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ARTICLE V.

EARLY RELIGION OF THE HINDUS.

BY H. W. MAGOUN, PH.D.

CONCLUSION OF SECOND PAPER.¹

MUCH of the region to the north and west of the Hindu Kush is now a barren waste. It was once a land of countless lakes and numerous rivers. The country could not have lost this character when occupied by the Indo-Iranians; and the pressure of the tribes behind, rather than the need of pasturage, was probably the cause of their onward march. The region to the south of the range does not appear to have suffered any great change, and it was probably not materially different from what it is to-day. It is a great plateau with lofty mountains, and extends as far east as the Indus valley. In its extreme northeastern corner, just under the Hindu Kush, lies the Kābul basin, which

¹ SYMBOLS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES.

- AB. Abel Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*. Paris, 1878-83.
 AH. A. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur. Vedische Opfer und Zauber*. (G. Bühler, *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, iii. 2.) Strassburg, 1897.
 AJP. *American Journal of Philology*. Baltimore.
 AM. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*. (G. Bühler, *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, iii. 1, A.) Strassburg, 1897.
 B. A. Barth, *The Religions of India*. Authorized Translation by J. Wood. Boston, 1882.
 C. J. F. Clarke, *Ten Great Religions*. Boston, 1881.
 C2. J. F. Clarke, *Ten Great Religions*. Part II. Boston, 1894.
 CR. *Contemporary Review*. London.
 EB. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Ninth Edition. New York.
 EH. E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*. Boston, 1895.

was for many centuries a part of India. This has a temperate climate. The descent from the plateau is sudden, and the change in the climate is equally marked. It is a region of scanty rain-fall, and the Indus valley is intensely hot. Here, in the dry season, everything becomes parched, and the surface of the ground gradually turns to an impalpable powder, which rises over all the plain like a mist. With the change in the monsoon comes the needed and longed-for rain.

As the time for this approaches, a slight haze begins to be visible about the mountains. It gradually increases in density from day to day; and, in the course of several weeks, begins to form into floating clouds, which, however, merely serve to tantalize the suffering beholders. At length an occasional flash of lightning is seen in the region of the peaks, and the haze at last begins to spread over the landscape. The action now becomes rapid. In a few hours the horizon grows black, and the clouds mass themselves in the heavens. The approach of the storm is marked by fitful gusts of wind, which are followed by terrific blasts, as the hurricane gathers itself and breaks in its fury. At times, when the approaching tempest is of unu-

- J. F. B. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*. London, 1896.
- JAOS. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. New Haven.
- JR. J. Rhys, *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1886. London, 1888.
- K. Adolf Kaegi, *The Rigveda*. Translated by R. Arrowsmith. Boston, 1886.
- M. J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*. London, 1868-70.
- MM. F. Max Müller, *India: What Can It Teach Us?* New York, 1883.
- MM2. F. Max Müller, *Anthropological Religion*. London, 1892.
- MM3. F. Max Müller, *Physical Religion*. London, 1891.
- O. H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*. Berlin, 1894.
- PAOS. *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*. New Haven.
- SBE. *Sacred Books of the East*. Edited by F. Max Müller. Oxford.
- S&J. Schrader and Jevons, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*. London, 1890.
- W. W. D. Whitney, *A Sanskrit Grammar*. Boston, 1891.

sual severity, a ruddy glare is seen in the sky. The lightning begins to play incessantly, sometimes in broad sheets of flame, sometimes in blinding flashes which are instantly followed by the crashing thunder. The rain streams down in torrents. It is the typical thunder-storm of the tropics.¹

What wonder that a profound impression was made on men accustomed to worship the lightning and the fire, the sun and the moon, the dawn and the wind? Although the Aryans may have met with an occasional tornado to the

¹ Cf. Rev. H. Caunter, on the setting in of the monsoon, quoted in SBE., xxvi., *Introd.*, pp. xxiii.-xxiv. Cf. also EH., p. 94. It was the writer's good fortune to be at Grinnell, Iowa, on June 17, 1882. The atmospheric conditions resembled in a striking manner those which are said to attend the breaking up of the Indian monsoon, except that the action was compressed within the limits of a single day. There was the same hazy look, the same lifelessness of the air, and a similar gradual formation of clouds. When the cloud masses had finally taken shape and were set in motion, a most brilliant and dazzling effect was produced. Magnificent colors, beggaring description, covered the southern half of the sky; while through the clouds, in the west, shone a triangular patch resembling a huge sheet of burnished brass. Clouds of a general balloon shape, but coiled into a spiral form and ending in wicked-looking twisting tails, appeared in the midst of the most brilliant scarlet which shaded off into all the colors of the rainbow. The lightning was incessant. All nature seemed hushed, and the very animals appeared to be cowed by the approaching storm. Such a phenomenon,—followed, as it was, by a fearful roaring and crashing as the wind wrought its awful havoc (houses were demolished and the ground fairly bristled in places with huge splinters), and succeeded immediately thereafter by an agreeable health-giving coolness which prevailed for weeks in delightful contrast to the oppressive heat preceding the tornado,—is quite sufficient to give the beholder a vivid conception of the Indian hurricanes, and to make the figures of the Veda seem natural and fitting. In this light, the Hindu storm gods,—Rudra (cf. his beauty and strength, R-V., ii. 33, 3; his coiled hair, i. 114, 1; etc.), Indra (cf. his golden car, vi. 29, 2; his constant use of the thunderbolt, as in ii. 11, 10; etc.), and the Maruts (cf. their beautiful appearance, ii. 34, 2; the splendor unfolded by the skins worn on their shoulders, i. 166, 10; etc.),—all seem very lifelike and intelligible. See K., note 143, or M., v., p. 98. The absence of references to M. in the first part of the paper is due to the fact that the writer was unable to obtain a copy of M. for reference until after that part of the paper was in print. The same is true of AH. and AM.

north of the Hindu Kush, the shifting monsoon must have intensified their reverence, given a new color to their conceptions, and taxed to the utmost their powers of expression. In the effort to picture these manifestations of divine power, the R̥ṣis gave to posterity their boldest conceptions of the gods whom they saw in these phenomena.

As has been intimated, fire, possibly from its connection with the lightning, was probably regarded as sacred even in Indo-European days, although it does not seem to have developed into a divinity, or daimon, until Indo-Iranian times.¹ Among the Hindus, from its intimate connection with the sacrifice, 'Fire'² became the special god of the Brahmans; but, although Agni took on various new char-

¹ It is hardly to be supposed, however, that no one attempted to compose hymns before the time of the Indo-Iranians,—the art of hymn-making did not spring Minerva-like into existence, and the Indo-Europeans had objects of worship,—nor can it be assumed that the Rik is mostly a survival from the actual Indo-Iranian period. There may be a few hymns and scattered stanzas which have survived, in practically their original form, from those early times; but they can hardly be identified. That older material should not be drawn upon by the poet-sages, however, would be contrary to all human history and experience; and many a survival of this kind there doubtless is, especially in the older hymns. The present form of certain hymns implies just such a process. The prevailing view is therefore probably correct, that the Rik was composed, for the most part, in the Pañjāb, though many hymns doubtless originated in the Kābul valley to the west. Cf. EH., pp. 15-16.

