Section I - Gaṇa and gotra:

It has been generally admitted by scholars that the Vedic people lived in tribal society and each tribe was divided into clans. The elucidation of the meanings of the words 'gaṇa' and 'gotra' is required for a clear understanding of the nature of Vedic clan life.

If we consider the Vedic traditions regarding gaṇa, gotra, jana and vis', it becomes very difficult for us to ascertain the differences of meanings assigned to these terms. Sometimes, we detect the indiscriminate use of these words. It is certain that they point to a tribal structure of society.

The gaṇa as conceived in the Sūtras conveys the sense of a larger organisation than the gotra and is inclusive of gotras. Both Asvalāyana and Baudhāyana regard Bhrigu and Aṅgiras as names of gaṇas, consisting of a number of gotras. The gaṇa is thus closely related to the gotra. Gotras imply smaller units which are included in a gaṇa.

3 - Baudh I. 2.
1 It may be noted that the gana of this context is not exogamous, while the gotra is definitely exogamous. For example, the Gotamas, excepting those who pronounce the name of Uchathya in their pravara, are allowed to have matrimonial relation with the Bharadvajas, though both these gotra - groups belong to the same Aṅgiras gana. The Gotama or the Bharadvaja gotra is treated as strictly exogamous. This shows that marriage cannot take place within the gotra, but is permitted within the gana.

2 This distinction between gana and gotra is not observed in all cases. Sometimes, the same clan - organisation is considered as gana or gotra.

1 - The Pravara - darpanam quotes the view of Visvanāthadeva — sarvesāṁ Bhāradvājānāṁ Uchathyā-pravara - vatāṁ Gautamānāṁ cha na vivāhah, see p. 184, Gpnk.

2 - Baudh II. 16 - Gautamānāṁ sarvesāṁ avivāhah.

3 - Ibid III. 19 - Bharadvājānāṁ sarvesāṁ eva avivāhah.
The same kind of clan organization is sometimes represented as *vis’* or *gana* or *gotra*. The Ṛgirasas are described in the *Ṛgveda* as *vis’* (plural) and in the *Pravara-prasña* as a *gana*, inclusive of gotras, while Pāṇini seems to be conversant with Ṛgiras gotra. Later history bears witness to the continuity of Ṛgiras gotra tradition and we meet with the Ṛgiras gotra of donees in copper plate inscriptions.

The identity of *vis’* and *gotra* is attested by the *Ṛgvedic* representation of Sumitras as *vis’* in plural number. The Sumitras appear to have formed a gotra, as we are informed of one Sumitra of the Kutsa clan by the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa. It is probable that the Sumitra section of the Kutsa gotra has been described as *vis’* in the *Ṛgveda*.

---

1 - *Ṛv* I. 121. 3 - *visām* Ṛgirasām; Śaivaṇa interprets ‘*visām*’ as ‘*manusyaṇām*’.

2 - Baudh I. 2.

3 - Pāṇ I. 4. 65 — Atri - Bhṛigu - Kutsa - Vasiṣṭha -

Gotamāngirōbhyaḥ cha; Kāśikā - Atryādibhyaḥ parasya gotra -

pratyasayasya vahusn luk bhavati.

4 - See p. 119, EI XIX, No. 19, Penultimate plate, 1 st. side, Two lost plates of Nidhanpur copper plates; also p. 80, EI XIX, No. 11, 2 nd. plate, Amoda plates of the Haihaya king Prithvideva I.

5 - *Ṛv* X. 69. 1 - Sumitraḥ visāḥ; Śaivaṇa - Sumitrāḥ
etannāmadheyāḥ visāḥ amī manusyaḥ.

6 - JB I. 162 - Sumitraḥ Kautsah.

7 - Kutsa is a gotra name, see *Āp. Sr. S.* 24. 8. 1.
The identity of gana and gotra is exemplified in the case of the Bhrigus. According to the Pravarapras'na, the Bhrigus form a gana which is divided into gotras. Pāṇini treats Bhrigu as a gotra name. The Mahābhārata recognises only four gotras among which the name of Bhrigu is mentioned. Very lately in history, Raghunandana records Bhrigu as a gotra name. We are also informed of the Bhārgava gotra of donees in copper plate inscriptions.

All these facts enable us to conclude that the Bhrigus are regarded as a gana in the Sūtras and as a gotra by Pāṇini and the Mahābhārata. Later gotra tradition includes the name of Bhrigu among the popular gotras.

It will appear from such data that the words 'gotra', 'gana' and 'vis' are indiscriminately used in the sense of clan.

---

1 - Baudh I. 2.
2 - Pāṇi II. 4. 65.
3 - Mbh XII. 296. 17 - milagotrāṇi chatvāri samutpānāni pārthīva. Aṅgirāḥ Kasyapaḥ chaiva Vasiṣṭhah Bhriguh eva cha ; it may be noted in this connection that the 'Ain-I-Ākbari of a much later date records Angiras as a gotra name, vide pp. 339 - 340, vol. III, Eng. Tr.
4 - See p. 378, Aṣṭāvimsati - tattvāṇi, Saṃskāra - tattvam, sec. on Prakṛtām karma -- Bhrigugotrāṇāṃ Bhārgava-pravarāṇām iti Bhavadevaḥbhāṭṭaḥ.
5 - See p. 110, EI IX, No. 13, 2 nd. plate, 2 nd. side, Mandhata plates of Devapala.
Section III - Jana and gotra:

The Rigvedic sense of 'jana' is perhaps 'tribe'. In genealogical tradition even a jana is considered as a gotra.

The Bharatas and Yadus are two Rigvedic tribes, mentioned as janas.

Pāṇini speaks of Bharata as referring to a gotra. The Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa mentions Sindhuṣit Bhārata. The appellation 'Bhārata' is derived from Bharata, regarded as a gotra ancestor. Thus, the jana of the Bharatas appears to be a gotra.

The Purānic appellations 'Yādava' and 'Yadu-nandana' imply the gotrāpatya (remote descendant) of Yadu, regarded as an ancestor. The jana of the Yaduṅga is thus represented as a gotra which is founded by the patriarch Yadu.

It will lead us to the conclusion that a Rigvedic jana is also treated as a gotra.

