 E.g. the 'aśādhā brick of thousandfold strength': Taitt. Sam. IV, 2, 9; 'the brick that quaketh not' ('svayamātrṇṇā'): ibid. IV, 3, 6; V, 3, 2; 'Brhaspati saw in bricks the support of sacrifice': ibid. V, 3, 5; 'brick-altar' representing 'the firm earth in the midst of waters': ibid. V, 6, 4.

4 E.g. Taitt. Sam., V, 6, 4 (in n. 3 above): 'bricks keeping the altar from being swept away by waters': ibid. V, 3, 10.

5 Taitt. Sam. IV, 2, 9; 3, 2; 3, 6; 4, 10; V, 2, 8; 3, 2; etc.

6 Taitt. Sam. V, 7, 8.

7 This is called 'jāhṇā' in vern., meaning perforated (cf. the cognate words 'jāṣṭhā' and 'jāṣṭhāri,' of same signification).

8 Enamelled earthenware and tiles have long been a speciality of the lower Middle-Gangetic districts (Eastern U. P.).

9 Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 3.

10 Taitt. Sam. IV, 4, 5; V, 3, 9; etc.

11 Taitt. Sam. V, 3, 7; etc. (These were always placed topmost, and over the 'nākasad' or 'vault-sitter' bricks: apparently by way of ornamentation).

12 Taitt. Sam. IV, 4, 3 (also placed, like 'vikarṇi' bricks, on the top, over the 'vault-sitters'); V, 3, 7; etc.

13 Taitt. Sam. IV, 2, 9; V, 5, 3; 5, 5; 7, 6; 7, 9; etc. [Cf. enamelled bricks of the 3rd millennium B.C. at the recently excavated Sindh-Punjab sites.]

14 Taitt. Sam. V, 6, 1; etc.

15 Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 3; 2, 10 (cf. S.B.E. xliii, p. 21., n. 1, re lines on square and rectangular bricks); of the various types of linear markings named in Apast. Sūtra, at least one is known to Taitt. Sam.: cf. ibid. V, 7, 8.

16 The Sūtras have 4 traditional sizes for the square brick: measuring 'pāda,' 'aratni,' 'urvasthi,' and 'aśṭka'; the various shapes noted above of course involve different sizes.

pounded bricks) was freely used¹ in "making bricks firm,"² cementing successive layers of bricks,³ and in plastering over⁴; each adhesive plaster must have been essential in the construction of the alternative forms of the altar,⁵ like the 'bird'-styles (representing the 'śyena,' 'kaṅka' or 'śalaja'), or the 'bowl' or 'granary' ('droṇa'), 'chariot-wheel,' 'circle,' 'cemetery' (śmaśāna), and 'triangle' models. Large numbers⁶ of bricks were used⁷ for these altars: the measurements of one altar is given as 36 feet along the centre, E. to W., and 30 and 24 feet across at the back and front respectively, and it is said the outer limits of the measurements of the altar depends on what area the builder thinks he could very well use⁸; the first, second and third pilings are to be made of one, two and three thousand bricks respectively⁹; and the bricks ready before an altar-builder (who wishes those became his cows) are roundly estimated¹⁰ at hundreds of thousands. The rites performed on leaving a homestead, with a view to re-establishment elsewhere, show that in the ordinary household also the altar was brick-built, and apparently these bricks were dismantled, carried to, and refitted in the new 'vāstu'.¹¹ It would be extraordinary if bricks were not used for the secular house-buildings as well, while altars (household or special) and cemeteries¹² were brick-built. It is remarkable that throughout the 'brick'—mantras, reference is made to "the manner in which Aṅgiras placed¹³ the bricks firmly,"¹⁴ or invented them,¹⁴ or used them for better building of the

1 E.g. in *Taitt. Sam.* I, 2, 12; II, 6, 4.

2 E.g. in *Taitt. Sam.* V, 2, 3.

3 E.g. in *Taitt. Sam.* V, 6, 10. Cf. 'seasonal' bricks being "the internal cement of the layers"; *ibid.* V, 4, 2.

4 'Just as bone is covered with flesh': *Taitt. Sam.* V, 2, 3.

5 *Taitt. Sam.* V, 4, 11. (The structural peculiarities of some of these types, according to the Sūtra comment, were: a round-topped block (the head) for the 'kaṅka'; curved 'wings' for the 'śyena'; 'caturasra' or 'parimaydala' (square or round) blocks for the 'granary' ('droṇa'); and square or round form for the 'śmaśāna').