² Men seem to have first learned to produce fire by observing that the wind caused dead or resinous twigs on the interlocking branches of trees to take fire by friction. They then began to obtain fire in the same way from the same woods. This was the Hindu method. The sticks used were the 'parents' of Agni, the production of fire being looked upon as an act of begetting. He was the 'youngest' of the gods, because 'born' (kindled) anew every morning. The fire consumed the kindling sticks, and he was accordingly said to devour his parents. Fire burns with flames, and so the notion arose that Agni devours the forest with strong teeth. That the figures based on these simple physical facts were taken more or less literally seems clear; but how much they imply is a question. It is hardly safe, for example, to assume, simply because Agni was said to do so, that the Hindus once ate their parents. They may have done so; but Agni's powers in this direction seem, as a matter of

acteristics as a deity, his original physical features were always retained.¹ In time, the light and heat of the sun were attributed to him, and his threefold birth—as fire, lightning, and sun—is one of the great mysteries of the Rik. Many were the feats of Agni, and he occupied a large place in the lives of the people.² His hymns are placed first in the “Family-books.”

The sun, at first worshiped as Sūrya,³ received, as god of the shepherds, the name Pūsan,⁴ ‘Nourishing-one’; while deeper thinkers, seeing an animating spirit behind the physical orb, came to call him Savitr,⁵ ‘Impeller.’ Others still, observing his daily feat of crossing the sky,—he was said to do it in three strides,—called him Viṣṇu,⁶ ‘Active-one.’ The new names may have been confined, at first, to certain families or localities; but they seem to have soon become general. In this way the sun came to stand for several gods in the Vedic hymns.

Closely associated with ‘Sun,’ are the Aṅvins, ‘Horse-guiding-ones,’ often likened to the Dioskouroi, with whom

fact, to have been regarded with wonder. Cf. MM3., pp. 253-257, and R-V., x. 79, 4.

¹ In this respect, Soma alone is like him; for the other gods became more and more abstract, and finally lost, except in certain surviving forms of expression, their original physical nature. They ultimately became either entirely anthropomorphic or practically disappeared,—in some cases by absorption into other deities.

² K., pp. 35-37. EH., pp. 105-112. B., pp. 9-10. O., pp. 43-47 and 102-133. AB., i., pp. 11-148, and ii., pp. 4-22. MM3., pp. 120, 127, 144-202, 264-271, and 303-305. AM., § 35, pp. 88-100. M., v., pp. 199-223.

³ K., pp. 54-55. EH., pp. 17-19 and 40-46. AM., § 14, pp. 30-32. M., iv., pp. 109-110, and v., pp. 155-161.

⁴ K., pp. 55-56, and notes 209-212. EH., pp. 50-56. B., p. 20. O., pp. 230-233. AB., ii., pp. 420-430. AM., § 16, pp. 35-37. M., v., pp. 171-180.

⁵ K., pp. 56-58, and notes 216-222. EH., pp. 46-50. B., p. 20. O., pp. 64-65. AB., iii., pp. 38-64. AM., § 15, pp. 32-34. M., iv., pp. 110-111, and v., pp. 162-170.

⁶ K., p. 56. EH., pp. 56-58. B., p. 20. O., pp. 227-230. AB., ii., pp. 414-419. AM., § 17, pp. 37-42. M., iv., pp. 63-98 and 114-115.

they may have been originally identical;¹ but they elude a careful analysis, and may possibly have been developed independently. If they were once identical with Castor and Pollux, they must go back to the latter part of the Indo-European period. They seem to refer to the twilight, which is very brief in India, and are associated with 'Dawn' (Uṣas). They are the husbands of Sūryā, the daughter of the sun. Uṣas² follows the Aṣvins and brings the first light to men. Many of the most beautiful passages in the Rik are addressed to this goddess, and it appears likely that the Dawn-cult was mostly developed in the Pañjāb.

But by far the most conspicuous figure in the Vedas is Indra.³ To him more hymns are addressed than to any other deity; and his deeds, many and various, are celebrated with due glory. Some of them are not to his credit, and his worshipers at length came to feel that his violence and treachery needed an excuse. Trita was accordingly made the scapegoat, and received the blame. The origin of Indra's name is not known. Many theories have been advanced in regard to it, and the attempt has been made to trace him back to a deified giant,⁴—an "old man of the mountains," or some local hero.

¹ K., pp. 49-52, and notes 171-172. EH., pp. 80-86. B., p. 21. O., pp. 207-215. AB., ii., pp. 431-510. AM., § 21, pp. 49-54.

² K., pp. 52-54, and note 193. EH., pp. 19-20 and 73-80. B., pp. 8 and 21. O., pp. 236-238. AB., i., pp. 241-250. AM., § 20, pp. 46-49. M., v., pp. 181-198.

³ K., pp. 40-49, and note 141. EH., pp. 20-21 and 91-96. B., pp. 12-13. O., pp. 95-97 and 134-185. AB., ii., pp. 157-366. E. D. Perry, in JAOS., xi., 1885, pp. 117-208. AM., § 22, pp. 54-66. M., iv., pp. 79-91, 94-96, and 99-109; and v., pp. 77-139.

⁴ See JR., pp. 292-300 and 623. While it must be confessed that there is abundant material of the kind necessary to make out a fairly good case, there is also much of a very different sort. For example, in R-V., iv. 18, 10, his mother is called a cow, while vṛṣan, which may mean 'bull,' is a common epithet of the god. He was no Apis, however. See E. W. Hopkins, in JAOS., xvi., 1896, pp. cccxxvi.-cccxxxix.; and MM2., pp. 395-398.

But Indra was not a deified man.¹ He was a storm-god, the god of the warrior classes; and, if he seems to have

¹From the fact that, without exception, Indra's name comes first in the 'pair' deities of which he forms a part (see K., note 114, and JAOS., xi., 1885, p. 208), it has been inferred that the word Indra "had an original adjective value." E. W. Fay, in AJP., xvii., Apr., 1896, p. 14, footnote 4. It is certainly peculiar that with both Agni and Vāyu (Indrāgni and Indravāyū) the word loses its accent; while with the latter and possibly also with the former,—the form would be the same in either case,—it remains in the singular. The hymns to Indravāyū, moreover, and most of those to Indrāgni, are placed by one of the most careful investigators of the subject (E. V. Arnold, in JAOS., xviii., 1897, pp. 352-353) among the oldest in the Rik. Can it be that the word was originally used as an epithet of one or both of these gods? There are some reasons for believing that this may have been the case. Vāyu, or Vāta, means 'Blowing-one, Wind,' the prevailing name for the god being Vāyu, for the wind Vāta. K., p. 38. EH., pp. 87-91. B., p. 14. O., pp. 224-226. AB., i., pp. 25-28. AM., § 30, pp. 81-83. M., v., pp. 143-146. 'Wind' was worshiped by the Indo-Iranians, if not earlier, and the Avestan Vayu is a fiend-smiter, is bright and glorious, and has a golden car and furnishings. He works highly and is powerful to afflict. To him Ahura Mazda offers sacrifice, as does Thraëtaona,—it is by this means that he obtains power to conquer Azhi Dahāka (cf. Indra and Trita unitedly fighting Ahi),—and he grants the prayer of his maiden worshipers for young and beautiful husbands as well as those of the Aryans for power to smite their foes. SBE., iv., *Introd.*, p. lxiv. *Ib.*, xxiii., pp. 249-263. Indra, then, has some of the features of both Vayu and Ātar (see above, lv., Jan., 1898, p. 104), as they appear in the Avesta. The Vedic Vāyu has a thousand cars, or wagons, R-V., ii. 41, 1, and he blesses his worshipers with gifts, viii. 46, 25; but his hymns are mostly invitations to the Soma-pressing,—there are two, x. 168 and 186, to Vāta, praising his chariot (the rushing wind) and asking for blessings,—as are those to Indravāyū. Vāyu is mentioned but once, iv. 21, 4, as taking part in Indra's battles (see Perry, *l. c.*, pp. 162-163), although he has Indra as his companion or rides in the same chariot with him and with him receives the first draught of Soma. AM., pp. 55-56. M., v., p. 144. If the later identification of Indra and Vāyu, which is found in the Brāhmaṇas (MM., *Lect. v.*, p. 167, EH., p. 89, Perry, *l. c.*, p. 145), was based upon an original unity followed by a differentiation of the two, the lack of other references to Vāyu as taking part in Indra's battles becomes clear, as does also the fact that Vāyu alone sometimes receives the first draught of Soma. See R-V., i. 134, 1. The origin of the word Indra, as has been said, is unknown, but the etymology which is most satisfactory, on the whole, connects In d-ra with in d-u, 'drop' (of Soma or light),