1 - Rv III. 53. 12.
2 - Rv VIII. 6. 48.
3 - Pāṇ II. 4. 66 - vahvachah iṁah prāchya - Bharateṣu ; the Kāśikā interprets 'Bharata' as 'Bharata - gotra'.
4 - JB III. 82.
5 - Matsya 49. 11 - Bharatah yasya nāmaḥ cha Bhāratāḥ.
6 - Viśūparvan, Harivaṃsā, 90. 67 - Yādavam.
7 - Ibid 90. 66 - Yadunandanaḥ.
8 - Pāṇ IV. 1. 162 ; Kāśikā - pautraprabhṛiti yat apatyam tat gotrasaṃjñaḥ bhavati.
9 - Egt XI. 1. 3 - Yādavaḥ kulaṃ ; XI. 1. 4 - Yadukulasya.
Section IV - Interpretation of the words 'gana', 'gotra', 'jana' and 'vis':

We have seen that the words 'gana' and 'gotra' may indicate the same kind of clan organisation. Even vis or jana is sometimes found to be identical with gotra.

On the basis of philological considerations, F. Engels points out that Sanskrit jana has its equivalent in Greek genos and Latin gens.

P. D. Gane observes that the common word for people or tribe is Sanskrit jana, Greek genos. He interprets 'vis' as 'clan'.

A. B. Keith considers vis to be the real parallel of Latin gens and Greek genos (and also Iranian vis).

Senart likens gotra to the gens of the Romans, while Morgan compares gana with Latin gens.

All these interpretations presuppose that the Aryan society of Vedic India is predominantly tribal in character. In the course of our investigation it will be shown that the words under consideration either refer to a tribe or a subdivision of a tribe and that tribalism is the general feature of Vedic society.

1 - Vide p. 121, The origin of the family etc., F. Engels, Eng. Tr.
2 - See pp. 121 - 122, An introduction to comparative philology.
4 - See p. 3, Introduction, The early Brāhmaṇical system of gotra and pravara.
6 - See pp. 40 - 41, ch. III, Ancient India, E. J. Rapson.
Section V - Are vis' and jana territorial units?

M. Muller says that Sanskrit vispati is akin to Zend vispaiti (lord of clan).

The Avestan terms for vis' and jana are probably vis and zantu which mean territorial units. The Iranian vis is a lower unit than zantu; the vispaiti, i.e., the lord of the village, is lower in order than the zantupaiti, i.e., the lord of the province. On the basis of Iranian analogy, it has been supposed that vis is a subdivision of jana and both the terms have territorial implication. The fact that the Bharatas are mentioned in the Rigveda as a jana in singular and as vis' in plural seems to suggest the conclusion that a jana is divided into many vis' units.

Considering the Vedic usage of the words 'jana' and 'vis', what seems to be probable is that either of them refers to a clan or tribe. When the Bharatas are described as a jana in singular and as vis' in plural, both the designations imply a tribal structure.

1 - See p. 181, Biographies of words and the home of Aryas, collected works; also p. 122, op. cit., P. D. Gune.
5 - Rv III. 53. 12 - Bhāratam janam.
6 - Ibid VII. 33. 6 - Bharatah .. Tritsūnām visah.
Sometimes, the words 'Jana' and 'vis' are used almost synonymously. A human or divine group is frequently spoken of as a jana or vis or visa or visā. In such cases, it is very difficult to differentiate jana from vis and the sense of 'clan' or 'tribe' is suggested.

The divine sphere contains organisations like vis or visā. The Maruts have formed a vis and the Ādityas are organised in a similar visā.

The word 'vis' in singular perhaps signifies the tribe or clan as such and in plural the members of a tribe or clan. Similarly, the term 'jana' in singular specifies the tribe as such, while the

---

1 - Rv V. 14. 2 - mānuṣe janes ; I. 45. 1 - janes Manujätam ;
V. 13. 3 - daivyam janesam.
2 - Rv VI. 47. 16 - visām manuṣyān ; III. 34. 2 - visām daivīnāṃ.
3 - TS II. 2. 5 - devavisēna eva asmai manusyavisām avarundhe.
4 - KS 11. 6 - devavisā manusyavisāyā īse.
5 - KS 21. 10 - vinmarutah.
6 - KS 11. 6 - Ādityā vai devavisā.
7 - Rv X. 173. 1 - visāḥ tvā sarvā vānchhantu ; SB XIII. 4. 3. 3 - Maruh Vaivasvatah rājā iti śāha. tasya manusyāḥ visāḥ.
8 - Rv V. 11. 1 - janesya gopa ; III. 53. 12 - Bhērataṃ janesam ;
H. Oldenberg suggests one of the meanings of jana as tribe, see p. 442, Index of words, Vedic hymns, pt. II ; G. Childe puts a query sign after his translation of the word 'jana' as 'tribe' or 'clan', see p. 92, Appendix to ch. IV, The Aryans.
plurality of jana is indicative of the people belonging to a tribe. Both the words imply the tribal pattern of social organisation, though in some cases the smaller unit is indicated by vis' and the larger unit is referred to by jana.

The pertinent guesswork would be that the words 'vis' and 'jana' denote tribal and not territorial units. When the Aryan people are settled in territories, these are named after the inhabiting tribes. The janapadas have originated from the Janas. Such janapadas are Kuru - Pañchāla, Uttara - Kuru, Uttara - Madra etc. The localisation of the tribes is marked by the imposition of the tribal designations upon the regions in which they are settled.

1 - Ṛv. II. 12. 1 - janāsah ; P. Peterson translates 'janāsah' as 'men', see p. 310, Hymns from the Rigveda ; also Ṛv. I. 177. 1 - janānām ; H. H. Wilson interprets 'jana' as 'man', see p. 171, Rigveda Sāndhitā, Eng. Tr., vol. II ; M. Muller interprets 'jana' as 'man', see p. 477, Index of words, Vedic hymns, pt. I.

2 - In this connection we may point out that V. M. Apte regards vis' as a tribal unit ; see p. 356, ch. XVII, book V, vol. I, The history and culture of the Indian people.

3 - AB VIII. 3. 3 - udīchāyām disi ye ke cha pareṇa himavantām janapadāḥ uttara - Kuravah uttara - Madrāḥ iti ; Sāyana - janapadāḥ grāmavīśēsāh.

4 - GB I. 2. 10 - Kuru - Pañchāleṣu.

5 & 6 - AB VIII. 3. 3.
Section VI - The five janas:

We are offered various explanations of the five janas. The tradition of five janas is Rigvedic and the specification of the number causes much confusion. Whether these refer to five classes of beings (men, gods etc.) or to five castes is not decided by Yāsaka, the Brihaddevatā and Sāyana. Of these two interpretations the first occurs in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

M. Müller and R. Roth speak of 'five nations', though differing from each other in the explanation of the same.

1 - Mir III. 8 - pānchā janāh āṃgang darvah pitarah devah asurah rakṣāmsi iti eke. chatvārah vartvah niśādah pañchmah iti Aupamanyavah.