6 Cf. similar large numbers in the *Sat. Brā.* 'agnicayana' directions: e.g. 756 bricks: *Sat. Brā.* X, 5, 4, 5.

7 *Taitt. Sam.* VI, 2, 4.

8 *Taitt. Sam.* V, 6, 7; (the height of altars being up to knee, navel, and neck, respectively).

9 *Taitt. Sam.* IV, 4, 11 ("these bricks hundred hundred thousand millions"). Cf. *ibid.* V, 4, 2.

10 *Taitt. Sam.* IV, 4, 10. Cf. the dismantling of 'iṣa' etc., and carrying of them in the Atharva-vedic mantras (*vide ante.*).

11 The direction that brick-altars could be erected after the model of (round or square) śmaśānas, shown that these latter were also brick structures by the time of the *Yv. Samhitā*.

12 *Taitt. Sam.* IV, 2, 2; 4, 3; etc.

13 So also in *Sat. Brā.* the expression is repeated: e.g. X, 5, 1, 5 ('śādana, settling of the brick, may be the original for the vern. phrase "śājana").

14 *Taitt. Sam.* V, 6, 3; cf. V, 2, 10; so also bricks are said to have been "fashioned by the toils of seers like metres": V, 3, 5.

fire-altar¹; sometimes Brhaspati (also an Āngirasa) is introduced;² and the brick (īṣṭakā) is addressed and worshipped as a goddess ('devī').³ All this is strikingly similar to the expressions and notions of the architectural sections of the Purāṇas,⁴ where the laying of bricks and other stages of house-construction are accompanied by references to the Āngirasas and their deified 'daughters.' In view of what has already been said about the ordinary 'brāhmanic' dwelling-houses of the Gangetic type (as described in the 'Āngirasa Veda') and the use of clay and unburnt bricks ('iṭa') in them,⁵ and of the fact that the dwelling-house is addressed in the same Veda as 'Idā' (which also is evidently connected with the Dravidian roots and words meaning digging, bricks, and house),⁶—the inference becomes irresistible, that this consistent association of the Āngirasas with the invention and use of 'īṣṭakā,' in Vedic as well as Purāṇic tradition, is but another⁷ indication of a fact of cultural history, that the civilization of 'brāhmanism,' with its sacrificial cult and symbolism, its building activities and material achievements and equipments, was originally Gangetic, Eastern and non-Āryan. In any case, it is quite clear that a third structural style, characterized by the use of clay, plasters, and bricks, dried or baked (of diverse moulds and probably even enamelled sometimes) was already in existence in the 10th century B.C.,⁷ being referred to in the Brāhmaṇas and the later Saṃhitās, and is implied for the earlier R̥gvedic period⁸; and here too, the conclusion agrees with the regional indications of the references: for this style can only have arisen in the riparian districts along the north of the Ganges (middle and lower).

(It is in the Śatapatha again, that the first clear mention of stone structures of a recognizable type is made,⁹—but in a way that would indicate a well-formed, distinct and traditional

1 Taitt. Sam. V, 3, 5.

2 Vide n. 14, page 37. (Some special forms of altar-bricks or manner of laying are associated with Viśvāmitra and his contemporaries: this may indicate the taking up of brāhmanical sacrificial cult and connected brick-building by the Ailas in that period.)

3 Taitt. Sam. IV, 2, 9; cf. the house goddess 'mānasya patni' fixed by the gods in the beginning (Av. III, 12, 5), and Brhaspati first putting together the house (Av. IX, 3, 2-3). (Vide p. 31, and notes 7 and 8 in it.)

4 Cf. the 'vāstu-māna' sections of Agni, Garuḍa, and Matsya.

5 Vide ante.

6 Cf. the same indication in the evidence about 'furniture' etc., infra.

7 [Evidences of a highly developed art of making bricks, glass and glazed pottery of various sorts, dating from cir. 2000 B.C., have been discovered very recently in the upper and lower Indus plains. It is thus quite probable that the literary evidence with regard to the use of bricks, etc., in the Gangetic plains is trustworthy.]