his home in the mountains, the same can be said of the thunderstorm in such a region as northern Pañjāb or the Kābul valley. Not that men were not deified, even by the ancestors of the Hindus. Yama, 'Twin,' the king of the dead,—the first human pair were Yama and his sister Yamī,—was regarded as a man who became a god; and the R̥bhū, 'Adroit-ones,' the genii of the seasons, were also regarded as deified men;¹ but no such doctrine is taught concerning Indra, and the marked anthropomorphic features of his character can be accounted for in other ways.² He was without doubt always a storm-god. His hymns are placed second in the "Family-books."

with which, with that curious play upon words so common in the Vedas, it is often associated. See K., notes 83, b, and 141; and MM2., pp. 395-396. It may well have puzzled the Aryans to know whether the wind and lightning of the Pañjāb were the gods Agni and Vāyu. If *i n d r a*, 'wet, dripping,'—such torrents of rain were probably also new to them,—was at first added to the names of these gods, by a process similar to one which became common enough later on, to distinguish them from the same gods in their ordinary capacity; and if *i n d r a*, 'dripping,' then gradually developed into Indra, 'Dripping-one,' with some of the characteristics of both gods, to which were added, in time, certain new ones of his own; his character becomes perfectly intelligible, even to his enormous capacity for Soma. See Perry, *l. c.*, pp. 126, 131-134, 154, and 194-198. Certain it is that Indra and Agni, as well as Indra and Vāyu, were very closely united; for Agni is very rarely invoked as a dual divinity with any other god, and Agni alone, of the other deities, is called *Vṛtrahan* with any frequency. See AM., pp. 60 and 127, and EII., p. 105. The bearing of the *dvañdva* compound upon the question will be considered below.

¹ K., pp. 37-38, and note 127. B., p. 22. O., pp. 235-236. AB., ii., pp. 403-413. AM., § 46, pp. 131-134.

² The Kṣatriyas, whose special god he was, had no time, in their long and persistent struggle with the native races, for speculation: their life was a serious practical business; and, in their thought, Indra, like themselves, was a fighter. It would have been strange if he had not grown to seem more and more like themselves in every particular. In connection with Viṣṇu, he is even called a 'Soma bowl' (beer-mug?), *indrā-viṣṇu kalācā somadhānā*, R-V., vi. 69, 2, second pāda, 'quarter' (of a stanza); and he does his fighting with the help of liberal draughts of the liquor, which doubtless reflects the practice of the times. Water was

Another god of the storm was Rudra,¹ who has survived, in part, in Çiva,² 'Gracious-one,' as he is euphemistically called. The etymology of Rudra is uncertain; but it seems to mean 'Howling-one.'³ He was the most beautiful of the gods, the "strongest of the strong, with the lightning in his hands,"⁴ the smiter of evil doers, the protector of the good, and the purifier of the atmosphere. There are but four hymns to him in the Rik;⁵ but his character had sufficient vitality to outlast other prominent deities.

His sons, the Maruts,⁶—probably 'Shining-ones,' the etymology is not clear,—are the well-armed gods of the thunderstorm, who, with their golden visors (on their helmets), their golden ornaments, and their gleaming spears, are sometimes the allies of Indra, and sometimes do battle alone. They destroy the forest and bring darkness even in the bright day, when they cause the milk of the clouds (rain) to descend, or summon the rain-god, Parjanya,—

not applied internally by the early Hindus, unless it was possibly sometimes used as a dose; and, even in recent years, men of Aryan blood are said to have assisted their courage by means of whiskey flavored with gunpowder. "The belief in an intoxicating beverage, the home of which was heaven, may be Indo-European." AM., p. 114. Such a belief would certainly account for the fact that Eng. mead (A-S. medu) is Gr. μέθυ, 'wine,' and Skt. mádhū, 'sweet drink, honey.' See S&J., pp. 320-321. In any case, the drink habit is hoary with antiquity and for many centuries, in more than one branch of the Aryan peoples, wore the cloak of religion: no wonder that the curse dies hard. Cf. *l. c.*, pp. 321-326.

¹ K., pp. 38-39, and note 133. O., pp. 216-224. AB., iii., pp. 31-38. AM., § 28, pp. 74-77. M., iv., pp. 299-320 and 402.

² B., pp. 160-165. EH., pp. 388-433.

³ See, however, EH., p. 99. If he was 'Ruddy-one,' he could still be the god of the howling storm.

⁴ K., p. 38.

⁵ He appears also in the A-V. See SBE., xlii., pp. 11, 19, 120, 138, 155-158, etc.

⁶ K., pp. 39-40, and note 136. EH., pp. 96-99. B., pp. 13-14. O., pp. 224-225. AB., ii., pp. 369-402. MM3., pp. 317-320. AM., § 29, pp. 77-81. M., iv., pp. 309-318 and 321-339, and v., pp. 145 and 147-154.

perhaps 'Filling-one, Richly-giving-one,'—who rouses his rain-messengers with a great uproar and terrifies even the good.¹

Other deities there were, such as:—*Tvastr*,² 'Worker,' the artificer of the gods; *Vivasvant*,³ 'Lighting-up-one,' the father of the *Açvins*; *Saranyu*,⁴ 'Swift-one,' the mother of *Yama* and *Yamī*; *Saramā*,⁵ 'Running-one,' the messenger of the gods; and *Sarasvati*,⁶ 'Rich-in-water,' a river goddess, and, later, the Brahmanical goddess of devotional expression and knowledge: but, for the most part, they are unimportant. Many other divine or semi-divine beings and objects are mentioned; but they must be omitted here.⁷ There remain three gods that deserve more careful mention. They are *Bhaga*, *Prajāpati*, and *Bṛhaspati*. *Bhaga*,⁸ 'Dispensing-one,' is an *Āditya*, and the word is probably Indo-Germanic; but it seems to have been originally merely an appellation of other gods rather than the name of a separate deity.⁹ In a similar way, *Prajāpati*, 'Lord-of-

¹ He is supposed to be identical with the Lithuanian *Perkuna*, god of thunder. The same word even now means thunder. K., p. 40, and note 139. EH., pp. 101-104. B., pp. 14-15. O., p. 226. AB., iii., pp. 25-30. MM., Lect. vi., pp. 202-213. AM., § 31, pp. 83-85. M., v., pp. 140-142.

² K., note 131. B., pp. 21-22. O., pp. 233-235. AB., iii., pp. 38-64. AM., § 38, pp. 116-118. M., v., pp. 224-230.