2 - Brd, pt. I, VII. 67 - 72 ; the Brihaddevatā quotes varying interpretations of the five janas.

3 - See Sāyana's com. upon Av VII. 1. 2. 1.

4 - AB III. 3. 7 - pānchahāryaṃ vā etat uktham yat āṃ pānchah janānām uktham deva - manusyaṇāṃ gangharvāpsarasāṃ sarpāṇāṃ cha pitṛinām cha ; Sāyana - gangharvāṇāṃ apsarasaṃ vargah tritiyāh.

5 - See pp. 95 - 96, footnote, India, what can it teach us ?

6 - Vide J. Muir's translation of Roth's remarks on kṛṣṭi, pp. 178 - 179, Original Sanskrit texts, vol. I, ch. II.
The five janas may refer to five Aryan tribes of Rigvedic times and the limitation of the number to five is rather symbolical than actual.

These janas are represented as vrātas, because of the collective features of the tribal type of organisation implied by them. The word 'vrāta' perhaps indicates collectivity.

As a belief in consanguinity prevails in each of the janas, these are also described as the five jātas. The term 'jāta' may signify common descent from an ancestor.


2 - Rv IX. 14. 2 - pañcha vrātāh.

3 - Sāyāna comments upon PB 6. 9. 25 - vrātasāvdah samudāya -vāḥ; W. Caland translates 'vrāta' as 'joined group'.

4 - Rv VI. 61. 12 - pañcha jātā; R. T. H. Griffith translates 'jātā' as 'tribes'; vide The hymns of the Rigveda, vol. I.
The names 'kṛṣṭi', 'charṣaṇi' (agriculturist) have been applied to the five tribes, since they have adopted tilling of the soil as one of their occupations. As they are settled in different lands (kṣiti), they are also designated as the five kṣitis.

From this analysis it appears that the words 'pañchajanayā visā' mean 'the tribal inhabitants consisting of the five janas or tribes'. The words 'vis' and 'jana' of this excerpt display an identity of meaning and refer to the tribal system of the Aryans.

We may now conjecture that the tribal form of organisation is the implication of vis or jana.

---

1 - Rv X. 119. 6 - pañcha kṛṣṭayah.
2 - Rv VII. 15. 2 - pañcha charṣaṇih.
4 - Rv V. 35. 2 - pañcha kṣitīnēm; R. C. Dutt translates 'kṣiti' as 'land', pp. 94 - 95, op. cit.
5 - Rv VIII. 63. 7.
Section VII - vis' and gaṇa:

We have shown that both vis' and gaṇa sometimes signify the clan. The vis' is represented in some textual descriptions as a larger organisational unit than the gaṇa.

In the extra-mundane sphere, the Maruts form a vis', but seven gaṇa-groups. Thus, a vis' is inclusive of gaṇas and a gaṇa appears to be a subdivision of vis'. A passage of the Brihadāranyaka Upaniṣat makes the point clearer when it mentions the vis' of divinities which is divided into the gaṇas of the Vasus, the Rudras, the Ādityas, the Maruts and the Viśva devas. It is definitely a portrait of tribal life superimposed upon the denizens of heaven.

1 - TS II. 3. 1 - sapta gaṇāh vai Marutah gaṇasāh eva visām avagachchhati.

From the above point of view the relation between vis' and gana appears to be that between the tribe and clan, since gana is a smaller unit than vis'. The size of a gana unit approaches that of a clan. The Vedic instances of gana refer to group-divinities whose number varies from seven to twelve. The gana-group of the Maruts contains seven members; that of the Vasus eight members; that of the Rudras eleven members and that of the Ādityas twelve members. Such extent of membership presupposes the small size of a clan.

In a different context the 'vis' is portrayed as a group resembling a clan. The Maruts are spoken of as 'vis' and the Ādityas as 'visā'. Such usage of the word 'vis' or 'visā' places it in the level of a gana-group.

It will thus be seen that the vis' as inclusive of ganas points to the tribe, while in some cases the clan-grouping is referred to by vis' or gana.

1 - The Taittiriya Samhitā speaks of gana as a subdivision of vis'; vide TS V. 4. 7 - sapta gaṇāḥ vai Marutah gaṇasāh eva visām avarundhe; also TB I. 6. 2 - sapta gaṇāḥ vai Marutah gaṇaṇāḥ eva asmai visām kalpayati.
2 - JB II. 77 - aṣṭau Vasavah ekādaśa Rudrāḥ dvādaśa Ādityāḥ; also KS 21. 10 - sapta sapta hi Marutah saptadāḥ gaṇāḥ; gaṇasāḥ eva Marutah tarpayati.
3 - KS 10. 11 - viṃmarutah.
4 - KS 11. 6 - Ādityāḥ vai devaviṣā.
Section VIII • Vispati, ganapati and jyeṣṭha

The epithet 'vispati' is generally applied to a Vedic deity and may mean the chieftain of a tribe. The vispati seems to be identical with the Rājān of vis or jana and the same as the gopā of a jana.

5 Manu as the Rājān rules over men, described as his vis.

6 Yama as the Rājān governs the vis of the manes.

In such cases the chief of a tribe is probably suggested.

7 We are also informed of the Rājān of gana who has very little difference from the ganapati. Such a Rājān is the chief of a clan.

8 In one Rigvedic passage the ganapati of gana is styled as jyeṣṭharāja, i.e., both a jyeṣṭha and a Rājān. Here the chieftainship of a number of clans is indicated.

1 - Rv III. 2. 10 - vispatim; X. 92. 1 - vispatim.
2 - Rv VIII. 43. 24 - visāṁ rājānam.
3 - Rv VIII. 64. 3 - rājā janānām.
4 - Rv V. 11. 1 - janasya gopā.
5 - SB XIII. 4. 3. 3 - Manu Vaivasvatah rājā iti āha, tasya manusyaḥ visāh.
6 - SB XIII. 4. 3. 6 - Yamah Vaivasvatah rājā iti āha, tasya pitarah visāh.
7 - Rv X. 34. 12 - gaṇasya rājā vrātasya; here the gaṇa or vrāta of dice is spoken of.
8 -Rv II. 23. 1 - gaṇānāṁ tvā gaṇapatim havāmahe .. jyeṣṭharājam; also TS II. 3. 14; Śaṅkara - rājānām madhye jyeṣṭhah jyeṣṭharājah tadṛśām.
The gaṇapati of gaṇas resembles the vispati and the gaṇapati of a single gaṇa or clan is perhaps placed below the vispati. It is not improbable that sometimes the designations 'gaṇapati' and 'vispati' are indiscriminately used. That is, the gaṇa may refer to the same type of organisation as the vis in one context or to a lower organisational unit than the vis in a different context. In the former case both the words imply a clan. In the latter case the gaṇa means a clan as included in a tribe signified by vis.