8 For the Yajurvedic altar and bricks must have been known to the sacrificial hymns of Rv.; cf. also the occurrence and sense of 'pakva' in Rv. VI, 63, 9, and the Brāhmaṇa allusions to R̥gvedic brick-altar builders (vide ante.).

style. Its remarks on the erection of 'śmaśānas' (over burnt or buried bodies) are significant. They show a marked difference in the contemporary modes of building¹ these funeral and memorial structures. The 'Prācya' mode of erecting tombs is strongly disapproved² (from the point of view of the Kuru-Pāñcāla and Videha³ brāhmaṇ). Apart from minor differences within the approved range as regards special forms for the several orders,⁴ the structural type that is regarded as unorthodox is described clearly as round and dome-shaped ('parimaṇḍalā')⁵; that whereby the Easterners make the 'śmaśāna' "separate from the earth" unlike good people,⁶ is described by the usual Vedic word for a large hemispherical bowl,⁷ 'camū,' which must here refer to something like a vault or dome of solid stone or bricks⁸; the structure is then 'enclosed by an indefinite number of enclosing stones'⁹; and

¹ Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 2, 1.

² Ibid. XIII, 8, 1, 5; 2, 1; cf. IX, 5, 1, 64.

³ The preference for north-inclined and saline soil points to a Videha origin of these views.

⁴ Ibid. XIII, 8, 2, 6-12; 3, 11.

⁵ Ibid. XIII, 8, 1.

⁶ Ibid. XIII, 8, 2, 1.

⁷ For pouring Soma; also = mortar for 'Soma' pressing, which would be of stone; probably the bowl was occasionally of stone, just as there were soma-cups of 'ayas'; (for the 'hemispherical vessel,' cf. vern. 'jām(b)-bāṭī' of same shape). For the metaphorical use of 'camū' in Rv. to mean vault or dome, vide infra.

⁸ Cf. S.B.E. 44, 430, n. 1.

⁹ Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 2, 2; as in the case of the fire-hearth, and set up with formulae. This stone enclosure might also belong to the orthodox style, but the context would rather give it to the other style. 'Stones' or 'bricks' are, however, alternative materials (without any preference for one or the other) in the Sūtra applications (vide Whitney Av., pp. 886-7) of Av. XVIII, 4, 55 (building a 'harmya' for the dead), where the left side of the piled mound is finally beaten over ('kuṭṭay'), i.e. made 'guccā', with a number of 'śilā' or 'īṣṭakā' (the variant 'śalākā' is pointless; cf. the frequent phrase 'śīleṣṭakā' in the 'vāstu' section of Pūrāṇas). (From these indications, and from the recognition of round forms in the construction of altars and śmaśānas in the later Saṃhitās (vide p. 37, n. 5, and p. 42) it would appear that the antagonism to round and stone structures displayed by the Śatapatha is a later development in the 7th century B.C., very likely due to the growing estrangement between Prācya and Midland religious and philosophical doctrines which ultimately found expression in the Buddhistic reformation.)

¹⁰ So also in the application of Av. XVIII, 3, 50-51 (earth covering up like mother with 'śic' and wife with cloth), in Kauṣ. 86, 30, it is evidently śilā and īṣṭakā that are placed and set 'śalākā'.

¹¹ For recognition of round forms, cf. also Taitt. Sam. IV, 3, 2 and 3 (arrangement of bricks in a circle); IV, 4, 10 (placing of 'śakṣatā' bricks in a circle); and the 'maṇḍaleṣṭakā' (noted above).

stones are used instead of the square bricks in the case of non-fire-worshippers.¹ The orthodox style of 'śmaśāna' is stated to be square or quadrilateral,² 'not separate from the earth,'³ (i.e., not prominent and towering⁴ like the banned type, and of 'earth and earthen' materials,—clay and bricks,—as opposed to stone), and bricks one foot square are used in its construction⁵; and a memorial mound like a fire-altar⁶ is prescribed⁷ for builders of the same.⁸ (It is evident that the former is the prototype of the Buddhistic, Eastern and heretical, 'stūpa' architecture of the very next epoch,—and *through it of the 'Saiva' temple styles of subsequent ages⁹; and that the latter is a specially 'brāhmaṇical' style, associated with sacrificial altars¹⁰ and the middle Gangetic country, and thus with bricks¹⁰ and rectilineal figures,—strikingly paralleled by the similar sacrificial and geometric style of squares and bricks in ancient Babylonia, and represented recognizably in some later forms of 'brāhmaṇical' temple architecture.¹¹)

1 Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 4, 11.

2 Ibid. XIII, 8, 1, 1ff.

3 Ibid. XIII, 8, 2, 1.

4 The Śatapatha insists repeatedly on the 'śmaśāna' being not too large or high: e.g. XIII, 8, 1, 18 (an ordinary altar's size); 8, 2, 6—12 (generally and preferably to be knee-high, though structures as high as the thigh, hip, mouth and upstretched arm, might be allowed for vaiśyas, women, brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, respectively;—note Kṣatriya superiority).