³ K., note 269. EH., pp. 130-131. AB., i., pp. 86-88. AM., § 18, pp. 42-43. B., p. 22. AB., ii., pp. 506-507.

⁴ K., p. 42, and note 149. B., p. 12. AB., ii., pp. 313-319.

⁵ AB., i., pp. 325-328. MM., Lect. v., pp. 183-187. AM., § 33, pp. 86-87. M., v., pp. 337-343.

⁷ A few of them are merely forms of other gods; but the list also includes the *R̥sis*, certain animals, and such objects as melted butter and weapons. See B., pp. 24-25; EH., pp. 135 and 137-138; O., pp. 240-261; AM., §§ 25-27, 32, 38, 40, 42-43, 47-63, and 66 (pp. 71-74, 85-86, 115-116, 119-120, 123-125, 134-152, and 154-155); M., v., pp. 35, 55, 343-349, 355-356, 367-372, 378-390, 393-399, and 402-410; and K., note 148.

⁸ K., notes 83, b, and 227. EH., pp. 41 and 52-56. AB., iii., pp. 39-41.

⁹ It appears in *Zend* as *b a g h a* and in Old Church Slavonic as *b o g ŭ*, both meaning 'god'; and the same sense is also found in certain Vedic compounds of the word. See AM., pp. 8 and 45, and EH., p. 53.

creatures,¹ was originally an appellation of other gods such as Savitr; but, when the question, 'Who made all things?' began at last to press itself upon the poet-sages, and an author was sought for the visible universe, Ka, 'Who,' was identified as Prajāpati, and a new god was added to the pantheon.² He was also called Hiranyagarbha, 'Golden-germ,' and was a kind of first fruits of the theory of spontaneous generation.³ Brhaspati, or Brahmanaspati, 'Lord-of-devotion,' has been regarded as an early abstraction from the priestly office; but there are some traces of his having been looked upon as identical with Agni, and there can hardly be any question but that he originally represented Agni in his capacity as a priest presiding over devotion.⁴ He was more and more exalted by the later poets.

Hymns to 'All the gods' (vīcve devās)⁵ occupy the third place in the "Family-books." They were supposed to be intended for the masses (Vāiçyās); but this was probably

¹ K., p. 76, and note 373. EH., pp. 140-142. B., p. 29. R-V., x. 121. AM., § 39, pp. 118-119. M., iv., pp. 19-20, and v., pp. 390-393.

² That the Vedic Ṛsis should begin to speculate concerning the origin of the universe is not strange; for even a child can ask questions which the profoundest philosopher is unable to answer: in fact, a New England boy of seven is known by the writer to have asked his mother who made God. Their speculations have been greatly admired in some quarters; but they are after all puerile. See K., pp. 87-91, and note 375; B., pp. 29-30; M., iv., pp. 4-62, and v., pp. 356-357; and SBE., xlii., pp. 199-232, 591, 629, 639, 661, and 681. Cf. also *ib.*, xxv., pp. 2-18; and C., pp. 91-92 and 101-103.

³ See K., pp. 88-89; AM., p. 119; and M., iv., pp. 16-17, and v., p. 355. There are two hymns in the Rik, x. 81 and 82, to Viçvakarman, 'All-making-one'; but the term is also applied to Indra and, in the later Vedas, to Prajāpati. See K., p. 89; AM., § 39, p. 118; and M., iv., pp. 6-8, and v., pp. 354-355. Other similar names are also found, such as Dhātr, 'Establisher, Producer,' etc. See AM., § 38, pp. 115-116.

⁴ See K., pp. 73-74, and note 315; EH., p. 136; B., pp. 15-16; AB., i., pp. 299-304; AM., § 36, pp. 101-104; M., v., pp. 272-283; and R-V., i. 38, 13.

⁵ K., pp. 34 and 74. AB., ii., pp. 370-371. EH., pp. 137 and 144. AM., § 45, p. 130.

an afterthought. For the most part, they represent an artificial grouping of the gods for the purpose of including them all; but this is sometimes ignored, so that they are occasionally invoked as a narrower group, the 'All-gods,' along with other deities.

There are certain of these hymns to the *viçve devās*, in addition to a few others,—mostly funeral hymns,—which contain references to the *Pitṛs*,¹ 'Fathers,' i.e., the Manes; but neither these nor the two hymns addressed to the 'Fathers'² can be referred with certainty to an early period. The *Pitṛs*³ seem to have been the Hindu "Saints" originally;⁴ but they ultimately came to include all the departed male ancestors. The early *Pitṛs* rival the gods in power and may fairly be classed among them; for, although the *Pitṛs* are never confused with the *devas*, they are represented as dwelling with the gods in the third heaven, are worshiped regularly, and are, in fact, clearly recognized as divinities. Some have even gone so far as to suppose that the older *Pitṛs* were the original gods of the Hindus and that the *devas* were a later development; but this view manifestly cannot be accepted.⁵

Such were the early deities of "this people, who are at once so sensual, so superstitious, and so speculative, with an equal appetite for subtle theosophy and coarse exhibitions, and who have never been able either to rest satisfied with faith in one god or to reconcile themselves to the worship of many."⁶ "The coexistence of things which

¹ R-V., i. 106; iii. 55; v. 47; vi. 52 and 75; vii. 35; viii. 48; ix. 83; and x. 14, 16-18, 56, 88, and 154.

² R-V., x. 15 and 57. See B., Preface, p. xv.

³ B., p. 23. EH., pp. 143-145. AB., i., pp. 94-101, and ii., pp. 307-321. K., note 270. AM., § 76, pp. 170-171. M., v., pp. 295-297.

⁴ See O., pp. 273-280, and B., p. 23.

⁵ See above, lv., Jan., 1898, p. 112, footnote 9; MM., Lect. vii., pp. 237-248; and S&J., pp. 422-425.

⁶ B., p. 170. Cf. C., pp. 21 and 81-85.

seem to us to contradict and exclude each other is exactly the history of India, and that radical formula which occurs in the hymns, that 'the gods are only a single being under different names,' is one of those which is oftenest on her lips, and which yet, up to the present time, she has never succeeded in rightly believing."¹

Temples and idols seem to have been practically unknown, although one or two late passages in the Rik appear to point to the existence of something which might pass for the latter in the case of Indra, and certain places, such as the fords of the rivers, seem to have been regarded as sacred.²

The condition of the departed is not made altogether clear in the Rik; but there are indications that the good (ceremonially) were looked upon as happy, and the bad as miserable.³ So far as any description of the abode of the blest is given, it is represented as a region of light and of material joys, which is situated in the midst of the sky. The view presented in the Atharvan is that of a sensual heaven resembling the paradise of the Mohammedans. There are some traces of a hell in the Rik, in passages which refer to 'evil-doers' as 'thrust into a deep-place, in bottomless darkness,' or as 'cast into a hole,' and evil spirits seem also to have been regarded as treated in the same manner by the gods.⁴ The Atharvan clearly recognizes an infernal world; but its description is reserved for the later literature.

In the later ritual, there is an elaborate ceremony for the

¹ B., pp. 31-32.

² See K., note 79, a; B., pp. 60-62; O., pp. 87-92; EH., p. 95; and M., v., pp. 453-454.

³ B., pp. 22-24. O., pp. 524-565. EH., pp. 145-149, 175, and 206-207. K., notes 265 and 273-287; cf. also note 329. W. D. Whitney, in PAOS., May, 1886, pp. xxii.-xxvii. AM., §§ 73-75, pp. 167-170. M., v., pp. 284-287 and 305-313.