The vis constitutes the rāstra or kingdom ruled over by the vispati or jyeṣṭha. The Maruts forming a vis are dominated by the jyeṣṭha.

Sometimes, the jyeṣṭha appears to be identical with the head of a gaṇa or clan. The position of jyeṣṭha is claimed by Indra, ruling over the Rudras, by Varuṇa, ruling over the Ādityas and by Agni, ruling over the Vasus. These groups bear similarity to small clans and consequently the chiefs of clans are implied.

1 - TS II. 3. 1 - Māruti vai vit jyeṣṭhah vispatih visā eva enam rāstraṇa samardhayati.
2 - TB III. 7. 4 - Indra-jyeṣṭhebhyah Rudrebyah.
3 - Ibid - Varuṇa - jyeṣṭhebhyah Ādityebhyah.
4 - Ibid - Agni - jyeṣṭhebhyah Vasubhyah.
We are informed that Indra leads the gana of Rudras, he is the jyeṣṭha of the ganas of Maruts and he rules over the gana of Maruts. Here the leader of a gana or ganas appears to be the same as the jyeṣṭha.

The gānapatya of Rudra resembles the position of a jyeṣṭha.

The Kāthaka Samhitā draws our attention to the jyaisthya, rājya and jānarājya of the Rājan. In this context the Rājan of a jana is called jyeṣṭha and most probably points to the tribal chief.

The leader of a gana as jyeṣṭha may have occupied a position inferior to that of the head of a vis' or jana depicted as jyeṣṭha. The former seems to be the chief of a clan and the latter the chief of a tribe.

When the words 'vis' and 'gana' are used as synonyms, the lord of vis is indistinguishable from the leader of a gana.

1 - Rv III. 32. 3 - Rudrebhih saganah.
2 - Rv I. 23. 8 - Indra - jyeṣṭhāh Marudganaḥ.
3 - Rv III. 47. 2, 4 - saganah Marudbhīh.
4 - VS 11. 15 - Rudrasya gānapatyam ; Uvaṭa - gānapatitvam.
5 - KS 40. 9 - Aditih tvā suṣvatu rājan mahate kṣatrāya mahate jyaisthyāya mahate rājyāya mahate jānarājyāya ; also VS 10. 18 - mahate jyaisthyāya mahate jānarājyāya.
The ganapati is the leader of a clan-group and sometimes symbolically represented. The horse slain in a horse sacrifice is addressed as the ganapati among the queens. One Rigvedic verse mentions the ganapati among those who are engaged in invoking the gods. In the dice-play a die is conceived as the Rājān of the gana of dice.

The clans of Bhrigu and Anāgiras are recognised as gaṇas in the Sūtras. The gana of Atri is known to the Rigveda. He has the epithet 'sarvagaṇaḥ' ('accompanied by the whole gana'). In one passage the two Āśvins are invoked for rendering protection to Atri along with his gana. Bṛhaspati is associated with a gana according to a Rigvedic verse and regarded as a pravara-Riṣi, attached to the Bharadvāja gotra.

1 - VS 23. 19 - gaṇānāṁ tvā gaṇapatiḥ havāmahe etc.; see also the comments of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara.
2 - Rv X. 112. 9 - gaṇapate gaṇeṣu ; Sāyana - stotṛgaṇeṣu.
3 - Rv X. 34. 12.
4 - Baudh I. 2 ; Āśv. Sr. S., Parisiṣṭa, p. 467.
5 - Rv I. 116. 8 - Atrim .. sarvagaṇam ; Sāyana - putrādīnām vā gaṇena upetam.
6 - Rv I. 117. 3 - Atrim maṇḍhathah gaṇena ; Sāyana - gaṇena .. putra - paurātīgaṇena vā saha.
7 - Rv V. 51. 12 - Bṛhaspatiṁ sarvagaṇam.
8 - Baudh III. 17.
One verse of the Atharvaveda pays homage to the Aṅgirasas and Vida-gañas. The compound 'Vida-gañebhyah' is perhaps not a corrupt reading or devoid of meaning. The gañas of Vida may have been actually alluded to. The Vida gotra of the Pravaraprashna is divided into a number of septs. These may have been represented as gañas in the Atharvaveda.

These examples of gaña give the picture of clan-groups, headed by chieftains, and remind us of gotras.

The gañapatis along with gañas are hailed in the hymns, addressed to Rudra. In this connection the vrātas and vrātapatis are also greeted. It is implied that these gaṇas or vrātas

2 - The expression 'Vida-gañebhyah' has been translated as 'gaṇa - knowing' with the remark that it either does not mean anything or is a corrupt reading, vide p. 930, 2nd half, Atharvaveda Samhitā, Eng. Tr. by W. D. Whitney, revised and edited by C. R. Lanman.
3 - Baudh I. 4.
4 - VS 16. 25 - namah gaṇebhyah gaṇapatiḥbhyaḥ cha, namah vrātebhyaḥ vrātapatiḥbhyaḥ cha; also KS 17. 13; TS IV. 5. 4.
and the chiefs ruling over them are somehow related to Rudra. Such
a gaṇa or vrata may indicate a troop or group as represented by
the organisational pattern of a clan.

The gaṇas of Brahmanaśpati may also have their earthly
parallels in the Aryan clans.

The gaṇapati leads a gaṇa or gaṇas and resembles the grāmaṇī
as the leader of a grāma or horde. It is quite likely that the
original meaning of grāma very much approaches that of a gaṇa.

In earlier usage the word 'grāma' is perhaps a parallel of
gaṇa and the 'locality' sense may have been attached to it later.
In that case the grāmaṇī appears to be the leader of a group in
early Aryan society and exhibits the semblance of a gaṇapati.

