

Jana, besides meaning 'man' as an individual, with a tendency to the collective sense, commonly denotes a 'people' or 'tribe' in the Rigveda and later. Thus, the 'five tribes' (**Panca Janāḥ** or **Janāsaḥ**) are frequently referred to, and in one hymn of the Rigveda¹ the 'people of Yadu' (*yādva jana*) and the **Yadus** (*yādvāḥ*) are synonymous. Again, the king (*rājan*) is described as 'protector (*gopā*) of the people (*janasya*)',² and there are other references to king and Jana.³ The people of the **Bharatas** (*bhārata jana*) is also mentioned;⁴ there is no ground to assume with Hopkins⁵ that Jana in this case means a clan or horde (**Grāma**), as distinguished from a people.

It is difficult to say exactly how a people was divided. Zimmer⁶ argues from a passage in the Rigveda⁷ that a people was divided into cantons (**Viś**), cantons into joint families or clans, or village communities (**Grāma**, **Vṛjana**), and these again into single families. He thinks that the four divisions are reflected in the passage in question by Jana, Viś, Janman, and Putrāḥ, or sons, and argues that each village community was originally founded on relationship. But it is very doubtful whether this precise division of the people can be pressed. The division of the Jana into several Viś may be regarded as probable, for it is supported by the evidence of another passage of the Rigveda,⁸ which mentions the Viś as a unit of the fighting men, and thus shows that, as in Homeric times and in ancient Germany, relationship was deemed a good principle of military arrangement. But the subdivision of the Viś into several Grāmas is very doubtful. Zimmer⁹ admits that neither Grāma¹⁰

¹ viii. 6, 46, 48.

² Rv. iii. 43, 5. So Soma is called *gopati janasya*, 'protector of the people,' Rv. ix. 35, 5.

³ Rv. v. 58, 4.

⁴ Rv. iii. 53, 12. See also **Bharata**. Cf. also x. 174, 5 = Av. i. 29, 6.

⁵ *Religions of India*, 26, 27. It is true that the Bharatas are called a *gavyan grāmaḥ*, 'a horde eager for booty,' in Rv. iii. 33, 11; but Grāma has there merely a general application. See n. 10.

⁶ *Altindisches Leben*, 159, 160.

⁷ ii. 26, 3.

⁸ x. 84, 4. *Viśaḥ* may have the same sense in several other passages—iv. 24, 4; v. 61, 1; vi. 26, 1; vii. 79, 2; viii. 12, 29—but it need not necessarily bear this sense. But in x. 91, 2, there is a clear contrast between Viś and Jana.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 161. He also relies on Rv. v. 53, 11, where the Maruts are divided into *śardha*, *vṛāta*, and *gaṇa*; but these words are vague.

¹⁰ Rv. iii. 33, 11. See n. 5.