⁴ R.-V., i. 121, 13 (cf. 182, 6); iv. 5, 5; and vii. 104, 3 and 17.

cremation of the dead. This had then become the only recognized method of dealing with corpses; but it seems probable that, in the early days, burial also was very commonly practiced¹ and that the later interment of the bones after cremation was a survival from this method of disposing of the dead. Cremation, however, was clearly in use, in the time of the R̥sis;² and, while it may have been confined to the latter part of the Vedic period as a general practice, it was certainly resorted to, to some extent, very early; for it must have been known to the Indo-Iranians,³ and it was probably practiced by the Indo-Europeans.

As the smoke ascended from the funeral pyre, the spirit of the departed was supposed to ascend with it, in company with Agni; although Pūsan and Savitṛ are each also mentioned as taking the part of ψυχοπομπός⁴ and escorting the dead on their way to heaven. The two dogs of Yama guard the path,⁵ and they must be passed on the way. They are supposed to exclude 'evil-doers.' The 'good' are those who have been pious toward the gods and manes, generous to the priests, brave in battle, and truthful to their neighbors.⁶ In the late hymns of the Rik, a further source of virtue appears in tapas, 'heat, religious-fervor, asceticism,' which is simply self-torture or penance.⁷

¹ Cf. R-V., x. 18, 11; and see W. D. Whitney, in vol. xvi. of this periodical, Apr., 1859, pp. 413-415.

² Cf. R-V., x. 16; and see AM., §§ 71-72, pp. 165-167.

³ Burial and cremation were both forbidden to be used by the followers of Ahura Mazda. The dead were to be exposed in a high place. SBE., iv., Introd., pp. lxxxix.-xci.

⁴ R-V., x. 17. See also EH., p. 53. ⁵ L. c., p. 132.

⁶ Cf. *ib.*, p. 148; and MM., Lect. ii., pp. 63-76. Generosity to the priests is highly lauded in certain portions of the Rik, mostly regarded as late additions, and some remarkable 'gifts'—really fees for conducting the sacrifice—are mentioned. See K., pp. 80-81, and notes 341 and 349; AB., i., pp. 129-131; and M., v., pp. 431-435.

⁷ In the later literature tapas occupies a very prominent place. Indra is even supposed to have gained his supremacy through tapas, and he is represented in various places as sending a 'nymph' to tempt some

One of the most difficult questions, in connection with the old Vedic religion, is the exact relation in which the sacrifice stood to the hymns. Forms and ceremonies the early worshippers must have had. But what?¹ Certain late hymns of the Rik were plainly composed for the ritual; but the great mass of them show little indication of such a character. Even the favorite funeral hymn² contains indications that it was originally used in a simpler ceremony than that of the later ritual;³ and, while it may be true that the books of the Rig-Veda were intended chiefly for the Soma-cult,⁴ the form of that cult must have been comparatively simple. Still, there is no reason for supposing that the Soma sacrifice, or the other sacrifices for that matter, differed materially, in other respects, from those of later times.⁵ The real difference was probably one of degree rather than of kind, except that the later Brahmanical sacrifices were all limited to a single individual or 'saint' (always successfully), the power of whose asceticism threatens to enable him to supersede the god. See M., v., pp. 394 and 410. The "holy men," found at the present time in India, who have crippled or deformed themselves, or who publicly undergo various tortures and privations, are merely a modern outgrowth of the same original idea.

¹ A satisfactory picture of the oldest ritual of the Rig-Veda cannot be given as yet. AH., pp. 11 and 15.

² With regard to funeral hymns, etc., see Whitney, *l. c.*, pp. 404-420; K., pp. 76-78, and notes 326-330; O., pp. 570-591; MM2., pp. 235-260 and 436-438; and M., v., pp. 297-300. Hymns were, of course, also made use of at weddings. See K., pp. 74-76, and notes 317-324.

³ The hymn is, R-V., x. 18. See Whitney, *l. c.*, pp. 414-415.

⁴ See EH., pp. 14 and 22. Oblations of Soma, as well as offerings of melted butter and similar substances consumed in the 'house-fire,' were certainly common even in the very early days; and some form of words must have accompanied them (see below). That the hymns were used in this connection is clear; for the Rik expressly says that Soma without hymns does not please Indra. See K., note 333. Prayer, however, seems to be recognized as agreeable to the gods apart from sacrifice. See MM3., pp. 109-110, and cf. K., pp. 79-80.

⁵ See O., pp. 15-16 and 430-438; B., pp. 6, 35, and 41; and AB., i., pp. 124-131.

family,¹ while it seems likely that the more formal sacrifices in the early days were tribal affairs.²

Assuming, then, that the early ritual of the Rik was merely a simpler form of the later elaborate practices,³ which is certainly safe ground to take;⁴ the Vedic worshipers had a family ritual, conducted by the householder in company with his wife, and a formal priestly ritual, conducted by persons appointed for the service. In their perfected form, these were afterward embodied in the *Gṛhya-* and *Çrāuta-Sūtras*, i.e., the formulas for the house rites and ceremonies, and those for the traditional (formal) services and sacrifices. In both, bathing and a change of raiment, symbolizing purification, are typical features; for the rites throughout are conspicuously symbolical.

The 'house-formulas' are numerous.⁵ They include practices to be observed at weddings;⁶ rites to be used at the

¹ See EH., pp. 177-197 and 202.

² As the old clans gave way to tribes, and as these in turn became united under a single head, the responsibility for the sacrifice would naturally pass more and more out of the hands of the whole community into those of the prince, who, at first conducting the sacrifice for the people, would gradually come to conduct it, or have it conducted, for himself alone or for his immediate family; and this practice would tend to become general.

³ The forms of Brahmanism were popular because founded on rites, or on the essential elements of rites, that had been in actual use among the people. AH., p. 2.

⁴ Even savages, whose gods are often nameless, are punctilious concerning their rites (J., pp. 236 and 245), and are, to that extent, ritualists. Clearly, then, the Vedic worshipers must have been ritualists, though not such ritualists as Brahmanism developed. See O., pp. 370-397. The Rik was composed in part by princely singers, who also conducted sacrifices. Both would have been impossible under Brahmanism. See SBE., xii., *Introd.*, pp. xiii.-xv.; EB., *article*, "India," section, "History" (p. 782); and M., i., pp. 296-479.

⁵ See AH., §§ 9-57, pp. 41-96. Sections and pages are cited in detail in the other footnotes of this paragraph. For the minutiae of the later ritual, as given by the different authorities, see H. Oldenberg's translation of the *Gṛhya-Sūtras*, in SBE., xxix. and xxx.

⁶ § 37, pp. 63-68.

first kindling of the 'house-fire':¹ and ceremonies to be employed at the offering of sacrificial cakes,² of clarified butter,³ and of the two daily oblations (these consisted of rice, barley, sour-milk, or parched corn, offered to Agni, to Agni and Prajāpati, or to some other god or gods, with the hand only,—no spoon could be used,—at morning and evening):⁴ they include rites to be used at the time of the new and full moon observances;⁵ rites to be used in building a house, in dealing with cattle, in farming, etc.;⁶ wish-offerings, for the obtaining of wealth, children, etc.;⁷ and ceremonies to be performed before, at, and after the birth of a child,⁸ at his naming,⁹ on his birthday,¹⁰ at his first hair-cutting,¹¹ shaving, etc.:¹² they include rites and formulas to be used when the boy goes to school,¹³ has a holiday,¹⁴ vacation,¹⁵ etc.; practices to be observed when his education is completed;¹⁶ rites for the reception of guests;¹⁷ practices to be observed in times of sickness and death, and at funerals;¹⁸ and directions for performing an animal sacrifice (an ox, goat, or cow usually) on special occasions (such as the reception of guests, weddings, and oblations to the manes):¹⁹ and, finally, they contain directions for conducting numerous offerings to the Pitṛs,²⁰ with which the Hindus were in the habit of honoring their dead.

