

selection of the king; these two classes are also referred to in an honourable way in the Vājasaneyi Samhitā;<sup>149</sup> in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,<sup>150</sup> too, the Rathakāra is mentioned as a person of high standing. It is impossible to accept the view suggested by Fick<sup>151</sup> that these classes were originally non-Āryan; we must recognize that the Rathakāras, in early Vedic times esteemed for their skill, later became degraded because of the growth of the feeling that manual labour was not dignified. The development of this idea was a departure from the Āryan conception; it is not unnatural, however undesirable, and has a faint parallel in the class distinctions of modern Europe. Similarly, the Karmāra, the Takṣan,<sup>152</sup> the Carmamna, or 'tanner,' the weaver and others, quite dignified occupations in the Rigveda, are reckoned as Śūdras in the Pāli texts.<sup>153</sup>

The later theory, which appears fully developed in the Dharma Sūtras,<sup>154</sup> deduces the several castes other than the original four from the intermarriage of the several castes. This theory has no justification in the early Vedic literature. In some cases it is obviously wrong; for example, the Sūta is said to be a caste of this kind, whereas it is perfectly clear that if the Sūtas did form a caste, it was one ultimately due to occupation. But there is no evidence at all that the Sūtas, Grāmaṇīs, and other members of occupations were real castes in the sense that they were endogamic in the early Vedic period. All that we can say is that there was a steady progress by which caste after caste was formed, occupation being an important determining feature, just as in modern times there are castes bearing names like Gopāla ('cowherd') Kaivarta or Dhīvara ('fisherman'), and Vaṇij ('merchant').<sup>155</sup>

<sup>149</sup> xxx. 6. 7. Cf. xiv. 27; Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 4, 2, 1 (Rathakāra); 3, 1 (Karmāra).

<sup>150</sup> xiii. 4, 2, 17.

<sup>151</sup> *Op. cit.*, 209, 210.

<sup>152</sup> The name is applied to Br̥bu (Rv. vi. 45. 31) in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xvi. 11, 11. According to Brunnhofer, *Iran und Turan*, 127, the name is a people's name,

but this is very unlikely. See Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I, 107.

<sup>153</sup> Fick, *op. cit.*, 160, 210.

<sup>154</sup> Gautama Dharma Sūtra, iv; Vāsiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, xviii; Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, i. 16. 17.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Jolly, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 50, 507 et seq.; Bühler, *Sacred Books of the East*, 14, xxxviii, xxxix.