5 Ibid. XIII, 8, 4, 11; not 'marked' like altar-bricks.

6 (It is noteworthy that about 3 centuries later, Alexander used fire-altars as 'memorials,' apparently according to the Indian custom; to impress the Indians he is said to have built on the Beās (cf. the custom of building fire-altars on river-banks, indicated in Sat. Brā. and earlier as far back as the Rv.) stupendous and sculptured fire-altars of stone, which Candragupta later on utilized for sacrificial purposes.)

7 Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 1, 1ff; sometimes 'without wings and tail,' i.e., in the form of a simple cubical altar, without the 3 adjacent cubes; the special recommendation of the Śatapatha is an irregular quadrilateral with sides joining at S. shorter than those at N.; but this may refer to the area enclosed by cords, within which the altar-like śmaśāna is raised.

8 This may imply that those, on the other hand, who built (and worshipped at) the round stūpas, were similarly honoured by round funeral memorials. It may be noted here that worship of the funeral mound is implied in Av. XVIII, 4, 38 (it is thought to bestow boons on worshippers), and that the 'previous Buddhas' also had their 'stūpas.'

9 Characterized by the round dome; it has been designated 'Dravidian' by Fergusson, but Havell rightly traces it to Buddhistic round forms and symbolism; ethnically of course the sources of this style may have been Dravidian (but Fergusson did not use it in this sense).

10 Vide ante.

11 Cf. the Southern style of Madurā, Tānjore, etc.; also in earlier monasteries of several stories, built pyrametrically.

The 'Prācyaś' referred to here cannot be those deltaic and riparian Easterners,¹ to whom the Atharva-vedic style of house-building must be attributed; the passages in the Śatapatha² may be taken to mean "the Āsurya section of the Prācyaś," i.e., either the unorthodox Magadhan Prācyaś or the Prācyaś who follow Āsuri's tenets,—the proto-Buddhistic creeds (the association of round stone structures with them, in the latter case, being historically sound); the very allusion to solid stone or brick vaults, stone enclosures, and stones as substitutes for bricks, shows that the region meant is Magadha,³ known as Prācī pre-eminently, in the 4th century B.C. [Magadha and Kikaṭa are looked down upon in early as well as later Vedic literature⁴; and it is precisely these regions⁵ which have an ancient tradition of stone masonry and ware; so also, when the cars of the Prācyaś, the 'vipathas,'⁶ are disapproved by Midlanders,⁷ it is evidently the rough country of Kikaṭa-

¹ Of Vaiśālī, Aṅga, Vaṅga, etc.; vide ante.

² Śat. Brā. XIII, 8, 1; 8, 2, 1.

³ It is noteworthy that so far the earliest known remains of vaulted and polished caves, of stone enclosures, walls or pillars, are in Magadha or of Magadhan origin.

⁴ E.g. in Vāja. Sam. XXX, 5, 22; or Kāt. Śr. Sūt. XXII, 4, 22; vide also note 6 below; Cf. also the famous Rv. reference, "Kīp to kṛpanti Kikaṭeṣu, etc." In Purāṇic tradition (cf. Vāyu. 78, 21—22) the land of Trīśaṅku, bet. Kaikaṭa and the Mahānadi, is avoided by orthodox people. Kikaṭa and Gayā are almost identical in Vā. 105—112. So also, the benighted region where Trīśaṅku is banished seems from epic indications as well (cf. e.g. all that is said about Viśvāmitra, Maṭaṅga and his tirtha: Mbh. I, 71, 2925—28 with Hariv. V, 717ff.; III, 87, 8321 (in the East); III, 84, 8079; III, 85, 8159; XIII, 27—29 (Gayā); XIII, 3, 189 (in the South); cf. Varāha. V and VIII (conn. with Mithilā and Orissa) to have been no other than Kikaṭa (cf. also popular traditions re Rhotasgarh and R. Karmanāśā). And if the Kikakas of Mbh., whose country the Pāṇḍavas passed just before coming to Ekacakrā, and who cremated their lusty chiefs with their women, are the same as the Kikaṭas (vide infra. sec. re widow-burning),—it is another trace (even) in the epic literature of the low estimation of these Prācyaś.

⁵ Now represented by Gayā and Cunnār; also similar regions westwards along the Vindhyan borderland, Jubbulpur, Gwalior and Jaipur, representing ancient Cedi and Matsya, very closely connected with Magadha in the Purāṇic tradition.

⁶ Pañc. Brā. XVII, 1 (a very old passage); Lāt. Śr. Sūt. VIII, 6, 9.