All these rites which have survived in the Gṛhya-Sūtras were doubtless made use of, in some simple form, in the days of the Ṛṣis. In fact, there can hardly be any question but that many of them are actually older, reaching back, in all probability, to the Indo-European period; for striking resemblances to them can be traced in the wed-

¹ § 38, pp. 68-70. ² 40 and 43, pp. 71 and 72-73. ³ 42, p. 72. ⁴ 46, pp. 74-75. ⁵ 47-52, pp. 75-79. ⁶ 54, pp. 80-86. ⁷ 55, pp. 86-87. ⁸ 9-14 and 17-20, pp. 41-46 and 48. ⁹ 15, pp. 46-47. ¹⁰ 16, p. 48. ¹¹ 21, pp. 49-50. ¹² 22-23, p. 50. ¹³ 24-30, pp. 50-59. ¹⁴ 31, pp. 59-60. ¹⁵ 32, pp. 60-61. ¹⁶ 35-36, pp. 61-63. ¹⁷ 53, pp. 79-80. ¹⁸ 56, pp. 87-92. ¹⁹ 44-45, pp. 73-74. ²⁰ 57, pp. 92-96. See also MM., Lect. vii., pp. 247-262.

ding and other customs of the Germans and other races.¹ Differences in detail, however, there must have been; for the Sūtras themselves do not agree in minor points; and it is even probable that there were various cults existing side by side among the people, and that the Sūtras were simply compilations from them.²

The most important of the house-rites were those used in honoring the 'Fathers.'³ Besides the regular oblations, there were various special offerings, including several prescribed for state occasions, such as the birth of a son or a wedding; and it was highly improper to neglect them. Those intended to accompany any event in the family life were 'luck-offerings.' The regular offerings were regarded as absolutely necessary for the well-being of the dead until the third generation,⁴ so that it was of the utmost importance that every 'twice-born' should have a son.

The traditional rites of the Ṛānta-Sūtras require for their observance not only a number of priests but also other fires,—two regularly, the 'oblation-fire' and the

¹ See AH., pp. 3-10. ² Cf. AH., pp. 16 and 20.

³ The word *pitryajña*, 'manes-offering,' occurs in a late hymn of the Rik, x. 16, 10, showing that such sacrifices were common before the close of the Vedic period.

⁴ The immediate ancestors for three generations constituted a class by themselves, as distinguished from the remote saintly forefathers. The dead were supposed to dwell upon the earth, or in the air, for some time as 'ghosts' before reaching the third heaven, in spite of Agni's work as *ψυχοποιός*; and it is even said, in places, that the fathers are upon earth, the grandfathers in the sky, and the great-grandfathers in heaven. On the other hand, a daily Ṛāddha—literally, 'Faith-offering,' i.e., an offering to the manes accompanied by gifts of food, etc., to deserving persons—is elsewhere said to raise a departed father to the rank of a *pitṛ*, if continued for a year; but a shorter period is also allowed, provided a certain number of sacrifices is completed. The authorities differ; and the Ṛāddhas, if Vedic, were probably not known by that name. By a curious parallel, among the orthodox Jews, at the present day, the 'prayer for the dead' is offered daily by a son, for a year, in order that, by this means, he may raise the spirit of his departed father out of Hades into Heaven. The Catholics make use of masses for a similar purpose.

'southern-fire,'—in addition to the 'house-fire,' used in the house rites; and there is reason for believing that both practices are very old.¹ In the later ritual, not less than two priests seem to have been employed, as a rule, for a sacrifice; and the Soma-sacrifice required as many as sixteen or seventeen.² Selections from the Rik, the Sāmian, and one of the Yajur-Vedas, were used in this sacrifice, in addition to certain instructions distinctly given; for the mantras, or Vedic texts, were murmured, since they were supposed to possess greater power if so spoken.³ The Soma-sacrifice was probably Indo-Iranian, and the plant was pressed, or bruised, for the oblation, in the early morning, at noon, and after sunset.⁴ The original form of the sacrifice may never be known; for many generations of priests

¹ While it is doubtful whether brahmán is the same word as Lat. *flamen* (see S&J., pp. 415-416), it must be conceded that wherever there are rites there must be those who perform them; but the performance of religious rites is a priestly act, and those who do this must be, to that extent, priests. Some sort of a fire-cult must certainly have existed in Indo-European times (cf. EH., pp. 109-110), and it is clear that there were Atharvans, or 'fire-priests,' in Indo-Iranian days. Priests, then, and sacred fires there must have been in the very early Vedic period; and, while the priests were probably appointed to serve, and the priestly class may have gradually developed from the practice of having sons continue in their fathers' office, the hymns of the Rik contain evidence that the sacrifice had already become sufficiently developed before the close of the Vedic period to have its functions distributed among different classes of priests. See SBE., xii., *Intro.*, pp. xi.-xii. and xv. The importance which the priestly office had already acquired is shown by the fact that "Agni's priesthood is the most salient feature of his character. He is in fact the great priest, as Indra is the great warrior. But though this phase of Agni's character is so prominent from the beginning to the end of the R-V., it is of course from a historical point of view comparatively recent, due to those mystical sacerdotal speculations which ultimately led to the endless sacrificial symbolism of the later ritual texts." AM., p. 97.

² According to the Sūtras, the sacrificer must belong to one of the three upper castes, and a similar restriction must have prevailed in Vedic times before caste became established; for the conquered inhabitants seem to have been excluded from the sacrifice. See above, liv., Oct., 1897, p. 616. ³ See AH., § 58, pp. 97-104. ⁴ See AH., p. 15.

had probably had a hand in perfecting the ritual before the Sūtras were compiled:¹ yet it is safe to assume that it consisted of at least two parts,—the offering of Soma and the use of hymns,² a part of which, the Sāmans, were chanted. But it is more than likely that the sacrifice included, as in the later ritual, smothered victims and water from a running stream; for the Iranian sacrifice also consisted of two parts,—prayers or spells and offerings,—and the latter included not only Haoma but also “holy meat” and “holy water.”³

Many other sacrifices there were in the later ritual,⁴ and they must have had their germs in the Vedic practices. They include the kindling of two, three, or five, holy fires by friction (the common people could start them from an old altar fire);⁵ the rekindling of the fires for luck of some kind;⁶ daily morning and evening offerings of milk;⁷ new and full moon sacrifices,⁸ including the piṇḍapitṛyajña, ‘cake-manes-offering,’ i.e., cakes for the dead offered on the afternoon of the day of the new moon;⁹ special sacrifices at the beginning of the seasons;¹⁰ first-fruit offerings;¹¹ numerous sacrifices for special occasions, like the birth of a son, to secure some wish;¹² and animal sacrifices.¹³

These were of two kinds,—true animal sacrifices and those connected with libations of Soma. The victims included oxen, cows, sheep, goats, horses, and even men.¹⁴

¹ Cf. AH., p. 103. ² Cf. footnote 4, p. 310.