1 - The 'gaṇa' is interpreted as 'schar' (host, troop) by
K. F. Geldner, vide his translation of Ṛv II. 23. 1, Der Ṛigveda,
vol. I ; this significance of gaṇa has been recognised by R. Roth,
see p. 635, Sanskrit Wörterbuch, vol. II, notes on 'gaṇa' ;
A. A. Macdonell renders 'gaṇa' as 'troop', see p. 81, notes on
'gaṇa', Sanskrit - English Dictionary.
2 - Ṛv II. 23. 1.
3 - Keith remarks that the grāma is originally the gens in its
military aspect, but expresses his doubt about this possible
meaning, see pp. 90 - 91, The Cambridge history of India,
vol. I, ch. IV.
4 - H. C. Raychaudhuri holds that the word 'grāma' may mean
'horde' or 'village', see pp. 28 - 29, op. cit., An advanced
history of India.
Sāyaṇa interprets ‘grāma’ as a ‘samgha’ (community) or a ‘janapada’ (territory) according to context. W. Caland renders ‘grāmakāma’ as ‘one who desires (to obtain chieftainship over his ) clan’. According to a passage of the Taittiriya Samhitā one who desires grāma (grāmakāma) obtains kinsmen (sajāta) by the grace of Indra. The grāma in this context is composed of sajātas or kinsmen and suggests the clan.

1 - RV X. 78. 6 - mahāgrāmānaḥ; Sāyaṇa - mahān janasaṁghaṇaḥ iva.
2 - RV II. 12. 7 - yasya grāmaḥ; Sāyaṇa - janapadāḥ, 3
3 - PB 18. 5. 7 - grāmakāmaḥ yajeta; also W. Caland's tr., The Brāhmaṇa of twenty five chapters.
4 - TS II. 1. 3 - grāmakāmaḥ Indram eva upadhāvati. sa eva asmai sajātān prayachchhati. grāmi eva bhavati.
The grāmaṇī, distinguished from the Rājaṇ, seems to be one in charge of a village. He may be a Vaiśya.

He belongs to the growing village system which forms the general background of all later periods of Indian social history.

There is enough scope of a surmise that the Vedic clan system develops into the village organisation which belongs to the age of localisation of the tribes and clans. It is possible that the word 'grāma' passes through a shifting of its significance from the clan to a village unit.

1 - KS 10. 3 - rājā vā grāmānyā vā; W. Caland takes 'grāmaṇī' as an official in his translation of PB 19. 1. 4; such an officer is meant by the word occurring in SB XIII. 5. 2. 7 (sūta-grāmānyām).

2 - KS 15. 4 - vaiśya-grāmanyo grihe.

3 - The ancient village organisation is called a republic by Jawaharlal Nehru, vide pp. 23 - 25, Glimpses of world history; Karl Marx regards the village system as the basis of Indian social organisation, vide pp. 594 - 597, Historical writings, The British rule in India, correspondence of the New York Daily Tribune, London, Friday, June 10, 1853.
A belief in consanguinity prevails in the gana. In the previous section we have mentioned gana - groups appearing as Rishi - clans. The divine ganas are generally composed of kinsmen. The ganas of the Adityas, the Maruts and the Rudras are based upon kinship. The Adityas are born of the same mother; the Maruts are known as the sons of Prisni and Rudra; the Rudras have a common origin. The 'gana' conception is thus related to the 'blood tie', derived from the belief in a common ancestor. This feature of the gana gives it the clan - appearance.

1, 2, 3 - Br. Up. I. 4. 12, op. cit.

4 - Aditi is the progenitress of the Aditya clan, vide RV X. 72. 8 - aśtau putrāsah Aditeh; X. 72. 9 - saṣṭabhīḥ putraiḥ Aditih; see also TB I. 1. 9 - Aditih putrakāmā etc.

5 - Vide RV I. 85. 2, 3; the Maruts are called 'go-mātarah' and 'Prisni - mātarah'; they are also regarded as the sons of Rudra, see RV VIII. 20. 3; about their birth from Diti see pp. 101 - 102, Śaḍgurusīṣya's comments, Sarvānukramaṇī.

6 - Hari 3. 49 - Surabhī kasyapat Rudrān ekādaśe vinirmame; the Rudras are the sons of Surabhī and Kasyapa.
The clan character of gana is suggested by the fact that persons of the same blood (sajāta) have a place in it and constitute it. It is a group of sajātas and its kinship basis cannot be ignored. Even the miniature state (rāstra) is made up of kinsmen pointing to the gana organisation.

The gana is in possession of cows and has sacred magic formulae (brahma) for common utterance. Collective activities characterise the group life of a gana and the epithet 'sarva - gana' hints at group behaviour.

1 - TS II. 3. 3 - sajātaih eva enam gaṇavantam karoti ;
TS II. 2. 5 - gaṇasāh eva asmai sajātān avarundhe ; also II. 2. 11.
2 - TS III. 4. 8 - rāstrām sajātāh.
3 - Rv VI. 56. 5 - gaveṣapam . gaṇam ; Sāyaṇa - gaṇam manuṣya - samgham gaveṣapam gavām eṣayitāram.
4 - Rv VII. 9. 5 - brahma - kṛtā gaṇena ; the word 'brahma' in this context perhaps means a magic formula; see p. 78, Philosophies of India, H. Zimmer, ed. by J. Campbell, remarks on 'brahma'.
5 - Av XVI. 1. 4. 6 - sarvagāṇah ; TB II. 6. 3 - idaṁ haviḥ prajanam me astu. dasā - vīram sarvagāṇam svastaye ; Sāyaṇa says that 'sarva - gaṇa' indicates companions and servants, but the meaning is perhaps 'the whole group including ten sons'.

- 149 -
In one passage of the Taittiriya Samhita the liturgist urges that he along with his household and other members of the gaṇa should be indulged by an act of favour.

In connection with drinking Soma during the morning service, the speaker, being accompanied by his whole troop, partakes of Soma.

The excerpts 'sarvagaṇaṁ mā tarpayata', 'sarvagaṇaḥ bhakṣayāmi' are simple utterances disclosing collective functioning.

The formula for eating the Iḍā contains the statement the relating to/eating of the same in common.

1 - TS III. 1. 8 - grihān me tarpayata gaṇān me tarpayata sarvagaṇaṁ mā tarpayata ; Śāyāṇa - sarvagaṇaṁ sarve putra - bṛṛityādisamūhāṁ yasya mama tāḍrīsām mām.

2 - PB I. 5. 4 - sarvagaṇaḥ •• bhakṣayāmi ; Śāyāṇa - sarvaiḥ putra - bṛṛityādi - gaṇaṁ •• upetah ; W. Caland renders 'sarvagaṇaḥ' as 'being accompanied by my whole troop', Eng. Tr.