⁷ The difference between Magadha-Prācī and the Midlands in styles of living and housing is apparently also indicated by sundry statements in the Vedic literature like these:—Dwelling-houses are sometimes specifically called 'Ārya' (Rv. IX, 63, 14), which would be unnecessary if extra-Āryan types were not known or adapted from; the 'Vṛtīya gṛhapati' (Pañc. Brā. XVII, 1—4) is specified, and the 'Vṛtīya' chieftain with his attendant 'Māgadha' (Av. XV, 2) is described and glorified. 'Vṛtīya' here evidently meaning Magadhan; an Āryan was required to reside in a Nigada settlement (S. E. of Madhyadeśa, i.e., Kikaṭa-Magadha) before performing the Viśvajit sacrifice (Kaus. Brā. XXV, 15; Pañc. Brā. XVI, 6, 8); and villages were close together and frequent in the East, but there were long stretches of forests in the West (Ait. Brā. III, 44), thus showing that architectural styles must have been largely of 'Eastern' origin.

Magadha' that is referred to.] 'Śmaśāna' structures of the two types distinguished by the Satapatha were evidently known in the earlier Yajurvedic period. Thus a fire-altar and a 'śmaśāna' are similarly piled, so that the former has to be differentiated by burying a 'living' tortoise in it²; again, certain altars are piled in the form of 'śmaśānas,' which, according to the Sūtra comment on the directions, are of two well-known types, round or square,³ just as the 'drona's or 'grain-stores,' which also supply the models for other types of altar, were round or square structures.⁴ In the Av. and Rv. also, it may be a round type of 'śmaśāna' that is set up, with "Swell thou up (ucchaśicasva) . . . let the earth remain swelling up . . . let a thousand props support it"⁵; while the funeral structure that is said to be 'cayanena citam'⁶ is obviously of the same type as the square altar. Knowledge of big round structures like the 'stūpas' (or 'camū's of the Prācyas) is suggested by the metaphorical use of 'camvā' in Rv. to denote the vault of heaven placed on the earth⁷; so also the Rgevdic use of the word 'stūpa' itself clearly shows that it was a structural term as well: thus Agni on the altar "extends up to the sun's disc with 'stūpa's of flames,"⁸ and "Varuṇa upholds the 'stūpa' of light on the baseless firmament."⁹

The Satapatha classifies 'śmaśāna' structures into the ordinary 'vāstu' or reliquary of bones, etc., 'grhāṇ' and

1 Where the 'śgaḍ' and the 'ekkā' are still characteristic conveyances evoking much comment (for a humorous satire cf. the mod. Beng. ballad "Vighore Vihare cadinu ekkā," etc.). The 'śgaḍ' is characterized by solid timber or stone wheels, 'śāla'-timber body and a peculiar drowsy long-drawn squeak heard from great distance (cf. 'śaketa' in the 'aranyani' hymn in Rv.; cf. also the peculiar construction of the traditional toy-cart, 'mṛt-śakṛtīka'); it is comparatively low-built and drawn by buffaloes, and can be drawn over all sorts of rough tracks and regions. The (one-horsed) 'ekkā' is probably alluded to in Vedic passages where conveyances with a single horse are deprecated; (generally, in contrast with those with 2 or more horses: Rv. X, 131, 3; Taitt. Brā. I, 8, 2, 4; III, 8, 21, 3; Pañc. Brā. XVI, 13, 12; XVIII, 9, 7; Ait. Brā. V, 30, 6; Sat. Brā. XIII, 3, 3, 9; etc.; poor people content with one-horsed car: Rv. X, 101, 11; VI, 15, 19; Pañc. Brā. XXI, 13, 8; etc.). The 'ekkā' also is suited for rough country use, and might well be called 'vipatha.'

2 Taitt. Sarp. V, 2, 8, 5 (cf. also Kāth. Sarp. III, 4, 7, re śmaśāna).

3 Taitt. Sarp. V, 4, 11, 3.

4 Taitt. Sarp. V, 4, 11; the Sūtra ascription of 'caturasra' and 'parimaṇḍala' styles to both funeral tumuli and grain-stores is interesting; vide ante re connection between 'stūpas' and grain-stores.