³ See SBE., iv., Introd., p. lxix.; and *ib.*, xxvi., Introd., p. xxiv., and pp. 12, 23, 41-42, and 162-226.

⁴ See AH., §§ 59-85, pp. 105-166, given in detail in the footnotes below. Cf. SBE., vols. xii., xxvi., xli., xliii., and xlv.

⁵ § 59, pp. 105-109. See SBE., xii., pp. 274-276. ⁶ 60, p. 109. ⁷ 61, pp. 109-111. ⁸ 62, pp. 111-114. See SBE., xii., pp. 1-2 and 6-7. ⁹ 63, pp. 114-115. ¹⁰ 64, pp. 115-119. See SBE., xii., pp. 383-384. ¹¹ 65, pp. 119-120. See SBE., xii., pp. 369-370. ¹² 66, p. 120. ¹³ 67, pp. 121-124.

¹⁴ See O., pp. 302-317, 353-370, and 473-475; and B., pp. 34-38 and 57-60. Human sacrifice was probably Indo-European. S&J., 421-422. Cf. EH., p. 196.

Numerous tame and wild animals were also used, in certain cases, as accessories. The 'altar' proper, as distinguished from the 'great-altar' and the 'high-altar' of the Soma-sacrifice, was covered with sacrificial grass,—grasses of various kinds were extensively used in their rites,—and the implements for the sacrifice were put in their proper places.¹ A sacrificial post, to which the victim was to be bound, was then set up east of the 'oblation-fire.'² After the victim had been washed or sprinkled with water³ and a firebrand had been carried around it to drive away the 'spooks,'⁴ it was either smothered or strangled with a noose.⁵ It was then cut up for the sacrifice, according to prescribed rules. The Agnistoma,⁶ 'Agni-praise,' was the basis of all the other Soma sacrifices. It required several days for its completion, the Soma-pressing taking place on the last. The victim was a goat.⁷ Other Soma sacrifices⁸ extended the pressing over from one to twelve days or more. The morning pressing was said to be for the Vasus, 'Good-ones'; the noon pressing for the Rudras, 'Howling-ones' or 'Ruddy-ones'; and the evening pressing for the Ādityas, 'Sons-of-Aditi.'⁹ In the later ritual, there were sacrifices whose rites extended up to a full year, or more.¹⁰ Such were the gavāmayana, 'cows'-course,¹¹ and the aṣva-

¹ SBE., xxvi., pp. 156-162. Cf. AH., pp. 126-128.

² In many instances, however, eleven other posts could be used, one of which lay on the ground, while the remaining ten were set up in a row, five to the north and five to the south of the first one (*l. c.*, pp. 176-177, 221, and 475); and, in the aṣvamedha, twenty-one posts were similarly set up. AH., p. 151.

³ SBE., *l. c.*, pp. 181-183. AH., p. 122. ⁴ *Ib.* SBE., xxvi., pp. 186-187.

⁵ *L. c.*, p. 190. AH., p. 152. ⁶ *L. c.*, § 68, pp. 124-134.

⁷ Two, three, four, and even eleven victims, were used in Soma sacrifices. *L. c.* and § 70, pp. 136-137. SBE., xxvi., pp. 218-222 and 397, footnote 2.

⁸ AH., §§ 71-75, pp. 137-149. Cf. SBE., xxvi., *l. c.*, and pp. 402, footnote 2, 418, and 428, footnote 2.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 350. Cf. R-V., x., 125, 1. ¹⁰ AH., §§ 79-81, pp. 154-159.

¹¹ A Soma sacrifice. SBE., *l. c.*, pp. 426-428. AH., § 80, pp. 157-158.

medhá, 'horse-sacrifice.'¹ The latter, however, though doubtless in a simpler form, was one of the oldest elements of the Hindu ritual.² It was the prerogative of princes and was very expensive and elaborate. Many animals were included in the final sacrifice, which was always, to some extent, a tribal event and included extensive feasting. The puruṣamedha,³ 'man-sacrifice,' differed from the 'horse-sacrifice' chiefly in the victim; but it could be offered by a Brahman as well as by a prince. Further than the puruṣamedha, sacrifice could not go, except in a combination called the sarvamedha,⁴ 'all-offering.' The Sūtras contain other rites,⁵ including directions for preparing a 'fire-altar';⁶ but they are of minor importance, for the most part.

The sacrifice ultimately became the all-important observance in the Hindu religious rites. It doubtless had its advocates from the start,⁷ as the hymns had theirs,⁸ and it is not unlikely that the long struggle for the supremacy, which was carried on between the military and priestly classes, involved also the question whether the sacrifice or the hymns should occupy the chief place in their formal services. Brahmanism did not prevail until the narrow Brahmanical view of the extreme importance of the outward form of the sacrifice, including the exact pronunciation of every word,—a change in the accent might alter the meaning and ruin the sacrifice,⁹—had been generally accepted; nor did it prevail until caste had been established: but this presupposes a highly artificial state of so-

¹ AH., § 76, pp. 149-152.

² The name Aśvamedha, '(Man)-who-has-performed-the-horse-sacrifice,' occurs in R-V., v. 27.

³ AH., § 77, p. 153. ⁴ L. c., § 78, p. 154.

⁵ L. c., §§ 69, 82, and 84-85, pp. 134-136, 159, and 165-166.

⁶ L. c., § 83, pp. 161-165.

⁷ See K., pp. 43-44; M., i., pp. 259-261; *ib.*, v., p. 112; and R-V., i. 83, iv. 25, vi. 23, x. 42 and 160, etc.

⁸ Skeptics, however, had already appeared. See M., *l. c.*; and K., p. 48, and note 168. ⁹ See EH., p. 188, footnote 1; and AH., p. 98.

ciety. In short, while Brahmanism was the fruit which developed from the Vedic blossom, it not only had a worm at the heart but was also affected by those elements of decay which have resulted in modern Hinduism.

The present condition of Hinduism¹ and the past history of Brahmanism make it likely that sects existed even before Vedic times.² They certainly appeared very early, and it may have been in some such way that the sun came to be worshiped under so many different names.³ The recognition of the identity of the sun-gods, as well as the belief that the sun was a form of Agni, may have helped to

¹ "Diversity is its very essence, and its proper manifestation is 'sect,' sect in constant mobility, and reduced to such a state of division that nothing similar to it was ever seen in any other religious system." B., pp. 153-154.

² It is conceivable that there was a time when each clan had its own special daimon or spirit, to which it attributed great power. The common interest of the clans, however, against the hostile races opposing their advance, must have early welded them together into tribes with a corresponding community of gods; but, as each deity would naturally continue to have his partisans with the result that sects would gradually take the place of the original clans, old views and forms of expression concerning each must have still persisted in spite of the resulting contradictions. Whatever the exact cause may have been, a set of stock phrases was ultimately developed and applied indiscriminately to the more important gods (cf. EH., pp. 43 and 138-139); but it did not stop there. Even the most extravagant of the expressions came at length to be used of anything which was of especial importance in the eyes of the singer; and, in the Atharvan, they were actually applied to the leavings of the sacrifice. See SBE., xlii., pp. 588 and 629-630. This is probably all that there is in the so-called Henotheism (MM., Lect. v., p. 166) of the Vedas; for accurate classification and exact definition are modern virtues, as well as consistency. Cf. W. D. Whitney, in PAOS., Oct., 1881, pp. x.-xii.; and EH., pp. 139-140. Hyperbole too had its share in the making of the hymns, which represent a vast flowing together of the waters, not a single stream (cf. EH., pp. 22-23); and they probably became sacred also before men began to seriously question. Criticism thus became impossible; but the very mystery involved in their contradictory statements was one of the sources of their peculiar sanctity, and was a means of exaltation to the Brahmans, who pretended to understand it; while the people were doubtless as densely ignorant in all these matters as they are to-day. ³ Cf. K., note 208.

pave the way for the identification of other gods, and finally for the speculations concerning the identity of all the gods¹ and the source of the universe.