3 - TB III. 7. 5 - iḍe bhāgaṁ juṣasva nah •• tasyāh te bhakṣivāṇaḥ syāma sarvātmānāṁ sarvagaṇaḥ ; Śāyāṇa - sarvagaṇaḥ sarvaiḥ putra - pautrādi - gaṇaṁ sahitāh.
In a number of Vedic precepts collective dealings are proposed with regard to eating, drinking, prayer and other allied activities of clansmen. A verse of the Atharvaveda sermonises:

'Identical shall be your drink, in common shall be your share of food'. This collectivity of clan outlook seems to be the early feature of the gāṇa ways of living which may have been negated in the course of developing individualism within the clan.

Collective distribution is a striking characteristic of the society of gods according to a statement of the Rigveda. If the gods accept in common their shares of the sacrifice, that conduct is a clear reflection of the group ideal prevailing in the gāṇa of human beings.

---

1 - See Rv X. 191. 2 - saṅgagochhaḥdhvam saṁ - vadadhvam etc. ; X. 191. 3 - samānāḥ mantrah samitih samānī etc.

2 - Av III. 6. 5. 6 - samānī prapā saha vah annabhāgah ; Sāyana - eka prapā pāṇīyasālā bhavatu; collective actions are expected in the case of kinsmen ; see Av VI. 8. 1. 1 - saṁmanasah sajātāh etc.

3 - Rv X. 191. 2 - devāḥ bhāgaḥ yathā pūrve saṁjānānā upāsate.
The trait of collectivism of the gāṇa is taken into cognisance by Sāyaṇa who interprets it as 1 'samgha' and remarks that there is little difference between gāṇa and vrāta. The vrāta, according to him, signifies a group (samudāya). It is presumable that the gāṇa is also called vrāta. W. Caland translates the word 'vrāta' as 'joined group'. The words 'gāṇa' and 'vrāta' are put side by side probably to indicate the same type of clan - group.

1 - Rv VII. 56. 7 - gaṇah ; Sāyaṇa interprets 'gaṇah' as 'samghah' ; Rv IV. 35. 3 - gaṇam ; Sāyaṇa - gaṇam samghātam.

2 - Rv X. 34. 12 - gaṇasya rājā vrātasya ; Sāyaṇa - gaṇasya samghasya .. gaṇa - vrātayoh alpaḥ bhedah.

3 - PB 6. 9. 25; - Sāyaṇa comments - vrātasāvdah samudāyavāchi.

4 - PB 6. 9. 24 - vrātāya ; Caland translates 'vrāta' as 'joined group' ; also PB 17. 1. 2 - ye vrātyēṃ pravasanti ; Caland translates the words as 'those who lead the life of a joined group'.

5 - Rv III. 26. 6 - vrātāṃ vrātāṃ gaṇāṃ gaṇam .. Marutāṃ.
The word 'sárdha' is Rigvedic and interpreted by R. Roth as 'troop'. As it is mentioned along with the words 'gána' and 'vrátá', the clan-group may be its meaning.

The size of a gána may be big or small. A larger gána is perhaps called 'mahágána' which may be compared with 'mahágráma'.

We are in a position to guess that the gána is a Vedic clan and its probable synonyms are vrátá and sárdha. A bigger clan is styled as mahágána.

---

1 - Rv V. 53. 11 - sárdham sárdham vah esám vrátam vrátam gánam gánam.

2 - Roth renders 'sárdha' as 'schaar' (troop), p. 102, op. cit., vol. VII; H. C. Raychaudhuri hesitatingly says that the sárdha, vrátá and gána may be units of the army, see p. 30, ch. III, pt. I, an advanced history of India.


4 - Rv X. 78. 6 - mahágrámah.
Section XI - Is the Vedic gāna precursor of the republican tribal ganas of later ages?

According to scholars the Vedic gāna contains germs of the republican tribal ganas of later ages.

We have seen that the gāna of Rigvedic times exhibits the character of clan and is composed of kinsmen (sajātas).

The ganas of the post-Vedic period display a tribal character. These are also called samghas or gana-samghas.

1 - See p. 352, ch. XVII, book V, The history and culture of the Indian people, vol. I; also p. 29, ch. III, pt. I, An advanced history of India; D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that the tribal ganas may have come down from the Rigvedic period, see p. 117, lecture IV, Some aspects of ancient Hindu polity.

2 - Dr. Fleet interprets 'gāna' as 'tribe', vide p. 8, ch. I, Aspects of ancient Indian polity, N. N. Law; K. P. Jayaswal maintains that the gāna republics of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. had long passed the tribal stage, see p. 50, ch. VI, pt. I, Hindu polity; but the post-Vedic ganas appear to be republican tribes; the 'tribe' sense of gāna has been recognised by lexicographers, vide notes on gāna, p. 252, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, H. H. Wilson; also p. 343, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, M. Monier Williams.

3 - Vide Arthasastra XI. 1, Samgha - vṛttam.

4 - See pp. 116-117, Gilgit manuscripts, vol. III, pt. 3, Poṣadha-sthāpana-vastu.—gana-samghah katamah. yatra gana-samvandhena karmāṇi kriyante; this gana-samgha is a kind of Bhikṣu-saṁgha, but the nomenclature is borrowed from the tribal ganas.
The terms 'gana', 'samgha' and 'pūga' are used as synonyms in post-Vedic literature. Pāṇini identifies gana with samgha and takes into notice the existence of pūgas. The organisations, suggested by these words, appear to be republican tribes and differ from the Vedic ganaś implying clans.

The feature of collectivity is present in the Vedic ganaś and perhaps partially in the post-Vedic ganaś.

It is not improbable that some sort of link exists between the ganaś of Rigvedic times and the tribal ganaś of the post-Vedic epoch.

1 - Pāṇ III. 3. 86 - samghodghau gana - prasāmsayoh.

2 - Pāṇ V. 2. 52 - vahn - pūga - gana - samghasya tithuk; the Aṅguttara - Nikāya mentions the 'pūgagāmaniko', vide pt. III, Chakka - Nīpāta, XVII. 2, p. 300; the pūga - gāmanika is interpreted as gana - jetṭhaka and means the chief of a pūga, which is a tribal organisation, see pp. 116 - 117, lecture IV, Some aspects of ancient Hindu polity, D. R. Bhandarkar.

3 - About collectivism in the post-Vedic ganaś see Mbh XII. 107. 13 - ganaḥ samghāta - vṛttayah; XII.107.25 - sambhūya kāryam gana - hitam.
Section XII - Does the Vedic gāṇa signify a guild?