5 Av. XVIII, 3, 50-51=Rv. X, 128, 11-12.

6 Av. XVIII, 3, 37.

7 Rv. III, 55, 20.

8 Rv. VII, 2, 1.

9 Rv. I, 24, 7; 'stūpa' in Av. VI, 60, 1, is used of the round coil of hair on Aryaman's head; the figurative use here and elsewhere (vide V.I., a.v. 'stūpa' may well be compared with the comparison of the house-top with 'opada' and parting of the hair (vide ante).

prajñānaq.¹ The first is evidently the tumulus, round or square, which forms the subject of so much comment in that Brāhmaṇa. The term 'grhāṇ' "used of a special type of 'śmaśāna' is particularly interesting: properly it means a dwelling-house with many chambers; applied to a 'śmaśāna' it would signify that the funeral structure was either an actual house (mausoleum) with many rooms, erected over or beside the grave in memory of the deceased, and for the benefit of his soul dedicated to some religious order, or philanthropic use,² or that these 'grhāṇ' are the chambers and vaults of subterranean or rock-cut caves.³ 'Grhāṇ,' however, is nothing new in the later Brāhmaṇa age, for the Av. (as well as the Rv.) mentions it frequently⁴; thus referring to a funeral structure it says,—“let these 'grhāsaḥ' be a refuge for him for ever”⁵; elsewhere, “make ye 'grhā's for him according

¹ Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 1; (cf. also comm. on it). For 'vāstu' in this sense, cf. Kapila-vāstu, where the sense must be “the memorial 'stūpa' of Kapila” rather than the ‘abode of Kapila,’ as usually taken. Kapila lived in the middle of the 8th century B.C. according to Purāṇic evidence (vide Pargiter: *AHT*, pp. 330—332); hence, it is evident that the styles referred to in Sat. Brā.^o were at least two centuries earlier than itself,—an important point.

² All this is characteristic of Buddhism in the very next epoch, and traces of Buddhistic features can only be expected in the later Vedic literature.

³ This also would be a Buddhistic feature; relics were deposited in rock-cut caves in historical times; in the Epic the rock-cut caves of Girivraja are used for condemned prisoners or human victims, and other caves are also said to be similarly used; the Epic also knows of ascetics in subterranean caves; the Barābar caves may have been intended as memorial 'śmaśānas' of some Māurya emperors, presumably Aśoka, etc. The Roman catacombs and Egyptian cave-graves offer instructive parallels. Another remarkably Magadhan and Buddhistic feature found in the 'śmaśāna' of the Śatapatha is the regulation “let there be 'citrās' on the back of the 'śmaśāna,'” “for 'citrās' mean offspring.” (The comm. takes it as = natural scenery; this is absurd, specially as natural scenery is suggested as an alternative in the following lines). In the case of the brick-built tumuli, these 'citrās' would be ‘paintings’ on suitable plaster, but in the case of the stone-built round ‘cāmū’ of the Easterners the most suitable ‘citrās’ would be sculptured figures in relief; the nature of these ‘citrās’ is indicated by the reason given: the figures painted or carved were of women and children, and possibly couples of men and women. It is interesting to compare the account in the Epic of the representation of the fertility goddess Jāṛā (or Jāṛā; cf. the traditional village spirit, Jāṛā-budī) on the palace walls of the King of Girivraja, of a plump woman with children all around, and also the panels of female figures, amorous couples, etc., in the later ‘stūpa’ and ‘vihāra’ architecture (cf. the Orissa temple sculptures).

⁴ Besides, 'śmaśāna' and 'śadmaṇ' (house) are often spoken of as parallel things: e.g. Av. V, 31, 8; X, 1, 13; so also by burying a live tortoise an altar becomes a 'vāstavya' and not a 'śmaśāna' (Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 8, 5); (probably there is an implied pun on 'vāstu' here).

⁵ Av. XVIII, 3, 51 = Rv. X, 13, 12.

to his kindred¹; again, "as the 5 clans ('mānava') implanted a 'harmya' for Yama, so I implant a 'harmya' that there may be many of me."² It would be too much of a forced explanation to take 'grhāṇ' as a metaphorical expression throughout, specially beside the technical sense given to it by the Śatapatha; even in the Rgvedic description of the grave as a 'mṛṇmayā grha'³ into which one goes down, though there is an element of figure, yet the use of 'grha' seems significant: it is possible that the phrase unconsciously refers to subterranean burial chambers or vaults. The 'prajñānam' of the Śatapatha (beside the 'reliquary' and the 'chambers') can only mean some sort of a memorial monument, like a pillar. A pillar (sthūpā) indeed is set up on the Rgvedic grave⁴ (in the Av. also); and a 'loga' (pole) is erected after the earth is piled up ('ut-stabh') from about the grave⁵; and on the 'sthūpā' maintained by the Fathers 'Yama makes seats for the departed'⁶; and it is probably such memorial pillars (on which the spirits 'sit') that are referred to, where 'the bride-beholding fathers' are asked to be propitious to the bride as the marriage-procession passes a cemetery.⁷ These 'prajñāna' pillars may have been of timber originally⁸; but as bricks or stone came to be used for the

1 Av. XVIII, 4, 37. The qualification 'according to his kindred, evidently means that the size and excellence of the 'grhāṇ' depended on the number, position and means of the kinsmen of the deceased (cf. its exemplification in actual Buddhistic dedicatory structures).