To this very imperfect and hasty survey of an enormous field,² but a few words can be added in conclusion. Many of the questions which are involved may never be permanently settled;³ but an increasing probability may be looked for in some cases; for, in large measure, the work

¹ Found first in R-V., i. 164, 46, a late hymn. See K., note 374. While these identifications appear to show a strong drift toward monotheism, they result, not in monotheism but in pantheism with a monotheistic core. It is not monotheism. What effect the 'pair' deities had on the process is doubtful. In the Rik, the *dvaṁdva* compounds are "chiefly represented by dual combinations of the names of divinities and other personages, and of personified natural objects." W., § 1255. This implies that the 'pair' compounds began with the names of the gods, and there can be little question but that the starting-point is to be found in *Dyāvāpṛthivī*, 'Sky-and-Earth.' These two are coördinate: the other 'pair' deities are not. AM., pp. 126-127. One either overshadows the other, more or less, or else entirely eclipses him, as in the case of *Mitrāvaruṇā*. This, in itself, is suggestive. In the Rik, especially in the late hymns, there is a tendency to differentiate the functions of a god by the use of appellations, which in turn tend to develop into separate gods. If a similar tendency prevailed in the early days, and the attempt was made, in some cases, to use, for this purpose, "descriptive compounds" (see W., §§ 1279-1280), in which the first member was an adjective qualifying the second; a ready soil would be provided for the extension of the 'pair' deities on the analogy of 'Sky-and-Earth,' who seem to have been regarded by all nations as an inseparable pair. With the gods of the more intellectual classes, such as *Mitrāvaruṇā*, the analogy would tend to be fully carried out; while, with such popular deities as *Indrāgni* and *Indravāyū*, the original adjective form might be expected to persist and to ultimately set the fashion for the later form of such compounds, with which they agree. The few 'pair' deities besides 'Sky-and-Earth,' in which the first member cannot be an adjective, appear to be, without exception, comparatively late. Of the whole number, Indra-begins more than half, and it also retains the singular form in a combination with a title of the *Aṅvins*, which occurs in an old hymn.

² Cf. pp. 574-583 of the Bibliography in EH.

³ The significance of the flood legend, for example, which appears in the *Ṣatpatha-Brāhmaṇa* and elsewhere. See M., i., pp. 182-212; and MM., Lect. iv., pp. 154-159. So the development of the Hindu triad. The earliest form which appears is,—Agni, Indra or *Vāyu*, *Sūrya*. M.,

is hardly begun. The only really satisfactory picture of the early Hindu religion is to be found in the Vedic writings themselves; but the language is very difficult, and an English version gives but a poor idea of the original.¹ That the hymns were believed to possess a certain power in themselves seems clear from the intimate connection of prayer and spell,² which sometimes so shade into each other that it is not easy to tell which is the true sense in a given case. This is particularly true of the hymns used in the cure of disease,³ and for the obtaining of wishes.⁴ The belief in the power of a form of words also appears in the great force attached to curses,⁵ and in the fear lest the

v., p. 8. MM., Lect. v., pp. 167-168. Agni, Trita, Sūrya, has been suggested (AM., pp. 69 and 93) as an earlier form. According to the view already given (printed before AM. was received) in the Jan. number, pp. 104-106, a still earlier form would be,—Agni, Apāñ Napāt, Trita. This is paralleled in the Zend,—Ātar, Apām Napāt, Thraētaona Āthwya. The confusion of the first two—Agni is called a 'son of the waters' (see above *l. c.*), as is the Avestan Ātar and the Vedic Savitṛ (R-V., i. 22, 6; cf. x. 149, 2)—would then give a place for the addition of Sūrya.

¹ A translation which gives a faithful picture of the hymns is very difficult to make. A "good" translation is quite sure to overtranslate the Sanskrit, and a literal one is not English. As the language possesses five declensions, eight cases, three numbers, and ten classes of verbs, not to mention various aorist and future systems,—the word Sanskrit means 'Put-together, Perfected,'—it has a vast number of forms. Its syntax is simple; but it is nevertheless awkward, although the Vedic language is less open to criticism in this respect than the classical Sanskrit, which was capable of producing—in the *Hitopadeṣa*, 'Salutary instruction'—such a compound as bhāṇḍapūrṇakumbhakāramaṇḍapikāikadeṣa, 'dish-full-jar-maker-little-shop-one-place,' i.e., a corner of a small crockery-shop filled with dishes.

² See AH., §§ 86-94, pp. 167-186; and M., v., pp. 440-449. The belief of the masses in spells must have been deep seated and general. See above, liv., Oct., 1897, pp. 618 and 626-627; and iv., Jan., 1898, pp. 93, 99-100, and 109 (footnote). Cf. the sacred Gāyatrī. EH., p. 46.

³ Any slip or error in the service of the gods was supposed to result either in direct punishment from them or in the liability to be subjected to a sort of demoniacal possession. See above, liv., Oct., 1897, pp. 609 and 617, and iv., Jan., 1898, pp. 108, footnote 2, and 109.

⁴ AH, p. 167. ⁵ M., iv., pp. 380-382.

knowledge of a person's true name might enable an enemy to destroy him.¹ These ideas are, however, widespread.

The notion that a man's name is an integral part of him and that a second one must be given for common use is in perfect keeping with the other ideas of this strange people, who looked upon the solution of riddles as the highest wisdom, and who even composed hymns in an enigmatical form.²

Among the hymns of the Rik there may be those which were composed with an intentional imitation of an antique style in order that they might possess greater force;³ and it is even possible that, to some extent, the Rik, like the later poetry, "aims less at convincing the mind than at overpowering it, by affecting it with a sort of vertigo."⁴

There is much in the character of the gods which calls for deeper study. Their early shadowy nature can still be traced in the deities of the epic;⁵ but there is something beyond yet unsolved. It has been supposed that the Indo-Europeans had a supreme sky-god and that Varuṇa and Dyāus represent the two names by which he was known.⁶ While this view can no longer be accepted, in this form at least,⁷ the last word on the subject has by no means been said. Looked at from some sides, the question presents problems which neither science nor history can answer; and it may yet appear that somewhere in the dim past a true though crude idea of God⁸ was lost by the early Aryans, leaving as a survival the worship of certain manifestations of His power, out of which developed the later gods of the separated peoples.

¹ *AH.*, § 15, p. 46. ² See *K.*, pp. 86-87; and *MM3.*, pp. 260-264.

³ This possibility further complicates the question of the age and importance of many of the hymns. See *liv.*, Oct., 1897, p. 630, footnote 1.

⁴ *B.*, p. 193. ⁵ Cf. *liv.*, Oct., 1897, pp. 608-609.

⁶ *J. Darmesteter*, in *CR.*, xxxvi., Oct., 1879, pp. 274-289.

⁷ Cf. *lv.*, Jan., 1898, pp. 94 and 101-102.

⁸ Cf. *C.*, p. 201, C2., pp. 93 and 148-156, and *EH.*, p. 13.