R. Roth interprets 'vrata' as 'guild' and quotes a Rigvedic passage in which the words 'vrata' and 'gana' occur.

R. C. Majumdar interprets 'gana' as a corporate organisation and refers to an Upanishadic passage which contains the words 'visam' and 'ganasaah'. He depends upon the comments of Śaṅkara who takes 'vis' in the sense of trading people and says that the traders earn wealth by forming gana - corporations. According to this interpretation the gana seems to be a corporation of traders.

It is to be noted that the 'guild' sense of 'vrata' is not suggested by Śāヤa who explains the word as 'group' (samūha).

He says that a vrata is samūha or samgha, i.e., a group as typified by gana. Such a group does not give us any distinct idea

1 - Vide notes on vrata, p. 1502, op. cit., vol. VI.
2 - Rv III. 26. 6 - vrataṃ vrataṃ ganaṃ ganaṃ .. Marutām.
3 - See p. 12, ch. I, Corporate life in ancient India.
4,5 - Br. Up. I. 4. 12 - sa visām asrijata yāni etāni devajatāni ganasaḥ ākhyāyante; Śaṅkara comments - gaṇaprāyāḥ hi visāḥ. prāyaṇa samhataḥ hi vittopārjane samarthāḥ na ekaikasāḥ; Ānandagiri - visāṃ samudāya - pradhānatvam.
6 - Rv III. 26. 6 ; ŚāYaṇa - vrataṃ vrataṃ vrāte vrāte pratimsūham.
7 - Rv I. 163. 8 - vrātāsah; ŚāYaṇa - vrātāsah vrātāh samghātmaṃkāḥ.
of a guild of artisans or traders. The gana or vrāta is more like a clan of kinsmen than like a guild.

1

The gana of the Upaniṣadic passage under consideration are specified as the Ādityas, the Maruts, the Rudras etc. These groups appear to be clans and reveal the feature of kinship. These form the heavenly tribe (vis).

In Vedic usage the words 'gana' and 'vrata' refer to the tribal system of the Aryans and perhaps not to guilds or corporations of artisans or traders.

In this connection it should be pointed out that guilds are not altogether unknown to the Vedic age. The word 'āreṣṭhī' or 'āreṣṭha' is probably indicative of the headman of a guild.


2 - Vide AB III. 3. 6 - āreṣṭhī; Sāyaṇa - āreṣṭhī kasonic dhanapatiḥ; also JB I. 24 - tasmād aham bhūyistham āreṣṭham vittānām asmi; I. 96 - yah kāmayeta aham eva ekadhā āreṣṭhah svānām syām .. ekadhā eva āreṣṭhah svānām bhavati rucham asnuṭe; II. 197 - yathā vai āreṣṭhī kāmayeta tathā karoti; R. K. Mookerji regards āreṣṭhī as the headman of a guild and holds that guilds existed in the Vedic age; see pp. 41 - 42, Local government in ancient India.
In post-Vedic literature the guild of craftsmen is called 'sreni' and sometimes 'gana' or 'puga', but the 'guild' sense of the words 'gana' and 'vrata' is not clear in Vedic usage.

1 - Vide Mbh III. 248. 16; Nīlakaṇṭha interprets 'srenī - mukhyāh' of the text as 'silpi - saṃghāta - mukhyāh'; also p. 150, Brīhaspati - smṛiti, 17. 5 — grāma - srenī - gaṇārtham; Mitākṣarā on Yājñ II. 192 — ekapanyā - silpopajīvinah srenayah.

2 - Mitākṣarā on Yājñ II. 192 — gaṇah vrātah ... ekakarmopajīvinām; Manu III. 154 — gaṇābhyaantarāḥ; Medhātithi comments — gaṇah saṃghah sahaikaya kriyā jīvanti ye te gaṇasāvādavāchyaḥ.

3 - Manu III. 151 — yājayanti cha ye pūgān; Medhātithi- pūgān saṃghān.
Section XIII - The tribal background of Vedic society:

We may conclude from the above analysis that the Vedic society reveals a tribal pattern of organisation.

In Vedic usage the words 'jana' and 'vis' perhaps stand for the tribe. The vis as inclusive of gaṇas is a tribe. The same word is also applied to a clan-group.

The terms 'gaṇa' and 'gotra' indicate clans which are subdivisions of a tribe. The Visvamitra gotra is a subdivision of the Bharata tribe.

It is doubtless that all these terms point to the tribal system of the Vedic Aryans.

1 - Vide Ṛv III. 53. 24 - ime .. Bharatasya putrāh;
Sayāṇa - Bharatavamsyāḥ ime Visvāmitrāh.
Section XIV - Origin of classes in the tribal set-up:

The vis stands for the tribe in Vedic society, but occasionally the members of a tribe are also called vis.

Sometimes, a distinction between the ruling sections and the people is made and the term 'vis' refers to the sections dominated by the ruling classes. This is a clear evidence of the growth of classes within the tribal set-up. At this time the dominating classes are conceived as 'rāṣṭra' and the dominated class is termed 'vis' or 'Vaisya'.

The ruling class is painted as devouring the people (vis) and various analogies are brought out to indicate the same fact.

In one of them we are told that the rāṣṭra smites the vis; here, rāṣṭra means the ruling section. The vis is compared with pressing stones, Soma with food and rāṣṭra with the jar;

---

1 - Vide Rv X, 173. 1 - visāh tvā sarvā vānghhantu; the word 'vis' in plural means the tribal people; W. W. Hunter interprets 'vis' as 'settlers', see his comments on vispāti, p. 55, ch. IV, A brief history of the Indian peoples.

2 - See SB XIII, 2, 9, 8 - vit vai vayah. rāṣṭram harinah. visām eva rāṣṭrayādyām karoṭi. tasmāt rāṣṭri visām atti;

VI. 1, 2, 25 - attā vai ḫaṭriyah annam vit.

3 - TB III, 9, 7 - rāṣṭram eva visi āhanti.