2 Av. XVIII, 4, 55. The use of 'harmya' is significant, as in early Vedic literature 'harmya' has the sense of a big establishment, with many apartments and adjuncts, and is used also of kings' residences. The motive of building a funeral 'harmya' as given above is noteworthy: it foreshadows the dedicatory buildings and parts of them in the subsequent Buddhistic age.

3 Cf. the sense of a big structure involved in the city-name 'Rājagṛha.'

4 Rv. VII, 89, 1.

5 Rv. X, 18, 3=Av. XVIII, 3, 52.

6 Av. XVIII, 3, 52=Rv. X, 18, 3; 'loga' here is usually rendered 'clod'; but it seems in the next passage to be identified with 'sthūpā,' and 'loga' elsewhere means a pole (stuck into the bottom of the waters, in marriage ritual; vide, Kauś. 75, 14, applying Av. XIV, 1, 37-38); cf. vern. 'lagi,' a bamboo or wooden pole, chiefly used by boatmen.

7 Av. XVIII, 3, 52=Rv. X, 18, 3. The reference to 'seats' on the pillar would indicate some sort of a capital; in this view, a 'lion-capital' would signify a memorial pillar in honour of a late king.

8 Av. XIV, 2, 73. The phrase 'bride-beholding fathers' would be particularly appropriate if the reference were to sculptured timber pillars bearing effigies of the deceased; (for wood sculpture vide Av. XII, 3, 33); grave-posts with effigies and rude representations of face or eyes are not unknown amongst primitive races.

9 Occasionally bodies were buried in hollowed-out tree-trunks ('vanaspati'), apparently a more primitive arrangement, a combined grave and a memorial pillar: Av. XVIII, 3, 70; cf. Rv. V, 78, 5; ('vṛkṣa' in Av. XVIII, 2, 25, seems to mean a regular coffin which is buried in the earth; Śāyana takes 'vanaspati' also in the same sense).

funeral tumuli,¹ these also would be of the same materials by and by; thus in the time of the Satapatha a stone-pillar ('śaṅku')² was set up along with 3 timber ones at the four corners of the 'śmaśāna'.³ (The Buddhistic monolithic pillar, erected beside the relic-stūpas and on the highways and public thoroughfares,⁴ is probably the developed form of such memorial 'śaṅkus' and the civic and sacrificial Vedic 'drupadas'⁵ (symbolical of royal⁶ and divine power⁷) to which offenders and sacrificial victims were bound: as the symbolism of the 'śmaśāna' structures developed with and under Buddhistic and proto-Buddhistic thought,⁸ and as offenders ceased to be punished so brutally, and sacrifices fell into disuse, these 'śaṅku' and 'drupada' pillars would be used for ethical purposes and 'dhamma' edicts (just as the traditional royal hunt was transformed into missionary tours).⁹) This is

1 Apart from the clear instances of the use of stone for the 'śmaśānas' noted above, an earlier use of stone is rendered possible in view of Rgvedic references to stone-built bulwarks and forts (vide ante). The very word 'śmaśāna' (possibly from 'śma-śayana,' according to Weber) would suggest that stone was all along the chief material in its construction; so that the origin of this special type of funeral structure would be Magadhan and non-brāhmanical, and when other materials are used, this would be due to brāhmanical adaptation of the 'śmaśāna,' characterized by opposition to use of stone and adherence to their own traditional bricks (vide ante). This view would also agree with the fact that the Sat. Brā. does not give details of the 'gṛhāp,' 'prajñānam' and 'round' forms of the 'śmaśānas,' and that whereas the symbolism of the altar is specially brāhmanical, that of the 'śmaśāna' is Buddhistic.

2 Made of 'vṛtra' = stone, acc. to comm; the timber pillars are made of 'palāśa,' 'śami' and 'varana': Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 4, 1; (cf. Kāt. Sr. Sūt. XXI, 3, 31, and Sat. Brā. IV, 2, 5, 15, with S.B.E. 44, 437, n. 1). 'Śaṅku' being associated with a tapering form, the stone-'śaṅku' would have a gradually narrowing shaft (like an obelisk).

