

referred to from the Rigveda onwards.<sup>2</sup> The milk (*Kṣīra*) was either drunk fresh or made into butter (*Ghr̥ta*) or curds (*Dadhi*), or was mixed with *Soma* or used for cooking with grain (*Kṣīraudana*). The cows were milked thrice a day, early (*prātar-doha*), in the forenoon (*Samgava*), and in the evening (*sāyam-doha*).<sup>3</sup> Thrice a day they were driven out to graze, according to the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa<sup>4</sup> (*prātaḥ, saṃgave, sāyam*). The first milking was productive, the last two scanty.<sup>5</sup> According to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,<sup>6</sup> among the Bharatas the herds in the evening are in the *Goṣṭha*, at midday in the *Samgavinī*. This passage Sāyaṇa expands by saying that the herds go home to the *Śālā*, or house for animals, at night so far as they consist of animals giving milk, while the others stayed out in the *Goṣṭha*, or open pasturage; but both were together in the cattle-shed during the heat of the day. The time before the *Samgava*, when the cows were grazing freely on the pastureland, was called *Svasara*.<sup>7</sup> When the cows were out feeding they were separated from the calves, which were, however, allowed to join them at the *Samgava*,<sup>8</sup> and sometimes in the evening.<sup>9</sup>

While grazing the cattle were under the care of a herdsman (*Gopā, Gopāla*) armed with a goad,<sup>10</sup> but they were liable to all sorts of dangers, such as being lost, falling into pits, breaking limbs,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The five sacrificial animals are man, goat, sheep, ox, horse, *Sāṅkh-āyana Śrauta Sūtra*, ix. 23, 4; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, ii. 4, 3, 13; iii. 1, 2, 13; iv. 5, 5, 10; xiv. 1, 1, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Taittiriya Saṃhitā, vii. 5, 3, 1.

<sup>4</sup> i. 4, 9, 2. The exact sense of this notice is obscure. Strictly speaking, the cows were driven out from the cattle-shed in the morning, spent the heat of the day in the *Samgavinī*, were then driven out during the evening to graze, and finally came or were driven home, as is often mentioned: *Rv.* i. 66, 5;

149, 4; *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, xv. 41.

<sup>5</sup> iii. 18, 14.

<sup>6</sup> *Rv.* ii. 2, 2; 34, 8; v. 62, 2; viii. 88, 1; ix. 94, 2. The going of the cows to their pasture in the morning

is often referred to—e.g., *Rv.* i. 25, 16; x. 97, 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Rv.* ii. 2, 2; viii. 88, 1; Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1, 1, 3; *Sāṅkara* on *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, ii. 9, 4; *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, i. 12, 4; *Nārāyaṇa* on *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, iii. 12, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*, iii. 8, 7; *Rv.* ii. 2, 2. See Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, 2, 111-114.

<sup>9</sup> *Paviravān*, *Rv.* x. 60, 3, is probably so meant. The usual name was *Aṣṭra*, the significant mark of a *Vaiśya*. Cf. *Rv.* vii. 33, 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Rv.* i. 120, 8; vi. 54, 5-7. Also *Pūṣan* was the special deity expected to guard cattle, and hence is called *anaṣṭa-paṭu*, 'losing no kine.' See *Rv.* x. 17, 2, and Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 36.