4 - PB 6, 6, 1; Caland translates the passage thus - 'The pressing stones are the peasantry (vit), Soma is the food, the dраОпакаласе is the nobility (rāṣṭram)'; the rāṣṭra is identified with Kṣatra, vide AB VII. 4. 4 - kṣastrāṃ hi rāṣṭram.
the implication is that the juice of the productive endeavours of the people is to be poured into the jar representing the ruling class. In one passage of the Pañchavimsá Brāhmaṇa the Vaiśya is described as the victim of the devouring Brāhmaṇa and Rājanya. It is perhaps a reference to the valī or bhaga, i.e., dues payable to the small state, as well as to the daksinā, i.e., dues payable to the priestly section. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to the origin of the devourer (atta) of vis. This shows that within the tribe the privileged sections live upon the labour of the majority who are dominated by them. This state of affairs is a later development in the tribal system.

1 - PB 6. 1. 10 - vaisyāh adyamānah na kṣiyate. brāhmaṇasya cha rājanyasya cha adyah ; Caland - 'Therefore the peasant, although he is lived upon, does not decrease .. the Brāhmin and the noble must live upon him'.

2 - Vide Rv VII. 6. 5 - agnih visāh chakre valihritah ; Sāyaṇa - agnih visāh praṇāh valihritah karapradāh chakre ; SB XI.2.6.14 - vaisyāh va rājñe valim haret ; Sāyaṇa - valim karam ; KS 39. 8 - rājā vatsah valih piyūsah.

3 - Vide TB III. 4. 8 - bhāgadugham ; the 'bhāgadughha' is mentioned in SB V. 3. 1. 9.

4 - Vide Rv X. 107. 5 - daksināvān grāmaṇīḥ agram eti ; also KS 39. 8 - yajñāḥ vatsah daksinā piyūsah.

5 - AB VIII. 3. 1 - kṣatram ajani kṣatriyah ajani .. visām attā ajani ; Sāyaṇa - visām praṇānām attā bhoktā semutpannah.
Section XV - Brahma, Kṣatra and Vis' (Vaishya):

The vis' in its original sense of tribe is inclusive of the priestly and warrior classes. It has been pointed out that even a priestly clan may be considered as vis'; for instance, the Aṅgirasas are spoken of as vis' and the Visvāmitras are described as the sons of Bharata who gives his name to a tribe (vis' in plural). This shows that the priestly clans are at first regarded as sections of the tribe (vis'). The same is true in the case of Kṣatra clans. The Bharatas form a vis' and are represented as Kṣatriyas in the Purānic records. It is apparent that the Kṣatriyas are at first not differentiated from the vis'. Thus, the Brahma and the Kṣatra have their origin in the tribe (vis').

We come to know that Brāhmaṇas belong to the Kuru tribe or that Brāhmaṇas and Rājans belong to the united tribe of the Kurus and the Pañchālas. Uddālaka, son of Aruṇa, is described as a Brāhmaṇa, son of a Brāhmaṇa and 'Kauru - Pañchāla'. The

---

1 - Vide sec. II of the present chapter.
2 - Vide Rv I. 121. 3, op. cit.
3 - See Rv III. 53. 24, op. cit.
4 - See Rv VII. 33. 6 - Bharatāh . Tritsūnām visāḥ.
5 - Vide Hari 32. 10 ; Bgt IX. 20. 16 - 26.
6 - JB II. 42 - Kurūṇāṁ brāhmaṇebhyah.
7 - JB II. 76 - Kuru - Pañchālānāṁ brāhmaṇāḥ.
8 - AB VIII. 3. 3 - Kuru - Pañchālānāṁ rājānāḥ.
9 - See SB XI. 4. 1. 2 - Kauru - Pañchālah vā ayām brahmā brahmaṇputrah ; also GB I. 3. 6 - Uddālakah ha vā ayam āyāti Kauru - Pañchālah brahmā brahmaṇputrah.
Purāṇas have recorded that the Kurus and the Pañchālas are Kṣatriya family lines. This may lead us to suppose that Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas have tribal origin.

In the beginning the Brahma and the Kṣatra form an alliance in their tribal role. It is clear from the Rigvedic dāna-stutis. When a priest receives a gift from a Kṣatriya chief, he eulogises the latter. In his comments upon the panegyric verses Sāyana informs us of the names of donors and donees and the articles of gift. Among the donees of royal gifts in the shape of gold and cattle we meet with the names of Atri, Bharadvāja, Garga, Kaksivān, Śyāvāsa etc. The picture we get is one of tribal aristocracy permitting individual possessions.

As vested interests grow, the privileged classes, namely, the Brahma and the Kṣatra, seem to have been engaged in mutual conflict for supremacy and put forward alternative claims for superiority in the social order. It is proposed that

2 - Vide Viṣṇu IV. 19. 15; Vāyu 99. 194 - 201.
3 - Vide Rv V. 27. 1; Sāyana's comments.
4 - See Rv VI. 27. 8; Sāyana's comments.
5 - See Rv VI. 47. 22; Sāyana's comments.
6 - See Rv I. 125. 1; Sāyana's comments.
7 - See Rv V. 61; Sāyana's introduction.
8 - Stuart Piggott uses the term 'warrior aristocracy' to indicate the domination of Kṣatriyas or warrior-heroes, see p. 272, ch. VII, The Aryans and the Rigveda, Prehistoric India.
'the Kṣatriya goes first and the other three varṇas follow him'.

The counter-proposal is that 'the Brāhmaṇa goes first and the other three varṇas follow him' or that 'the Brahma is prior to the Kṣatra' or that 'the Kṣatra and the Vīś are followers of the Brahma'. When the Brāhmaṇas declare themselves as human gods (manuṣya-deva), their rivals retort that the Brāhmaṇas are seated below the Kṣatriyas in the Rājasūya sacrifice. In spite of this clash of interests the Brahma and the Kṣatra are united in devouring the Vīś whom they equally dominate. With the change of circumstances the word 'Vīś' no longer signifies the whole tribe but the dominated sections or the producing class and is regarded as a synonym of the word 'Vaisya'.

1 - SB VI. 4. 4. 13 - kṣatriyam prathamam yantam itare trayah varṇāh paschāt anuyanti.

2 - Ibid - brāhmaṇam prathamam yantam itare trayah varṇāh paschāt anuyanti.

3 - PB 11. 1. 2 - brahma hi purvaṃ kṣatrāt; Caland - 'the priesthood comes before the nobility'; JB II. 32 - brahma vai kṣatrā(j)jyāyah .. kṣatram u vai visāh jyāyah.

4 - PB 11. 11. 8 - brahmaṇe kṣatrañcha visaṅcha anuge karoti; Caland - 'makes nobility and peasantry following after (and dependent on) the priesthood'.

5 - SB II. 2. 2. 6 - atha ye brāhmaṇāḥ susṛuvāṃsah anūchānāh te manuṣyadevāḥ.