3 Cf. the 4 pillars adjacent to the 'stūpa,' and later on to medieval mausoleums.

4 Roadside pillars and gateways are referred to very much earlier in the Av. (XIV, 1, 63) where marriage processions pass along the well-made road through 2 pillars (asked not to injure the bride: hence high and heavy); an arch or 'torāṇa' is evidently implied; these pillars (sthūpā) may well have been of bricks or stone. Cf. Av. XIV, 2, 6, "pillar standing in the way," which however might refer to a row of posts barring the road.

5 Vide n. 3, p. 34.

6 Cf. the royal name 'Drupada,' beside 'Daṇḍa,' 'Daṇḍa-dhāra,' etc., found in Purāṇic and Epic lists; cf. also the ancient name Tri-śaṅku.

7 Cf. the symbolism of 'daṇḍa' and 'śkambha.'

8 The keynote of Buddhistic (and Śaiva) architecture is this 'śmaśāna' symbolism, just as the 'altar' symbolism is associated with brāhmanical structures: it is probable that in Tañt. Sam. V, 2, 8, 5 (p. 42, n. 2), these two ancient groups of symbolism are hinted at.

9 Aśokan inscriptions refer to widely distributed pre-existing monolithic pillars, on which he ordered his edicts to be inscribed (cf. Samudragupta); vide end of Mu. R. Ed. I, Rep. Text; end of Pil. Ed. VII; as opp. to fresh erection of such pillars, e.g., Rumania, Pil. Inscriptions.

sufficient explanation of the Aśokan pillars, and a theory of their Persepolitan origin is unnecessary.¹ u

From all this it may reasonably be concluded that a stone structural style with round forms, the immediate source of the Buddhist architecture, was early developed in non-brāhmanical areas, particularly in Magadha; traces of which may be discovered in the earlier Vedic literature (cir. 10th cent. B.C. at least), and which was definitely flourishing in the 7th cent. B.C. u

u Summing up the evidence on structural forms, it seems probable that there were three main sources from which the early and later Vedic styles, the prototypes of subsequent well-known ones, were derived: the Lower Gangetic regions (including the delta), the Deccan borderland (including Magadha), and the Middle Himālayas (with submontane areas). These regions quite naturally gave rise to building styles characterized by bamboo and brick, stone, and timber, respectively. The first is associated with Āṅgirasas, brāhmanism, and what may be called Mānva regions; the second with the Vrātyas and Māgadhas (Prācyas), occupying an area assigned by tradition to a stock different from the Mānvas and Ailas but with superimposed layers of Ailas; the third would be brought by the Ailas into the plains from the Mongoloid mountainous areas they passed through and came in contact with. The ethnic and historical significance of such indications in the Vedic literature cannot be over-estimated, being also in agreement with the facts of Purāṇic tradition.² u

- 1 It seems probable that Mauryan monolithic pillars had their origin from the indigenous toddy-palm. Magadha is thickly set with palm-groves, the prehistoric prototypes of ancient village halls with palm posts and of the Mauryan 1000-pillared halls (at first of timber). The palm leaf is of course the prehistoric material for writing in the Gangetic valley or the littoral; and the regular lines and spaces on the stem of the palm tree afford ready surface for inscriptions or public and royal orders in writing (at first with paints), this being suggested by the common use of palm leaf for writing. The palm develops a tapering monolith-like stem, crowned by a tuft of fans (some branches being often cut away for toddy) ('tāji'-drawing), resembling lions' manes at twilight, and thus suggesting a four-faced lion-capital, while the streaked toddy-vessel hung up aloft would suggest the so called 'bell'-capital. Probably criminals were hanged on or bound to the palm-trees by royal order (cf. the Vedic and Epic 'drupada'); 'tāji' is again 'vārūṇi,' belonging to Varuṇa, the god of justice, chastisement and kingly power; and the toddy-drawer is as much a 'Pāśi' as Varuṇa himself; his caste being so named from the use of a peculiar 'pāśa' (of palm-fibre, with the help of which he climbs up the tall slender trees); with such a 'pāśa' and by such a 'pāśi,' doubtless, the criminals of old were bound to or hanged from the palm trees (a folk tradition which seems to be responsible for various apparently unmeaning nursery rhymes about fearful spies and chastisers on palm trees, and for the 'folk-fear' that ghosts and spirits dwell on them and fall upon persons venturing to rest under them).

Vide Pargiter AHT, chaps. XXIV, XXV, and XXVI.